

ÜBER DAS FRÜHE KUPFER MESOPOTAMIENS

BY

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Abstract: A lead isotope study »On the Early copper of Mesopotamia« reports on copper-base artefacts ranging in age from the 4th millennium BC (Uruk period) to the Akkadian at the end of the 3rd millennium BC. Arguments are presented that, in the (tin)bronzes, the lead associated with the tin used for alloying did not contribute to the total in any detectable way. Hence, the lead isotopy traces the copper and cannot address the problem of the provenance of tin. The data suggest as possible source region of the copper a variety of ore occurrences in Anatolia, Iran, Oman, Palestine and, rather unexpectedly (by us), from India. During the earliest period the isotopic signature of ores from Central and North Anatolia is dominant; during the next millennium this region loses its importance and is hardly present any more at all. Instead, southeast Anatolia, central Iran, Oman, Feinan-Timna in the rift valley between Dead Sea and Red Sea, and sources in the Caucasus are now potential suppliers of the copper. Generally, an unambiguous assignment of an artefact to any of the ores is not possible because the isotopic fingerprints of ore occurrences are not unique. In our suite of samples bronze objects become important during ED III (middle of the 3rd millennium BC) but they never make up more than 50 % of the total. They are distinguished in their lead isotopy by very high ²⁰⁶Pb-normalized abundance ratios. As source of such copper we suggest Gujarat/Southern Rajasthan which, on general grounds, has been proposed before to have been the most important supplier of copper in Ancient India. We propose this Indian copper to have been arsenic-poor and to be the *urudu-luh-ha* variety which is one of the two sorts of purified copper mentioned in contemporaneous written texts from Mesopotamia to have been in circulation there concurrently.

Keywords: Mesopotamian metal, provenance study, lead isotopy, Bronze Age, Indian copper, mixing-by-remelting.

Einleitung

Seit es zum ersten Male gelang, spröde, zerbrechliche Gesteine in ein form- und gießbares Material umzuwandeln, haben Metalle das Nebeneinander von Menschen und Kulturen — im Guten wie im Bösen — geprägt. In »gediegener« Form ist Metall, insbesondere gediegenes Kupfer, sicherlich

bereits vorher gelegentlich genutzt worden, aber der große Durchbruch kam erst mit der Entdeckung der Pyrometallurgie. Erst als man lernte, Erze in ein völlig neues Material mit völlig anderen Eigenschaften umzuwandeln, war man nicht mehr auf nur wenig-verbreitete Zufallsfunde angewiesen. Wo dies zum ersten Male gelang, ist im Dunklen der Geschichte verborgen. Schriftliche Überlieferungen gibt es erst ab der Mitte des dritten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends; und auch dann ist die Entschlüsselung der in den ältesten keilschriftlichen Texten erwähnten Ortsbezeichnungen bisher nur in den seltensten Fällen gelungen.

Versuche, die Herkunft des Metalls von kupfer- und bronzezeitlichen Artefakten zu bestimmen und damit Handelswege und Handelsbeziehungen sowie deren naturbedingte oder politisch erzwungene Änderungen im Laufe der Zeit aufzuzeigen, müssen somit auf indirekte Methoden zurückgreifen. Seit einigen Jahrzehnten hat sich für solche Studien die Messung der isotopischen Zusammensetzung des in all diesen Objekten in mehr oder weniger hoher Konzentration enthaltenen Bleis bewährt. Das Prinzip ist, den isotopischen Fingerabdruck des Bleis in Artefakten zu vergleichen mit dem des Bleis von Lagerstätten und unter diesen Lagerstätten nach solchen zu suchen, deren isotopischer Fingerabdruck mit dem des Bleis eines Artefaktes übereinstimmt, dessen Erze somit als mögliche Quellen des Metalls des Artefaktes in Frage kommen. Die Methode ist nur möglich, und das ist auch ihr entscheidender Vorteil, weil sich der isotopische Fingerabdruck auf dem Weg vom Erz zum Artefakt nicht ändert; alle chemischen und physikalischen Prozesse auf dem langen Weg ändern die isotopische Zusammensetzung des Bleis nur in nicht-signifikantem Maße. Aber auch das kann einen prinzipiellen Nachteil nicht beheben, dass nämlich nicht alle Erzvorkommen in ihrer Bleiisotopie voneinander verschieden sind. Die evtl. Zuordnung eines Artefaktes zu einem bestimmten Erz ist somit nicht immer eindeutig möglich — und wenn sie es ist, wird das in vielen Fällen nur scheinbar sein. Übrigens teilt die Methode diesen Nachteil mit allen anderen Versuchen, auf naturwissenschaftlichem Wege die Herkunft archäologischer Proben zu bestimmen.

Eine Übereinstimmung der isotopischen Signaturen zeigt eine *mögliche* Herkunft an, aber der Schluss ist nicht zwingend. Es ist nie auszuschließen, dass an anderen Orten Erze mit derselben Isotopie existieren, die dann ebenfalls als Kandidaten für das fragliche Artefakt in Frage kommen. Dabei liegt es in der Natur der Sache, dass zwei oder mehr

verschiedene Erze mit derselben isotopischen Signatur umso eher gefunden werden, je größer die Zahl der analysierten Vorkommen ist. Da diese Zahl in den vergangenen Jahren stetig zugenommen hat, hat sich die Situation in gleichem Masse »verschlechtert«. Manche der Zuordnungen von Artefakten zu Erzvorkommen aus den frühen Jahren der Isotopenarchäometrie sind heute nicht mehr haltbar, zumindest sind sie es nicht mit ihrer vermeintlichen Eindeutigkeit und Ausschließlichkeit.



Abb. 1: Übersicht über die geographische Herkunft der in dieser Arbeit analysierten Artefakte.

Vorstellung der analysierten Artefakte

Wir haben von 140 der von Müller-Karpe (2004) bzw. Helwing und Müller (2004) beschriebenen Artefakte das Blei auf seine isotopische Zusammensetzung analysiert; inbegriffen sind dabei 9 *syrische* Objekte vom Ostufer des heutigen Assadsees, und zwar 6 uruk-zeitliche aus Šaiḥ Hassan sowie 3 ED III-zeitliche aus Halawa (Abb. 1). Zusätzlich berichten wir über 56 mesopotamische Artefakte, die im Rahmen des Mesopotamian Metals Project (MASCA) des University of Pennsylvania Museums, Philadelphia, USA, chemisch und z. T. auch metallographisch untersucht worden sind. Sie wurden uns freundlicherweise von Dr. Stuart Fleming und Dr. Tamara Stech zur Verfügung gestellt.

Tabelle 1 gibt eine pauschale Übersicht über Art und Zeitstellung der untersuchten Objekte; in Tabelle A 1 im Anhang werden die Proben mit den Ergebnissen der Isotopenhäufigkeitsmessungen einzeln vorgestellt. Dabei sind die Häufigkeitsverhältnisse der Blei-Isotope mit den Atommassen 204, 207 und 208 relativ zu der Häufigkeit des Isotops der Masse 206 gelistet. Es ist dieses die in der Archäometallurgie übliche Darstellung; andere Darstellungen sind möglich, sie können jedoch prinzipiell keine zusätzliche Information enthalten. Die Objekte sind geordnet nach chronologischen Perioden, innerhalb der Perioden alphabetisch nach Fundorten. Alle diesbezügliche Information wurde, wie auch die Kurzbeschreibung der Objekte, dem Katalog von Müller-Karpe bzw. Helwing und Müller entnommen¹; für die MASCA-Proben beruhen die Angaben auf Mitteilungen von Dr. S. Fleming und Dr. T. Stech. Die Angaben zu der Art des Metalls, aus dem die Objekte gefertigt sind, basieren auf den chemischen Analysen von Lutz und Pernicka (2004), für die MASCA-Proben auf unveröffentlichten Daten von Fleming.

Bei den untersuchten Objekten handelt es sich *nicht* um einen repräsentativen Querschnitt aller bekannten mesopotamischen Metallartefakte, obgleich die Auswahl das gesamte geographische und chronologische Spektrum abdeckt. Einundfünfzig der Artefakte stammen aus Ur, die meisten davon aus Gräbern des »Königsfriedhofs«, unter ihnen 7 aus ein und demselben »Königsgrab« (PG 580) sowie je 2 weitere aus dem »Königsgrab« PG 779 und aus PG 1687. Bezüglich der chemischen Zusammenset-

¹ Wir danken Herrn Dr. M. Müller-Karpe herzlich für zusätzliche Informationen und Klarstellungen sowie geduldige Diskussionen.

Tabelle 1

Tab. 1: Übersicht über die isotopisch analysierten Artefakte. In Klammern ist die jeweils in der Gesamtzahl enthaltene Zahl von analysierten Bronzen angegeben. Die letzte Spalte zeigt für jede Periode das Verhältnis von gemessenen Bronzeartefakten zur Gesamtzahl der Objekte dieser Periode; es steigt von 0 Prozent in der Urukzeit bis auf etwa 40 Prozent in den späten Phasen. Zu keiner Zeit ist Bronze das dominierende Metall.

Periode	Flachbeile	Meißel	Äxte	Dolche, Messer	Lanzenspitzen, Pfeile	Werkzeug *	Kleinzeug	Schmuck	Varia **	Bronzen
Uruk	8 (0)	4 (0)	0	0	0	0	10 (0)	0	1 (0)	0/23
Gamdat Nasr	2 (0)	1 (0)	0	1 (0)	1 (0)	1 (1)	7 (0)	1 (1)	0	2/14
Früh-Dynast. I	12 (2)	10 (0)	3 (0)	2 (0)	3 (0)	2 (0)	5 (0)	0	3 (1)	3/40
Früh-Dynast. II	0	1 (0)	0	1 (0)	2 (0)	2 (0)	2 (0)	0	6 (1)	1/14
Früh-Dynast. III	3 (2)	3 (2)	7 (3)	5 (2)	8 (6)	3 (0)	7 (3)	5 (1)	7 (0)	19/48
Akkadisch	4 (1)	3 (0)	7 (5)	5 (1)	2 (0)	5 (2)	6 (1)	7 (2)	1 (1)	13/40
»Jünger« und unbekannt	1 (0)	2 (1)	3 (3)	4 (2)	0	2 (0)	2 (1)	3 (1)	1 (0)	8/18
Summe	30 (5)	24 (3)	20 (11)	18 (5)	16 (6)	15 (3)	39 (5)	16 (5)	19 (3)	46/197

Objekte, die nicht einer bestimmten Periode eindeutig zugeordnet werden können, sind bei der jeweils späteren Periode gezählt. Hacke und Griff eines Artefaktes (Gaura 31-52-251) sind in dieser Übersicht separat aufgeführt.

* Sägen, Sichel, andere Beile als Flachbeile, Treibhammer. ** Griffschalen, Röhrenkanne, Spatel, Spiegel, Ständer, Teile von Statuen, Tüllenharpune, Zackenspitze, Zweizack.

zung umfasst unsere Auswahl 46 Bronzeobjekte (Zinngehalt $\geq 1\%$), ein sehr frühes Nadelfragment aus Fara mit einem *Zink*gehalt von $10,5\%$ — also mit einer Zusammensetzung wie typisches modernes Messing² — sowie eine 11 cm lange neu-sumerische Nadel mit Lapislazulikugelpf (Kat.Nr. 1761), deren Hauptbestandteil Silber ist ($50,2\%$ Ag, 31% Cu, alle anderen gemessenen Elemente unter 1%).

Der Zinngehalt der isotopisch analysierten Bronzen schwankt zwischen $1,06\%$ und $17,7\%$. Eine signifikante Häufung von Werten um den mittleren Zinngehalt von $7,6\%$ ist am ehesten vorhanden für ED III-Objekte aus der Mitte des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr. Aber auch in dieser Periode finden sich die Zinngehalte über den gesamten Streubereich verteilt (Abbildg. 2). In diese Periode datieren Texte aus Ebla, die für Bronze über »Rezepturen« mit $8 - 14\%$ Zinn berichten (Limet 1960; Muhly 1983: 350; Waetzoldt und Bachmann 1984). Diese Vorschrift scheint in Mesopotamien nicht generell für alle im Umlauf befindliche Bronze — oder nicht während der gesamten Periode ED III — befolgt worden zu sein. Technische Probleme, Bronze mit vorgegebenem Zinngehalt herzustellen, sind — anders als bei Arsen»bronzen« — schwer vorstellbar, da lt. den Texten die reinen Legierungskomponenten Kupfer und Zinn zusammengeschmolzen wurden (Limet 1960; Muhly 1983; Waetzoldt und Bachmann 1984). Möglicherweise sind die *tiefen* Konzentrationen bewusste Fälschungen, bei denen in betrügerischer Absicht an teurem Zinn gespart wurde. Rational schwerer zu erklären sind dagegen die hohen Zinngehalte. Es fällt allerdings auf, dass die meisten von ihnen an den MASCA-Proben via PIXE (Protonen-induzierte Röntgenstrahlen Emission) gemessen wurden. Die Methode ist prinzipiell ähnlich der Röntgenfluoreszenz- und EDX-Methode, die beide notorisch sind, bei der zerstörungsfreien Analyse von archäologischen Bronzeobjekten häufig unsinnig hohe Zinngehalte vorzutäuschen (s. z.B. Weeks 1997; Lutz 2004). Für PIXE-Analysen sollte das aber gerade *nicht* gelten.

Eine Reduzierung der Streubreite, d.h. eine bessere Konstanz der Zinngehalte, ist über die mehr als 1000 Jahre von Gamdat Nasr bis jünger-als-akkadisch nicht zu beobachten. Das scheint uns besonders bedeutsam, weil undifferenziertes intensives Recycling von Altmetall zwangsläufig

² Die Identifizierung des Metalls als Messing ist zweifelsfrei. Wir haben den MASCA-Wert von $10,5\%$ Zink an einer unabhängigen Probe von 6 mg von uns aufgelösten Bohrspänen mittels Plasma-Emissionsspektrometrie bestätigt gefunden ($11,2\%$ Zink).

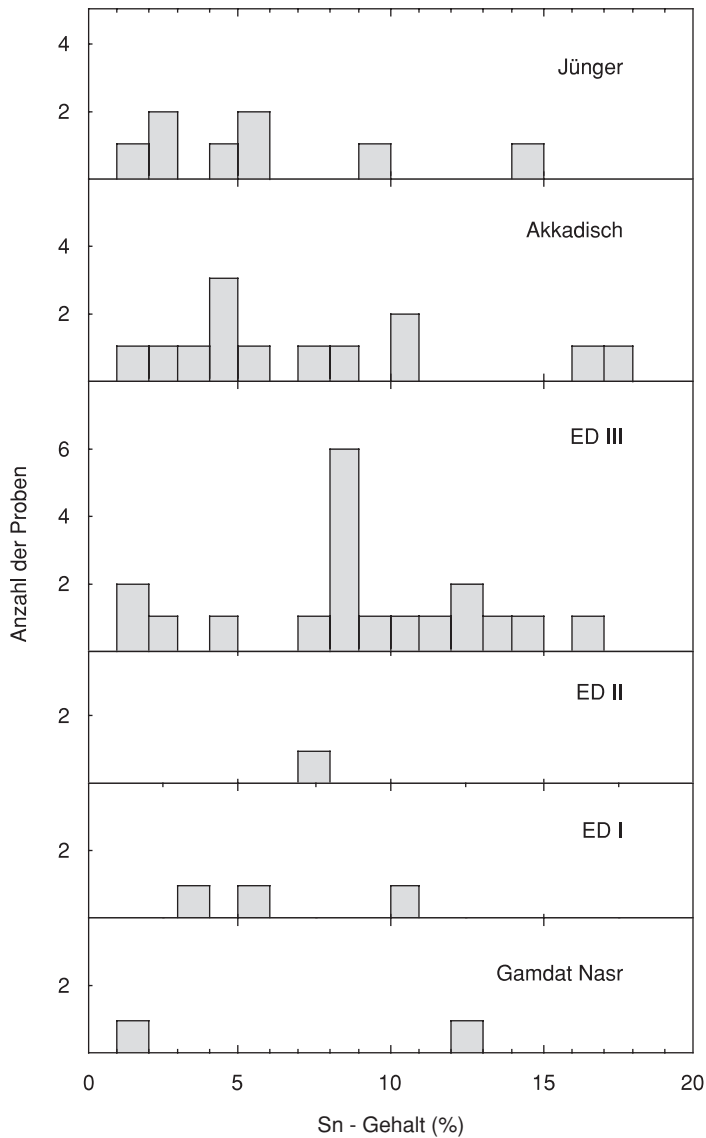


Abb. 2: Die Zinngehalte der blei-isotopisch untersuchten Bronzeobjekte streuen in allen Kulturperioden über etwa denselben Bereich; ein Trend zu einem konstanten Zinngehalt, wie er bei einer Dominanz von wiederverwendetem „Bronze-Schrott« zu erwarten wäre, ist höchstens in ED III vorhanden (siehe Text). Daten von Lutz und Pernicka (2004) und S. Fleming (persönl. Mitteilung).

zu einer weitgehenden Homogenisierung der chemischen Zusammensetzung führt. Gelegentliche apodiktische Feststellungen, ab der Mitte des 3. Jahrtsds. v. Chr. sei eine Bestimmung der Herkunft des in Artefakten verwendeten Kupfers nicht mehr möglich, weil die spezifischen Charakteristika der verschiedenen Herkunftsgebiete durch eben ein solches Mischen bis zur Unkenntlichkeit verwischt seien, werden durch die Verteilung der Zinngehalte in Bronzen aus dem 3. Jahrtsd. nicht gestützt. Für Bronze hat Recycling entweder keine dominierende Rolle gespielt, oder aber es wurde beim Einschmelzen von Altmetall darauf geachtet, jeweils

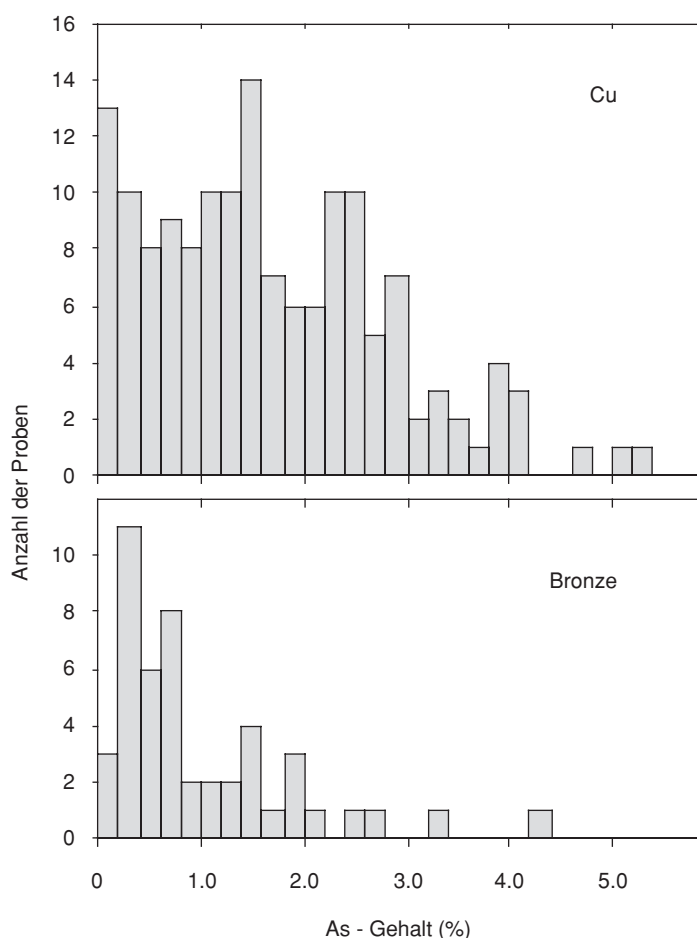


Abb. 3: Bronzeobjekte enthalten im Mittel deutlich weniger Arsen als solche aus Kupfer. Bei den Nicht-Bronzen (oben) ist keine deutliche bi-modale Verteilung der Arsengehalte erkennbar, die eine Unterteilung in As-reich und As-arm als sinnvoll erscheinen ließe.

nur Bronzen mit etwa demselben Zinngehalt zusammenzuschmelzen. Letzteres scheint unwahrscheinlich; es impliziert, die Metallurgen dieser Zeit hätten bereits Möglichkeiten gekannt, den Zinngehalt von Bronzen quantitativ zu bestimmen, wofür es keine Evidenz gibt.

Die Mehrzahl der Objekte besteht aus mehr oder weniger arsen-reichem Kupfer mit einem mittleren Arsengehalt³ von 1,7 %. Die Verteilungskurve der As-Gehalte (Abb. 3, oben) gibt keinen Hinweis, es könne sich bei den Kupferobjekten um zwei Populationen von Artefakten mit verschiedenen As-Gehalten handeln; jede zur Abgrenzung einer Arsen-reichen von einer Arsen-armen Kupfersorte gewählte Arsenkonzentration wäre willkürlich. Eindeutig ist dagegen, dass der mittlere Arsengehalt der *Bronzen* nur etwa halb so hoch ist (0,94 %) wie der der Nicht-Bronzen. Offensichtlich wussten die Metallurgen in der Mitte des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr. bereits, dass Arsen die Eigenschaften von reinem Kupfer in etwa der gleichen Weise verändert wie der Zusatz von Zinn. Sie wussten, Zinn einem arsenreichen Kupfer zuzusetzen, würde weder die Farbe noch die physikalischen Materialeigenschaften derart verändern, dass der Einsatz sich lohnte: es wäre nur die Vergeudung eines wertvollen Materials wie Zinn es war. Die Implikation ist aber außerdem, dass man bereits arsen-reiches von arsen-armen Kupfer zu unterscheiden wusste. Ob diese Kenntnis aus der Wahl der eingesetzten Erze stammte oder aus einer »Analyse« des gewonnenen Metalls, ist nicht klar. Ersteres erscheint uns das Plausiblere zu sein. Wir werden später auf dieses Problem zurückkommen.

Ergebnisse

Abbildung 4 zeigt eine Gesamtübersicht aller gemessenen Isotopenhäufigkeits-verhältnisse. Drei der Proben enthalten radiogenes Blei mit sehr tiefen Häufigkeitsverhältnissen⁴; sie fallen im oberen Teildiagramm auf eine

³ Alle in dieser Arbeit angeführten Mittelwerte für den Gehalt an Spurenelementen beziehen sich auf die blei-isotopisch analysierten Proben einschließlich derjenigen aus dem MASCA-Programm. Sie können durchaus verschieden sein von entsprechenden Angaben bei Lutz und Pernicka (2004). Für die MASCA-Proben liegen keine Angaben für den Goldgehalt vor.

⁴ Terrestrisches Blei besteht aus zwei Komponenten. Die primordiale Komponente mit den Isotopen der Atom-Massen 204, 206, 207 und 208 und den Häufigkeitsverhältnissen $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb} = 3,167$, $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb} = 1,106$ und $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb} = 0,1074$ stammt aus der Zeit der Erdentstehung vor etwa 4,5 Milliarden Jahren. Ihr in variabler Menge zugemischt ist das durch den radioaktiven Zerfall von Thorium (^{238}Th) und Uran (^{238}U und ^{235}U) im Laufe der Erdgeschichte entstandene Blei. Dominiert die zweite Komponente, spricht man — wenig präzise — von »radiogenem Blei«. Das ist in etwa der Fall für $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb} < 2,04$; $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb} < 0,82$ und $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb} < 0,052$.

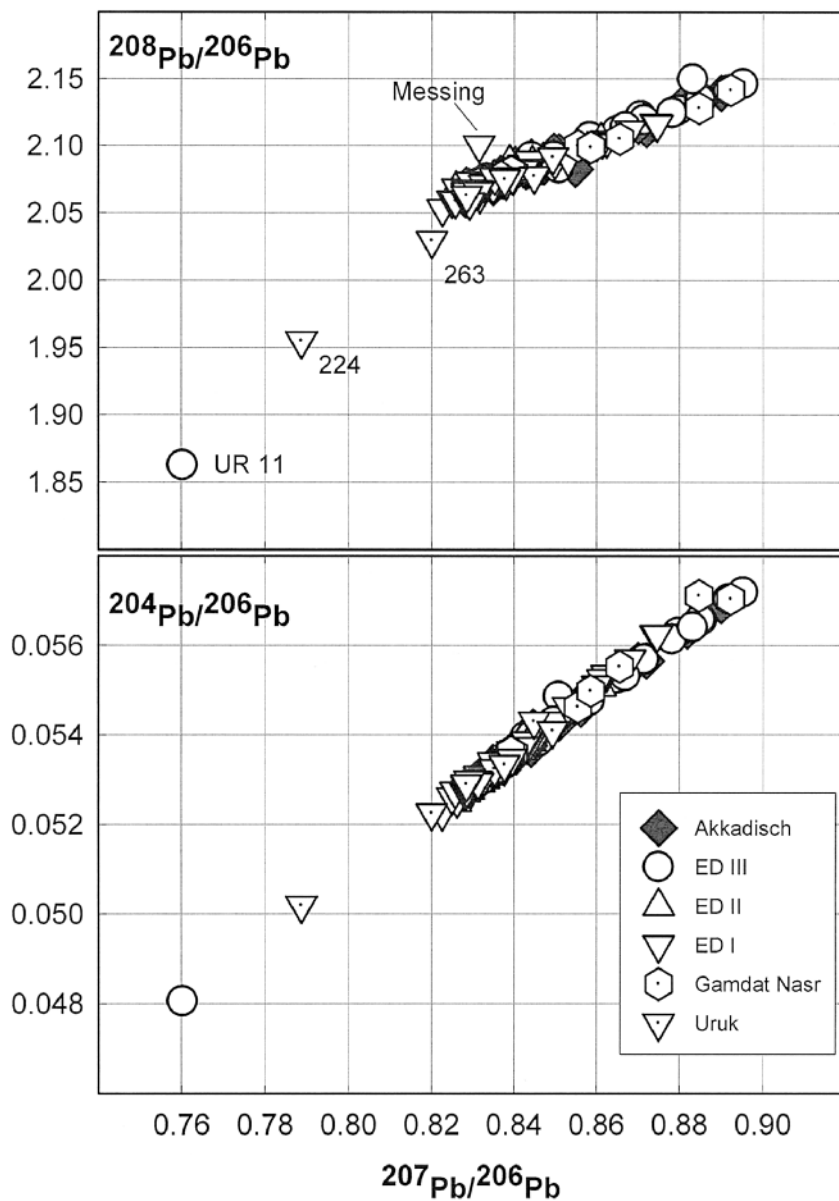


Abb. 4: Übersicht über alle gemessenen Isotopenhäufigkeitsverhältnisse. Die drei Ausreißer mit tiefen Verhältnissen sind 2 Uruk-zeitliche Kupferobjekte aus Gaura (Kat.Nr. 224 und 263) sowie ein ED III Bronze-Meißel aus Ur (UR 11). — In dieser sowie allen folgenden Abbildungen sind die mit den Messungen verbundenen Unsicherheiten in den Häufigkeitsverhältnissen wesentlich kleiner als die Symbole, nur etwa Stecknadelkopf groß.

andere, steilere Regressionsgerade als alle anderen Proben. In diesem Teildiagramm fällt außerdem auf, dass die (einzige) Messingprobe (FARA 8) messbar verschieden oberhalb der übrigen Proben liegt. Dieses Blei hat einen Überschuss an ^{208}Pb , dem Zerfallsprodukt von ^{232}Th ; es stammt offenbar aus einem geochemisch ungewöhnlichen Reservoir mit ungewöhnlich hohem Thorium/Uran-Verhältnis. Möglicherweise ist diese isotopische Anomalität erst in dem Muttererz des Messings, oder in dem einer seiner Legierungskomponenten, entstanden. Das Th/U-Verhältnis in *Erzen* ist im Allgemeinen verschieden von dem im Ausgangsreservoir, so dass bei hohen Erzaltern und hohem Thorium/Blei-Verhältnis ein merklicher Zuwachs an radiogenem ^{208}Pb - *in situ* entstehen kann. Extreme Beispiele, allerdings einer Anreicherung von Uran gegenüber Thorium, sind vermutlich die drei angesprochenen Objekte mit sehr tiefen Häufigkeitsverhältnissen.

Das Blei der neusumerischen Silbernadel vom Königsfriedhof in Ur dagegen (Kat.Nr. 1761) fällt zusammen mit dem zahlreicher Kupferobjekte.

Zeitliche und/oder regionale Unterschiede

Die uruk-zeitlichen Objekte sind bemerkenswert einheitlich in der isotopischen Zusammensetzung ihres Bleis (Abb. 5, unten)⁵. Bis auf einen Ausreißer mit radiogenem Blei (ein Flachbeil aus Gaura (Kat. Nr. 224) links außerhalb des Histogramms) und zwei Objekte auf der hohen Seite, fallen 20 der Kupferproben in einen sehr engen Bereich, wobei insbesondere 5 der 6 Proben aus dem syrischen Šaiḥ Hassan kaum voneinander verschieden sind. Die in das Ende des 4. Jahrtaus. v. Chr. datierenden Artefakte unterscheiden sich somit nicht systematisch voneinander in ihrem isotopischen Fingerabdruck. Die Bleiisotopie gibt keinen Hinweis darauf, dass zu dieser Zeit Gaura im extremen Norden, Šaiḥ Hassan im extremen Westen und Uruk im Süden (Abb. 1) ihr Kupfer aus verschiedenen Quellen bezogen hätten. Aber ein Beweis, dass die Quellen dieselben waren, sind die Ergebnisse natürlich nicht.

⁵ Nach Abbildung 4 sind die Isotopenhäufigkeitsverhältnisse $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$, $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ und $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ positiv miteinander korreliert; hohen $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ -Verhältnissen entsprechen auch hohe $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ - und hohe $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ -Verhältnisse. Für eine qualitative Diskussion ist es daher hinreichend, nur eines der Häufigkeitsverhältnisse zu betrachten. Wir haben dafür $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ gewählt.

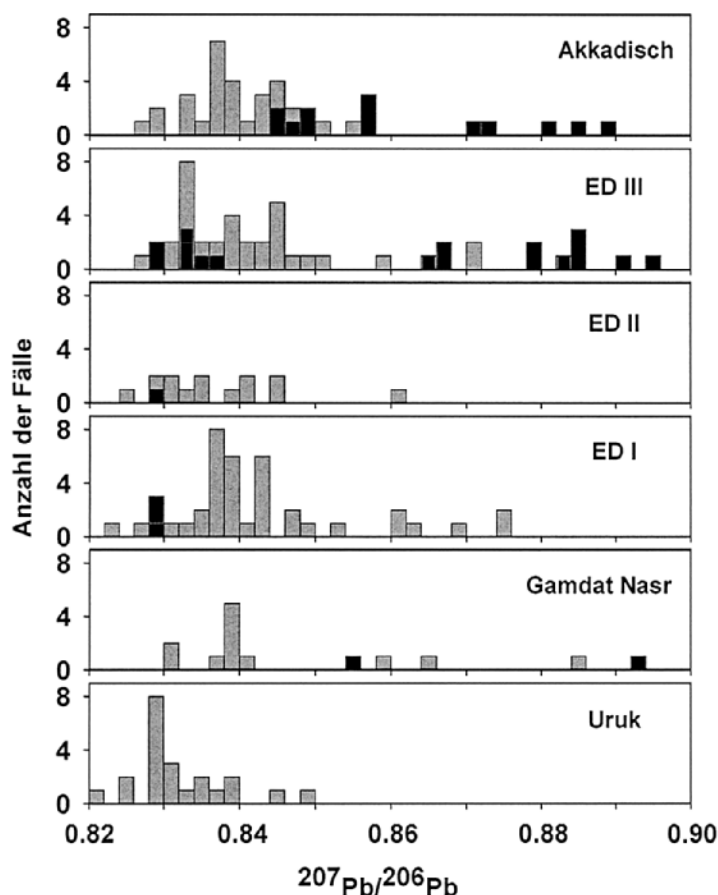


Abb. 5: Aufgeschlüsselt nach zeitlichen Perioden, zeigt sich eine zunehmende isotopische Heterogenität der in den Proben enthaltenen Spuren von Blei. Wir deuten das als Evidenz für eine im Laufe der Zeit zunehmende Zahl von verschiedenen Erzvorkommen, deren Kupfer in Mesopotamien verwendet wurde. Die weite Streuung ist vorwiegend auf das Blei der Bronzen (schwarz) zurückzuführen.

In den späteren Perioden ist nach wie vor die isotopische Signatur der uruk-zeitlichen Artefakte vorhanden, aber sie ist nicht mehr dominant. Die Streubreite der vorkommenden Isotopenverhältnisse nimmt zu; insbesondere spielen hohe Häufigkeitsverhältnisse jetzt eine zunehmende Rolle. Das deutet sich bereits während der Gamdat Nasr-Zeit an, ist aber dann besonders deutlich für die Objekte der Perioden Früh-Dynastisch III und Akkadisch aus der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrtaus. v. Chr. (Abb. 5, oben).

Dabei handelt es sich bei den »gleichzeitig« im Umlauf befindlichen Objekten aus Erzen verschiedener Herkunft nicht um eine durch die mangelnde zeitliche Auflösung nur vorgetäuschte scheinbare Gleichzeitigkeit. Das zeigen eindrücklich die sieben Artefakte aus einem Grab in Ur (PG 580), die als Grabbeigaben aus ein und demselben Grab wohl mit Sicherheit nicht mehr als einige Jahrzehnte verschieden im Alter sein werden. Zwei Vierkant-Speerspitzen aus Bronze mit 8 % Zinn (# 1507 und 1508) sind in ihrer Isotopie nicht unterscheidbar ($2,134 - 0,885 - 0,0566$); ein Bronzering mit 4,6 % Zinn (# 2021a) liegt deutlich höher ($2,146 - 0,895 - 0,0572$), und drei Kupferobjekte (# 1592, 2069 und UR 52) sehr viel tiefer; am extremsten aber ist der Bronze-Meißel UR 11 mit seinem radiogenen Blei (Abb. 4). Hier also war ganz offensichtlich gleichzeitig Kupfer aus mindestens vier verschiedenen Quellen im Umlauf.

Es ist bemerkenswert, dass die *hohen* Häufigkeitsverhältnisse fast ausschließlich in Bronzen vorkommen. Das zeigt sich eindrucksvoll bei den Objekten aus Ur (Abb. 6), die vorwiegend in die Perioden ED III (30 Objekte) und Akkadisch ($n=13$) datieren. Mit Ausnahme eines Meißels (# UR 11) mit sehr radiogenem Blei im unteren linken Teil von Abb. 6 fallen die Proben in zwei deutlich voneinander getrennte Bereiche des Diagramms, wobei der obere Bereich, wiederum mit einer einzigen Ausnahme (Tüllenharpune, Kat. Nr. 1592, ED III), ausschließlich von Bronzen bevölkert ist.

Das Umgekehrte gilt nicht: nicht alle Bronzen gehören zu der »hohen« Gruppe; fünf von ihnen fallen vielmehr in den »tiefen« Bereich zusammen mit den Nicht-Bronzen; als Gruppe sind sie isotopisch nicht von den Nicht-Bronzen zu unterscheiden. Vier dieser ED III-Bronzen aus Ur haben Zinngehalte zwischen 8 % und 13 % und entsprechen damit der bereits erwähnten Bronze-Rezeptur aus Ebla.

Häufiger aber sind bei den Bronzeartefakten die *hohen* Isotopenhäufigkeitsverhältnisse. Dieses Metall stammt eindeutig aus (einer) anderen Quelle(n). Die Tatsache als solche, dass sich in Ur Metall aus verschiedenen Quellen findet, überrascht nicht; die Trennung aber in zwei so deutlich separierte Gruppen ist unerwartet. Sie ist ein weiteres Indiz, wie wenig die Wiederverwendung von Metall zu einer Homogenisierung geführt hat. Und während man beim Einschmelzen von Bronze-»Abfall« möglicherweise noch argumentieren kann, die mesopotamischen Metallurgen hätten sehr wohl den Zinngehalt von Bronzen genau bestimmen können und dann eben doch nur Abfälle mit jeweils etwa gleichem Zinngehalt zusammengeschmolzen, so

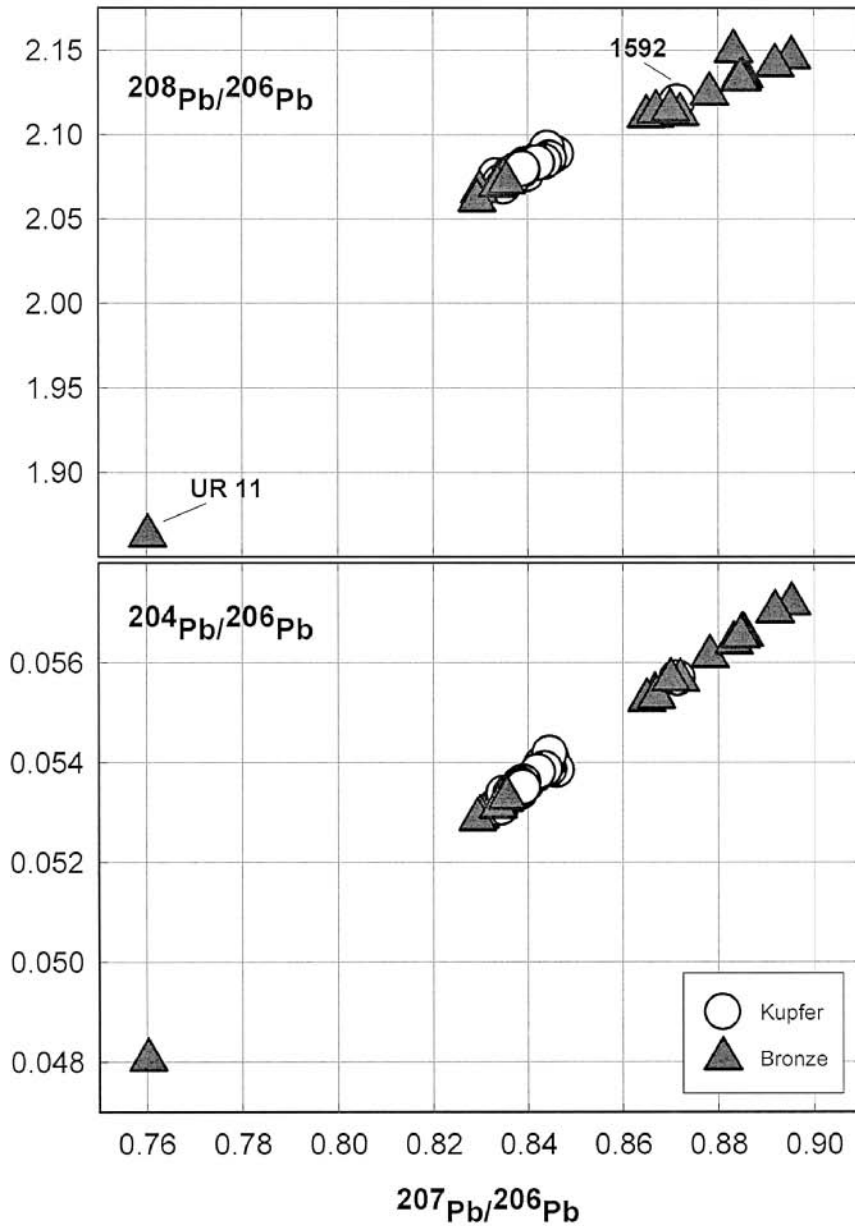


Abb. 6: Die vornehmlich in die Kulturperioden ED III (n=30) und Akkadisch (n=13) datierenden Artefakte aus Ur bilden blei-isotopisch zwei deutlich voneinander abgegrenzte Gruppen, wobei die obere Gruppe mit einer Ausnahme nur durch Bronzen (graue Dreiecke) definiert ist. Umgekehrt gilt diese Ausschließlichkeit nicht; 5 der Bronzen fallen an das linke, untere Ende der Gruppe der Kupferobjekte (offene Kreise).

kann eine solche Möglichkeit für die isotopische Signatur des Bleis der Bronzen nun in der Tat mit Sicherheit ausgeschlossen werden.

Zur Herkunft der Metalle

a. Prinzip und Probleme

Die Methode der Bestimmung der möglichen Herkunft des Metalls von chalkolithischen und bronzezeitlichen Artefakten mit Hilfe der Bleiisotopie ist im Prinzip elegant, einfach und störungsfrei; *in praxi* jedoch kann es Probleme mit der Deutung der Ergebnisse geben. Hier ist nicht der Ort, die Kontroversen dazu fortzuführen (siehe z. B. Gale and Stos-Gale (1985), Muhly (1985), Budd et al. (1995), Gale and Stos-Gale (1995), Pernicka (1995), Knapp (2000), Gale (2001)). Wir beschränken uns auf eine Diskussion der Probleme, die zwangsläufig bei der Analyse von Legierungen auftreten.

Bei Bronze als einer Zweistofflegierung aus Kupfer und Zinn ist *a priori* nicht klar, ob das Blei ausschließlich aus einer der beiden Komponenten stammt und, wenn ja, aus welcher. Eine direkte Überprüfung, wieviel Blei mit dem verwendeten Zinn assoziiert gewesen sein mag, ist z. Zt. nicht möglich, da aus der frühen Bronzezeit keine Zinnbarren bekannt sind. Möglicherweise hängt deren Fehlen damit zusammen, dass sich metallisches Zinn bei Temperaturen unterhalb von etwa 13°C von der weißen, glänzenden Modifikation in das bröselige »graue« Zinn umwandelt (s. z. B. Maddin 1989) und dieses wegen seiner unscheinbaren Farbe und Konsistenz bei Grabungen leicht übersehen werden kann. Vielleicht spielt aber auch eine Rolle, dass es sich bei den Artefakten vorwiegend um Grabbeigaben handelt, und unter denen scheinen Metallbarren jedweder Art eher selten zu sein.

Wir sind daher bezüglich des Bleigehaltes des verwendeten Zinns auf indirekte Evidenz angewiesen, und die spricht ausnahmslos gegen die Annahme, das Blei in den Bronzen sei vornehmlich durch das Zinn eingetragen worden. Im einfachsten Fall, dass das eingesetzte Zinn einen konstanten Bleigehalt hatte, sollten, wenn das Blei durch das Zinn eingetragen worden wäre, in den Bronzeobjekten die Gehalte an Blei und Zinn positiv korreliert sein: Hohe Zinngehalte sollten einhergehen mit hohem Bleigehalt. Das jedoch ist nicht der Fall (Abb. 7). Dann gibt es den Befund, dass das Häufigkeitsverteilungsdiagramm der Bleigehalte für die Bronzen nicht

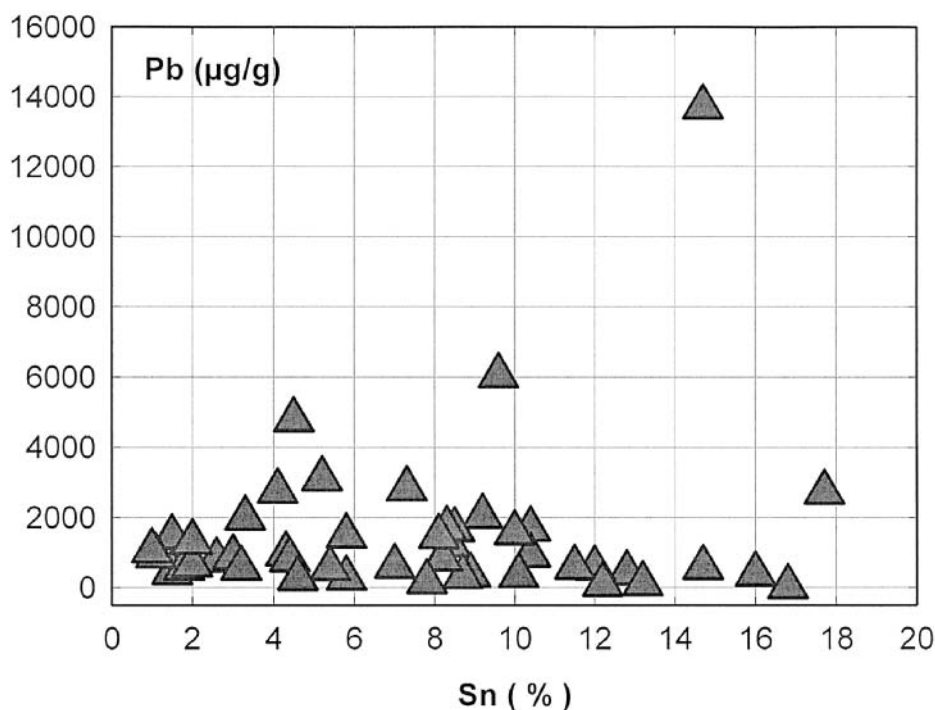


Abb. 7: Der Bleigehalt der Bronzeartefakte ist nicht korreliert mit dem Gehalt an Zinn, wie man es erwarten würde, wenn das Blei der Bronzen durch das Zinn eingetragen worden wäre.

signifikant zu höheren Konzentrationen verschoben ist, wie es der Fall sein sollte, wenn ein merklicher Teil des Bleis durch das Zinn eingetragen worden wäre (Abb. 8). Und schließlich gibt es die Ergebnisse für die frühesten bisher bekannten Zinnbarren aus der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrtsds. v. Chr. Maddin (1989: 102) zitiert Ergebnisse von E. Galili, nach denen in 11 Proben von Zinn »excavated at Ha Hotrin« der Bleigehalt kleiner als 100 µg/g ist. Begemann et al. (1999) fanden für 15 Barren von den Schiffswracks von Hishuley Carmel und Kefar Shamir vor Haifa (Galili et al. 1986) sowie von Uluburun (Kaş) vor der türkischen Südküste (Pulak 1997, 2000) typische Bleikonzentrationen von nur etwa 50 µg/g, und für 32 Barren aus der Schiffsladung von Uluburun berichten Hauptmann et al. (2002) einen mittleren Bleigehalt (n=32) von 0,1 %⁶. Das jedoch reicht nicht aus,

⁶ Der in der Arbeit in Tab. 4 angeführte Mittelwert von 0,016 % Blei ist ein »Zahlen-dreher«; richtig ist 0,106 %.

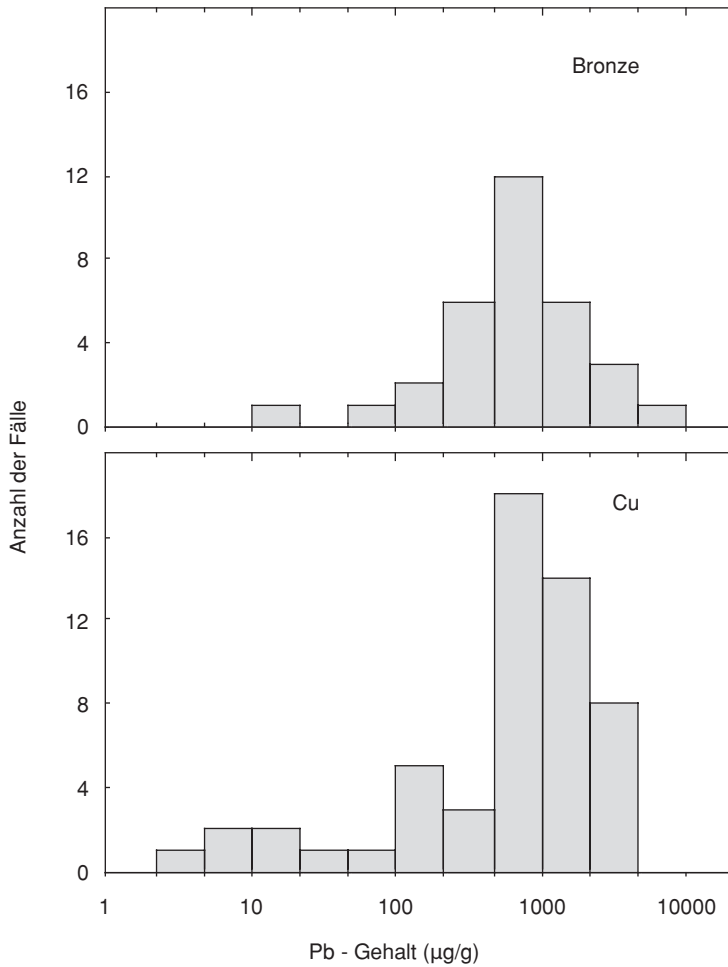


Abb. 8: Die Häufigkeitsverteilung der Bleigehalte ist für Bronzen nicht signifikant anders als für Artefakte aus Rein-Kupfer. Insbesondere ist bei den Bronzen keine Verschiebung zu höheren Bleigehalten festzustellen, wie es der Fall sein sollte, wenn das Zinn einen merklichen Anteil zum Blei der Bronzen beigetragen hätte.

die Bleigehalte der „ortsüblichen« Kupfer zu überdecken; ein Zinngehalt von 10 % würde im letzteren Fall gerade einmal 100 µg Blei pro Gramm Bronze beitragen.

Aber vielleicht war das Blei auch weder mit dem Kupfer noch mit dem Zinn assoziiert. Die Texte von Ebla aus der Mitte des 3. Jahrtsds. v. Chr. enthalten detaillierte Angaben zur Herstellung von Bronze, und in diesen Angaben ist unter den Zutaten auch ein »verlorener« Zuschlagstoff aufge-

führt, der in der mengenmäßigen Endrechnung nicht mehr erscheint (Muhly 1983; Waetzold und Bachmann 1984). Eine Identifizierung dieses Zuschlages steht noch aus; Holzkohle ist wegen seiner oxidationshemmenden Wirkung vorgeschlagen, aber wegen des aus den Texten bekannten hohen Preises des »verlorenen« Zuschlages wieder verworfen worden. Demselben Zweck wie Holzkohle könnte möglicherweise auch Borax gedient haben (Pernicka 1984), doch das ist z. Zt. rein hypothetisch. Untersuchungen zur Löslichkeit von Bor in Bronze sind uns nicht bekannt; ebenso hat man wohl bisher nicht nach Spuren von Bor in alten Bronzeartefakten gesucht, was möglicherweise den Vorschlag stützen könnte. Zudem, und das ist im gegenwärtigen Zusammenhang relevant, ist weder der Bleigehalt von möglicherweise verwendetem Borax aus einem der Salzseen Zentralasiens bekannt noch gar die isotopische Zusammensetzung dieses Bleis.

Trotz mancher Vorbehalte gehen wir im Folgenden davon aus, dass das Blei der Bronzeartefakte aus dem jeweils verwendeten Kupfer stammt. Möglicherweise trifft das nicht zu für die zwei Objekte, die etwa 1,5 % Blei enthalten⁷. Bei ihnen ist nicht klar, ob es sich nicht um gewollte Kupfer-Blei-Legierungen handelt, wo also dem Kupfer Fremdblei zugesetzt wurde. Bereits aus der späten Uruk-Zeit sind solch bleireichen Kupferobjekte aus Mesopotamien bekannt (s. z. B. Pernicka 1990: 54ff). Physikalisch unterscheiden sie sich von reinem Kupfer insbesondere durch die höhere Fluidität ihrer Schmelze; ein Zusatz von Blei war also z. B. von Vorteil, wenn es um die Herstellung von filigranen Objekten oder um solche mit detaillierten Oberflächenstrukturen ging. Allerdings bewirken Bleibeimengungen von 1,5 % nur marginale Veränderungen, und an Sichelbeile und Messer — darum handelt es sich bei den beiden fraglichen Objekten — stellt man üblicherweise mechanische Anforderungen, die durch den Zusatz von Blei gerade negativ beeinflusst werden.

Schließlich gibt es das bereits angesprochene Problem der Verwischung der isotopischen Signatur bei der Wiederverwendung von Metallabfällen. Mesopotamien hat zu allen Zeiten seinen Bedarf an Metall durch Importe

⁷ Die beiden Artefakte mit hohem Bleigehalt sind ein kupfernes Sichelbeil aus ED II-Agrab (Kat.Nr. 33) mit 1,44 % Blei und ein sehr spätes (kassitisches) bronzenes Messerfragment aus Nippur (NIPPUR 14) mit 1,37 % Blei. Die mittleren Bleigehalte bzw. Mediane aller isotopisch analysierten Objekte sind wie folgt: Uruk (n=23): 0,037 % und 0,017 %; Gamdet Nasr (n=14): 0,082 % und 0,078 %; ED I (n=40): 0,087 % und 0,056 %; ED II (n=14): 0,21 % und 0,12 %; ED III (n=48): 0,083 % und 0,062 %; Akkadisch (n=40): 0,13 % und 0,097 %; jünger-als-akkadisch (n=18): 0,22 % und 0,11 %.

decken müssen; Metall war zu allen Zeiten ein wertvolles Gut, mit dem man sorgsam umging, das gesammelt, eingeschmolzen und wieder verwendet wurde. In solchen Fällen wird zwar in Zeiten eines expandierenden Marktes das neu auf den Markt kommende jungfräuliche Metall überwiegen, aber auch dann wird ein gewisser Anteil der im Umlauf befindlichen Artefakte aus »Altmetall« gefertigt sein. Das Blei solcher Objekte wird dann eine Mischung des Bleis der eingeschmolzenen Stücke sein; die isotopische Zusammensetzung dieses Bleis ist ebenfalls eine Mischung. Eine Erzlagerstätte mit einer solchen isotopischen Signatur muss es nicht geben — und gäbe es sie, so wäre eine Zuordnung des Artefaktbleis zu diesem Vorkommen offensichtlich unsinnig.

Ein objektives Kriterium, wieder verwendetes von »neuem« Metall zu unterscheiden, gibt es nicht. So ist z. B. auf Grund des Zinngehaltes nicht zu entscheiden, ob die Bronzen mit nur einigen wenigen Prozent Zinn originäre Produkte sind oder ob es sich um Mischungen von zinnreichem Bronze-Abfall und reinem Kupfer handelt, die zusammen eingeschmolzen wurden. Wir haben eingangs die Gründe vorgetragen, die u. E. dafür sprechen, dass es sich *nicht* um solche Mischungen sondern um originäre Produkte handelt. Klar ist, dass Mischungen von Metallen in keiner ihrer materiellen Eigenschaften extrem sein können. Bei den Gehalten an Spurenelementen gilt das insbesondere für extrem *geringe* Konzentrationen. Artefakte mit einem Arsengehalt von einigen wenigen Mikrogramm pro Gramm können schwerlich eine Mischung von »Altmetall« sein, wenn dessen mittlerer Arsengehalt im Prozentbereich liegt. Dasselbe gilt für Goldkonzentrationen von kleiner als 0,1 µg/g bei einem mittleren Goldgehalt von 10 µg/g, oder, im Falle von Kobalt, für Objekte mit wenigen Mikrogramm pro Gramm und einem mittleren Kobaltgehalt, der hundertmal höher ist. Insgesamt ist bei 20 der hier isotopisch analysierten Objekte die Konzentration von mindestens einem der gemessenen Spurenelemente so extrem tief, dass eine Mischung praktisch ausgeschlossen werden kann (Lutz und Pernicka 2004).

b. Mögliche Quellregionen

Zur Identifizierung von möglichen Quellen für das mesopotamische Kupfer stehen Daten für insgesamt etwa 350 Proben aus mehr als 160 Vorkommen von Kupfererzen und -Schlacken in Anatolien (ca. 85), Iran (35), »Kaukasien« (10), Afghanistan (5), dem Oman (25) und Feinan/Timna zur

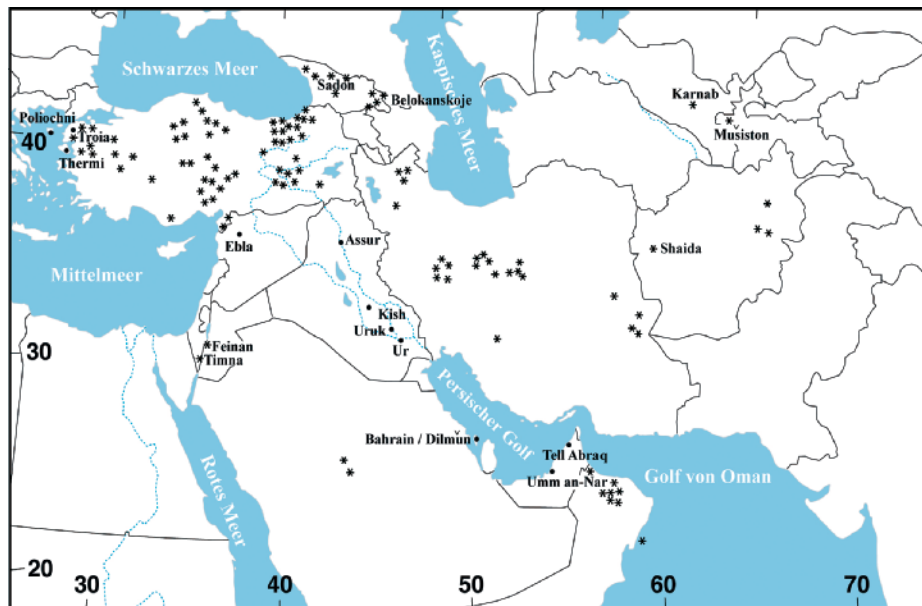


Abb. 9: Übersichtskarte über die geographische Herkunft der auf die isotopische Zusammensetzung ihres Bleis analysierten Vorkommen von Kupfer-Erzen, -Schlacken und gediegen Kupfer. Einige der im Text angesprochenen archäologischen Fundorte sind markiert (●).

Verfügung (Abb. 9). Es handelt sich um die Ergebnisse eigener Messungen (Seeliger et al. 1985; Wagner et al. 1986, 1989, 2003; Hauptmann et al. 1992, 2003; Begemann et al. 2003; Begemann et al. in Vorbereitung; Tabelle A2 dieser Arbeit) sowie von Yener et al. (1991), Hirao et al. (1995), Sayre et al. (2001), Nezafati (2006) und Pernicka (unveröffentlicht). Daten von Meliksetian et al. (2003) für etwa 35 armenische Erze waren uns nicht vollständig und in numerischer Form zugänglich; sie wurden nicht berücksichtigt.

Dabei ist die Beprobungsdichte in Anatolien sehr viel größer als im Iran; dort stammen die meisten Erze aus den großen zentralpersischen Bergbaugebieten von Anarak und Kashan/Arisman, aus der Zone in Ostpersien zwischen den Malik-i Siah-Bergen und der Sistan-Senke an der Grenze zu Afghanistan sowie aus dem »neuen« Kupfer-Arsen-Zinn-Vorkommen von Deh Hosein (Nezafati 2006), das in der Bronzezeit Luristans möglicherweise eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt hat (Nezafati et al. 2006; Begemann et al. 2008). In Anatolien dagegen sind neben den

drei bedeutendsten Kupferproduzenten Ergani im oberen Tigris, Küre in den westlichen Pontiden nahe der mittleren Schwarzmeerküste und Murgul in den nordöstlichen Pontiden nahe Batumi an der Grenze zum heutigen Georgien auch zahlreiche kleine Vorkommen vertreten, die heute zwar wirtschaftlich völlig bedeutungslos, in prähistorischer Zeit aber nachweislich ausgebeutet worden sind (Wagner und Öztunali 2000; Wagner et al. 2003; s. dort auch Hinweise auf Originalliteratur). Unter diesen Proben werden wir zunächst nach Übereinstimmung mit den Artefakten in der isotopischen Zusammensetzung ihres Bleis suchen.

Für alle Uruk-zeitlichen Objekte mit Ausnahme eines der Flachbeile aus Gaura (Kat.Nr. 224) mit seinem radiogenen Blei finden sich in der Datei Kupfererze und/oder Kupferschlacken mit passender isotopischer Signatur. Die Vorkommen liegen einmal in einem breiten Gürtel in Anatolien, der sich vom zentral-anatolischen Hochland östlich von Ankara (Derekütüğün, Karaali, Üçoluk) über den Oberlauf des Euphrat (*Ergani*, Kisabekir, *Mamlis*) bis zur Schwarzmeerküste bei Trabzon (Asarcik, *Camili*, Girezun/Tirebolu, *Gölcük*, *Karadağ*, Karaerik, Kayabaşı Kürtüm, Kürt Maden, *Kürtün/Çayırçukur*, Lahanos Maden, Tekmezar) erstreckt. (Bei den kursiv gedruckten Vorkommen gibt es eindeutige Evidenz für den prähistorischen Abbau von Kupfererzen (Wagner und Öztunali 2000)). Dominant sind Erze und Schlacken aus dem Gebiet zwischen Ankara und Ergani; für 18 der insgesamt 23 Objekte gibt es hier isotopische Entsprechungen. Von den (wenigen) analysierten Proben von *gediegenem* Kupfer aus diesem Gebiet hat keine eine passende isotopische Zusammensetzung ihres Bleis. Da außerdem dieses gediegene Kupfer sehr rein ist⁸ — nur in einer Probe wurde ein Arsengehalt von 0,068 % gemessen; in allen anderen Fällen war die Konzentration von Arsen genau wie die der anderen Spurenelemente Antimon, Gold, Kobalt, Nickel und Silber stets kleiner als 0,01 % — gibt es in unseren Daten keinen Hinweis, dass das gediegene Kupfer aus »Ergani« im frühen Mesopotamien eine nachweisbare Rolle gespielt hat. Das überrascht insbesondere für die älteste Kulturperiode, während der man am ehesten eine Dominanz von gediegenem Kupfer über erschmolzenes Kupfer erwarten würde.

⁸ Die bleiisotopischen Ergebnisse finden sich in Seeliger et al. (1985), Wagner et al. (1989) und Hirao et al. (1995), eine Zusammenstellung der chemischen Daten in Pernicka et al. (1997, Tab. A3a).

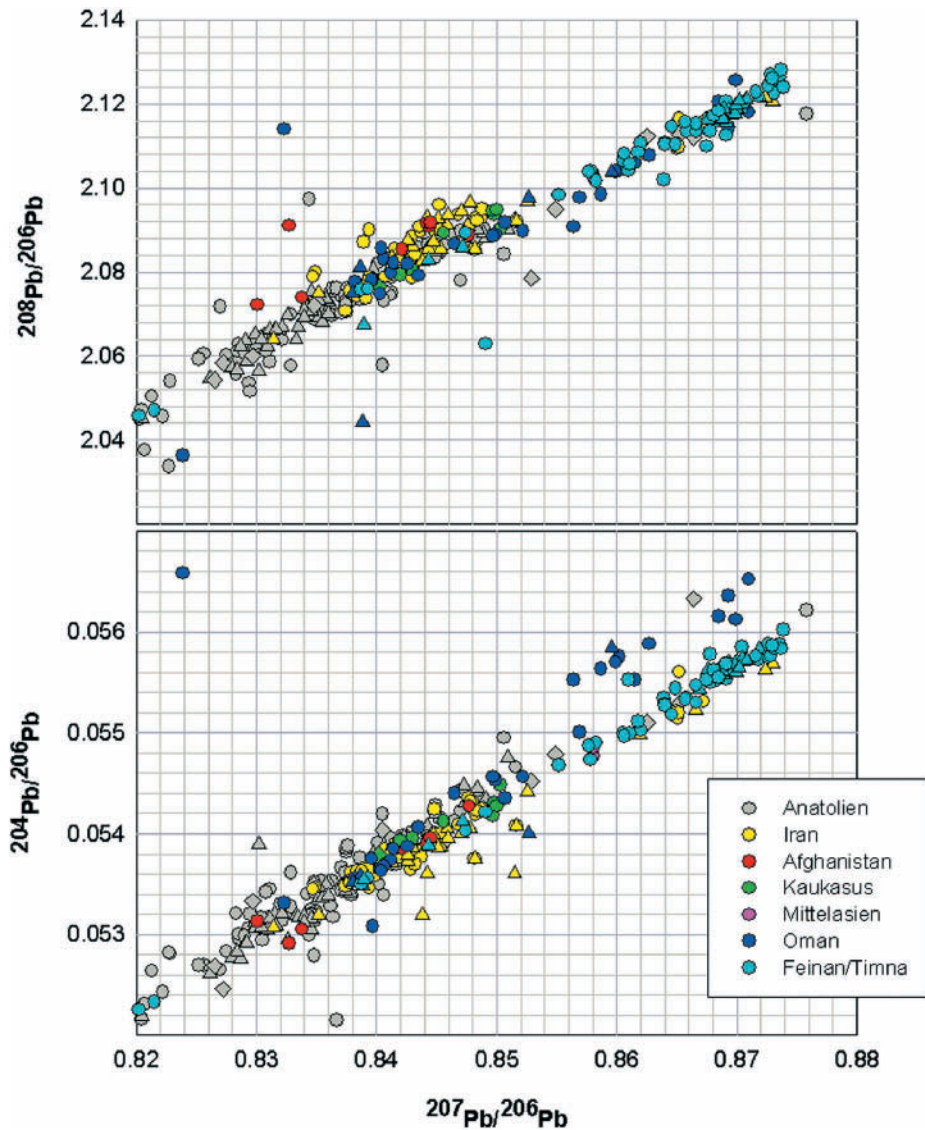


Abb. 10: Übersicht über die isotopische Zusammensetzung des Bleis in Kupfererzen (●), Kupferschlacken (▲) und gediegen Kupfer (◆) aus Vorkommen in Vorderasien. Insbesondere im mittleren Bereich der Häufigkeitsverhältnisse überlappen Proben aus dem gesamten vorderasiatischen Raum; hier ist eine eindeutige Zuordnung zu einer bestimmten Region nicht möglich. Bei tiefen und hohen $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ -Verhältnissen, etwa $< 0,835$ und $> 0,855$, ist die Mehrdeutigkeit auf Vorkommen aus derselben Region reduziert; hier ist eine Zuordnung von Artefakten zu einer bestimmten Region oder einer bestimmten Lokalität (noch) möglich. Besonders hilfreich ist dabei das untere Teildiagramm mit den $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ -Verhältnissen. — Die mit den Messungen verbundenen experimentellen Unsicherheiten sind vergleichbar mit der Größe der Symbol.

In aller Regel existiert zu jedem der Artefakte mehr als ein Vorkommen mit passender Isotopie; die Zuordnung eines Artefaktes zu einem bestimmten Kupfervorkommen anhand der isotopischen Zusammensetzung des Bleis ist somit nicht eindeutig (s. dazu auch Sayre et al., 2001). Diese Mehrdeutigkeit ist prinzipiell nicht beschränkt auf Erze aus einer räumlich eng begrenzten Region, etwa aus Ergani oder dem zentralen Taurus, wie man es eben wegen der geographischen Nähe der Fundorte intuitiv erwarten könnte. Für manche Bereiche der isotopischen Zusammensetzung, besonders etwa für solche charakterisiert durch $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ -Verhältnisse zwischen 0,84 bis 0,85, gibt es vielmehr Erze von Oman bis in den Kaukasus und von Anatolien bis nach Afghanistan, die isotopisch nicht voneinander zu unterscheiden sind (Abb. 10).

Für die Mehrzahl der uruk-zeitlichen Objekte ist die Mehrdeutigkeit beschränkt auf Erze aus Zentral- und Nordostanatolien zwischen Ankara und Ergani. Nur für die sieben Artefakte mit $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ -Verhältnissen größer als 0,835 kennen wir isotopisch-konkurrierende Kupfererze sowohl aus Zentralpersien (Chehelkureh, Qaleh Zari, Tang-e-Chenar, Karkas) als auch aus Oman und aus Afghanistan. Auch sie könnten das Kupfer dieser Objekte geliefert haben.

Dieses Überangebot an isotopisch entsprechenden Kupfererzen wird drastisch reduziert, wenn zusätzlich auch die chemische Evidenz berücksichtigt wird. In der Tat kommt keines der anatolischen Erze — für die persischen Erze sind uns keine chemischen Analysen bekannt — von seinen Gehalten an Spurenelementen als möglicher Kandidat für das Kupfer der Artefakte in Frage: Entweder die *Elementkonzentrationen* oder aber — noch signifikanter — *Elementverhältnisse* wie Ni/Co oder As/Sb sind in Erzen und Artefakten um Größenordnungen voneinander verschieden. Nickel und Kobalt z. B. sind in den fraglichen Erzen etwa gleich häufig, bei den Artefakten dagegen ist Nickel 100 bis 1000 mal häufiger als Kobalt, und solch drastische Veränderungen können schwerlich bei den pyrometallurgischen Prozessen auf dem Weg vom Erz zum Metall entstanden sein (s. z. B. Pernicka 1990).

Die Situation ist günstiger für die Kupfererze aus Oman. Aus zahlreichen sehr ausführlichen Keilschrifttexten des 3. Jahrtausends ist bekannt, dass mesopotamisches Kupfer aus dem Lande Makan oder Magan importiert wurde. Wo aber dieses Land Makan zu suchen sein sollte, war und ist aus den topographischen und geographischen Angaben nicht eindeutig abzuleiten (s. z. B. Weisgerber 1980, 1991). Spekulationen, es handle sich

möglicherweise um Oman, gründeten auf dem Befund, dass chemische Analysen von omanischen Kupfererzen und -schlacken gelegentlich dieselben erhöhten Nickelgehalte zeigten, wie sie in gewisser Weise für mesopotamische Artefakte charakteristisch sind (Peake 1928; Desch 1929; Berthoud 1979; Prange et al. 1999; Prange 2001). Sie gewannen an Plausibilität mit der Entdeckung der dortigen riesigen prähistorischen Kupferschlackenhalde. Die Ergebnisse unserer Isotopenanalysen sind jetzt ein weiterer objektiver Befund im Einklang mit einer solchen Zuordnung, oder, mit mehr Vorbehalt: die Ergebnisse sind verträglich mit der Annahme, ab der Mitte des 3. Jahrtaus. v. Chr. (ED I) stamme ein beträchtlicher Anteil des in Mesopotamien verwendeten Kupfers aus Quellen im Oman.

An der Wende vom 4. zum 3. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend (Gamdat Nasr und Früh-Dynastisch I) endet die Dominanz der »Ergani-Signatur«; es deutet sich eine Verschiebung in der Bedeutung der verschiedenen Regionen an und »Ergani« erreicht während des nächsten Millenniums nie wieder dieselbe Bedeutung (Abb. 5). Es erscheinen jetzt Proben mit der isotopischen Zusammensetzung wie die des Bleis in Erzen aus dem zentralen Taurusgebirge im Südosten der Türkei, wo Kupfererze bekannt sind, die isotopisch zu den sieben Gamdat Nasr-zeitlichen Artefakten um $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb} \approx 0,84$ passen (*Alihoca, Bakir Dağı, Bolkardağ, Cakitdere, Esendemirtepe*). Dann aber finden sich zu dieser Zeit auch erstmalig Artefakte mit so hohen Isotopenhäufigkeitsverhältnissen — $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ etwa größer als 2,10 und $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ größer als 0,85 (Abb. 5) —, wie sie für anatolische Kupfervorkommen nicht bekannt sind und wie sie der geologische Aufbau Anatoliens auch nicht erwarten lässt. (Unter den gemessenen Kupfervorkommen kennen wir als Ausnahmen nur 3 Proben von gediegenem Kupfer und ein Kupfererz (Azurit) aus dem Gebiet des heutigen Corum in den westlichen Pontiden sowie ein weiteres gediegenes Kupfer aus der Troad (Salihliköy/Çanakkale), alle von Hirao et al. (1995) gemessen. Die Mittelwerte der Häufigkeitsverhältnisse dieser Proben sind $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb} \approx 2,114$, $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb} \approx 0,868$ und $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb} \approx 0,0557$. Diese Daten sind insofern überraschend, als das Blei zahlreicher Cu-Erze und Cu-Schlacken derselben Regionen ausnahmslos sehr viel tiefere Häufigkeitsverhältnisse aufweist).

Für die Objekte mit Verhältnissen zwischen 0,85 und 0,87 gibt es dagegen isotopisch passende Erze in Timna und Feinan, beides bedeutende Kupfervorkommen zu beiden Seiten des Araba-Grabens zwischen Totem Meer und Rotem Meer (Gale et al. 1990; Hauptmann et al. 1992). In beiden Bezirken gibt es gut-belegte Evidenz für eine Ausbeutung der Erzvorkommen und

für lokale Metallerzeugung ab der Frühen Bronzezeit. Hauptmann (2000) schätzt allein aus den heute noch in Feinan vorhandenen Resten von Kupferschlacken die frühbronzezeitliche Produktion auf mindestens 300 – 500 Tonnen Kupfer. Da ein Höhepunkt dieser Produktion in die Mitte des 3. Jahrtausends datiert, erscheint es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass solches Kupfer auch nach Mesopotamien gelangte, zumal ein Warenaustausch zwischen Palästina und Mittelasien zu dieser Zeit bereits eine gut-dokumentierte, lange Tradition hatte. Schon in dem in die Mitte des 4. Jahrtausends datierenden Nahal Mishmar-Hortfund vom Westufer des Toten Meeres finden sich z. B. zahlreiche für zeremonielle Zwecke verwendete Artefakte aus einer ganz ungewöhnlichen Kupfer-Antimon-Arsen-Legierung, mit Antimongehalten bis zu 25 % und einem mittleren Antimon/Arsenverhältnis von 1,8 (Shalev and Northover 1992; Tadmor et al. 1995), deren Herkunft zwar nicht im Einzelnen bekannt ist, die aber wohl nur aus den kaukasischen oder asiatischen Regionen nördlich oder östlich von Mesopotamien stammen können. Ein Transport solcher Objekte oder der für ihre Herstellung verwendeten Erze auf dem Landweg hat dann zwangsläufig Mesopotamien berührt. Allerdings wurde bisher wohl immer nur ein Handel von Kupfer aus diesen Gebieten *in* die Levante diskutiert, nicht aber in umgekehrter Richtung. Das ist angesichts der beträchtlichen lokalen Kupferproduktion erstaunlich.

ED II zeichnet sich durch eine sehr kleine Streubreite der Isotopenverhältnisse aus. Es ist nicht klar, ob während dieser Periode der Zugriff auf die verschiedenen Erzvorkommen drastisch reduziert war oder ob dies eine Frage der Herkunft der Artefakte ist, denn alle 14 Objekte stammen aus dem mittleren Mesopotamien, dem Gebiet von Hamrin-Diyala (Abb. 1). Eine Homogenisierung als Folge einer exzessiven Wiederverwendung von »Alt-Kupfer« während dieser Zeit scheidet als Erklärung aus, denn die chemischen Daten von Lutz und Pernicka (2004) zeigen keine Evidenz für eine solche Homogenisierung: Die Antimongehalte der 14 Objekte variieren um mehr als den Faktor 200, Kobalt und Nickel mehr als hundertfach.

Unter den Gamdat Nasr-zeitlichen Objekten finden sich bereits eine Bronzenadel mit Lapislazulikopf aus Gaura (Kat.Nr. 269) und eine Kupfernadel aus Uruk (Kat.Nr. 2157) mit extrem hohen Häufigkeitsverhältnissen. Ein solcher Trend zu hohen Verhältnissen setzt sich in den folgenden Kulturperioden, ED III und Akkadisch, verstärkt fort. Dabei sind es jetzt fast ausschließlich (Zinn)Bronzen, deren Blei die hohen Verhältnisse aufweist. Ein solcher Befund ist bei frühen Bronzen nicht neu. Wir haben

dasselbe bereits bei bronzezeitlichen Artefakten aus Nordwestanatolien (Troia, Troas, Yortan) beobachtet (Pernicka et al. 1984), ebenso bei den gut stratifizierten Objekten aus Poliochni auf Lemnos (Pernicka et al. 1990). Dort tauchen vereinzelt in der »roten Periode«, dann aber gehäuft in Periode »giallo« Artefakte mit hohen Isotopenhäufigkeitsverhältnissen auf, bei denen es sich mit ganz wenigen Ausnahmen ebenfalls um (Zinn)Bronzen handelt.

Die Herkunft des Kupfers mit einer solchen isotopischen Signatur ist enigmatisch. Anatolien, Persien und Afghanistan sind nach den vorliegenden Ergebnissen keine sehr wahrscheinlichen Herkunftsregionen, auch wenn die beiden Letzteren bisher nicht flächendeckend beprobt worden sind. Das Blei in keinem der analysierten Kupfererze und Kupferschlacken aus dem Nordwesten Persiens (Umgebung von Täbriz), aus dem zentralpersischen Erzgürtel und aus dem Osten des Landes hat auch nur annähernd die geforderte isotopische Zusammensetzung. Dasselbe gilt für die zugegebenermaßen wenigen analysierten Erze aus dem Westen Afghanistans (Shaida), der Region um Kabul (Ainak, Maydan) und dem Hindu-kusch (Bezarak). Aus dem Kaukasus liegt ein gutes Dutzend Analysen vor; alle haben $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ -Verhältnisse kleiner als 2,10 und $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ kleiner als etwa 0,85 ergeben. Und in einer Sequenz von etwa 30 armenischen Erzen aus 17 verschiedenen Vorkommen (Meliksetian et al. 2003; Abb. 5) reichen die Verhältnisse auch nur bis zu 2,11 bzw. 0,87, und das ist nicht hoch genug. Schließlich, und das ist im gegenwärtigen Zusammenhang besonders interessant, scheiden auch die Erze der bereits in prähistorischer Zeit ausgebeuteten mittelasiatischen Zinnvorkommen (Bereich Buchara-Samarkand) von Karnak und Mušiston (Alimov et al. 1998) als mögliche Quellen aus; auch ihr Blei ist zu tief in den auf ^{206}Pb bezogenen Isotopenhäufigkeitsverhältnissen (Tab. A2).

Die Ergebnisse legen nahe, das in Betracht kommende Quellgebiet der Erze zu erweitern. Von der regionalen Geologie her kommt einmal der arabische Schild mit seinen präkambrischen Gesteinsformationen in Frage. In der Tat berichten z. B. Stacey et al. (1980) über Erzvorkommen einige hundert Kilometer westlich von Riyadh, deren Blei genau den gesuchten Bereich in den Häufigkeitsverhältnissen abdeckt. Es ist jedoch z. Zt. nicht klar, ob das außer von geologischem Interesse auch von archäologischer Relevanz ist. Dazu fehlt aus dieser archäologischen *terra incognita* jegliches Wissen über eine eventuelle prähistorische Nutzung dieser oder anderer Kupfervorkommen des zentralen arabischen Schildes.

Die andere denkbare Erweiterung des Herkunftsgebietes der Erze ist nach Südosten, nach Indien. Dort, in den Aravalli Hills von Gujarat und dem südlichen Rajasthan gibt es ebenfalls Kupfererze mit hinreichend hohen auf ^{206}Pb bezogenen Häufigkeitsverhältnissen (Ericson und Shirahata 1985; Hegde und Ericson 1985; Srinivasan 1999), und im Gegensatz zum arabischen Schild gibt es, insbesondere in Ambaji, Evidenz für eine Ausbeutung des dortigen Kupfervorkommens bereits in prähistorischer Zeit, möglicherweise schon während der Harrapa-Kultur in der Mitte des 3. vorchristlichen Jahrtsds. Lt. Ericson und Shirahata (1985: 207) war diese Region die wichtigste Quelle für das im Alten Indien verwendete Kupfer, und sie war gleichzeitig der Lieferant für das in den Persischen Golf und weiter nach Mesopotamien exportierte Kupfer. Dabei kann zunächst offen bleiben, ob solches Kupfer über Land oder auf dem Seeweg via Dilmun/Bahrein (Bibby 1969, 1977) nach Mesopotamien gelangte. Folgt man Muhly und Stech (2003: 427), so ist der Seeweg die plausiblere Variante; die Autoren schlagen selbst für den Transport der Reichtümer Afghanistans in das südliche Mesopotamien die Route Indus-abwärts bis zur Küste und dann den Seeweg zum Persischen Golf vor.

In der Tat wäre es keine Überraschung, wenn sich die seit der Mitte des 3. Jahrtsds. belegten vielfältigen Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Mesopotamien und dem Indus-Tal auch in der isotopischen Signatur des Bleis von mesopotamischen Artefakten auf Kupferbasis wiederfinden. Das Überraschende ist vielmehr, dass es fast ausschließlich *Bronze*-Objekte sind, die die »indische« Isotopensignatur zeigen. Wenn indisches Kupfer erst in Mesopotamien mit Zinn legiert wurde, warum gibt es (bisher) nur ein einziges *Kupfer*-Objekt (die Tüllenharpune # 1592 aus Ur) mit einer solchen Signatur? Warum wurde indisches Kupfer ausschließlich für Bronze verwendet? Wurde es gar unter einem eigenen Namen gehandelt? War es in einer seiner Qualitäten in irgendeiner Weise verschieden von dem übrigen zur Verfügung stehenden Kupfer, und machte diese Eigenschaft es für Legierungen besonders geeignet? Tatsächlich berichten Texte aus Ebla und Mesopotamien über eben zwei solche verschiedene Sorten von gereinigtem Kupfer, die zeitweise nebeneinander im Umlauf waren, ohne dass aus den Texten ein Kriterium ersichtlich wäre, wodurch sich die beiden Sorten unterschieden noch ein Grund, warum sie nur getrennt verwendet worden sein sollten. Waetzoldt und Bachmann (1984) diskutieren ausführlich die merkwürdige Tatsache, dass in Ebla genau wie in Mesopotamien jeweils zwei Begriffe (*a-gar₅-gar₅* und *urudu* bzw. *urudu-luh-ha* und

urudu-a-EN-da) für reines Kupfer verwendet wurden und dass nur die beiden Sorten *a-gar₅-gar₅* bzw. *urudu-luh-ha* mit Zinn zu Bronze legiert wurden. Ein materielles Merkmal für die Unterscheidung der Kupfersorten ist nicht überliefert; die Autoren vermuten, dass zumindest in Mesopotamien die Herkunft aus verschiedenen Ländern der Grund für die Unterscheidung gewesen sein könnte. Konkret schlagen sie vor, da die Sorte *a-EN-da* via Dilmun importiert wurde, die Quelle dieses Kupfers sei Oman.

Unsere bleiisotopische Evidenz legt nahe, dass in Mesopotamien für die Legierung mit Zinn verwendete Kupfer *urudu-luh-ha* stamme aus Indien, was ebenfalls verträglich ist mit einem Import via Dilmun. Des Weiteren zeigen die chemischen Analysen, dass der mittlere Arsengehalt der 18 fraglichen Bronzeartefakte nur 0,6 % ist, der der chronologisch zugehörigen 25 Kupferobjekte aus Ur aber mehr als dreimal so hoch, nämlich 2,0 %. Wie bereits eingangs erwähnt, ist der Zusatz von Zinn zu arsenhaltigem Kupfer den Materialeigenschaften zwar nicht abträglich, aber er bringt auch keine Verbesserung, die den Einsatz von teurem Zinn lohnen würde. Vom wirtschaftlichen Standpunkt aus ist es also vernünftig, arsenreiches Kupfer als solches zu verwenden und für die Herstellung von (Zinn)Bronze die arsenarme Varietät zu nehmen. Wir vermuten daher, dass das Kupfer mit der »indischen« Isotopensignatur arm an Arsen war, und dass es aus diesem Grunde für die Legierung mit Zinn reserviert war. In einem Land ohne eigene Erzvorkommen, in dem jedes Stück Metall importiert werden musste, war der Anreiz für eine solche Differenzierung sicherlich gegeben. Und es war auch vermutlich praktikabler, arsenarmes und arsenreiches Kupfer bereits bei der Anlieferung zu separieren und getrennt zu verwalten als die beiden Sorten später durch eine irgend geardete Analyse wieder zu unterscheiden. Allerdings, wenn der Arsengehalt das entscheidende Kriterium für die Unterscheidung der beiden Kupfersorten war, warum war dann das arsenarme *a-gar₅-gar₅*-Kupfer etwa 30 % teurer als die arsenreiche Varietät (Waetzoldt und Bachman 1984: 5, dort auch weitere Literaturhinweise), wenn ihm doch erst noch teures Zinn zugesetzt werden musste, damit es in seinen Eigenschaften vergleichbar war mit der billigen Arsenbronze? Vielleicht war es eine Frage der Qualität des gehandelten Rohkupfers. Vielleicht mußte das arsenreiche Kupfer zunächst noch in einem aufwändigen Verfahren raffiniert werden, bevor es überhaupt als Ausgangsmaterial für die Fertigung von Endprodukten verwendet werden konnte. Diese zusätzliche Arbeit aber sowie die bei der Raffination notwendigerweise auftretenden Material-

verluste werden sich in einem tiefen Einstandspreis des Rohkupfers niedergeschlagen haben.

Eine andere mögliche Erklärung für die Dominanz der hohen Häufigkeitsverhältnisse bei den mesopotamischen Bronzen könnte sein, dass alles »indische« Kupfer als Bronze importiert wurde, obgleich es aus den zeitgenössischen Texten keine Belege für die Einfuhr von Bronze als Rohmaterial gibt (Heimpel 1987: 54). Bei einem Transport auf dem Seewege, sollte auf den Zwischenstationen der Reiseroute ebenfalls Metall mit einer solchen »indischen« Signatur anzutreffen sein. Je nach Art solcher hypothetischer Artefakte — ob Kupfer oder Bronze — könnte das möglicherweise zu einer Klärung beitragen, was denn nun transportiert wurde. Die z. Zt. vorliegenden Daten helfen da nur wenig weiter. Bei den bisher analysierten Artefakten aus Bahrain/Dilmun findet sich unter 14 Umm an-Nar-zeitlichen Kupferbarren (alle aus demselben Hortfund, (Prange 2001: Tab. 33 und 38)) aus dem ausgehenden 3. Jahrtsd. keine solche Probe; alle $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ -Verhältnisse sind kleiner als 2,10, alle $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ -Werte kleiner als 0,86 (eigene unveröffentlichte Daten). Bei Weeks (1999) gibt es 4 Bronzen aus Tell Abraq mit $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ von etwa 2,124 und $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ etwa 0,874, von denen jedoch mindestens 2 Proben viel zu jung sind (Wadi Suq III bis Eisenzeit), um für unser Problem von Interesse zu sein. Weeks und Collerson (2004: Tab. 7.1) schließlich listen unter den von ihnen gemessenen Artefakten aus den Vereinigten Arabischen Emiraten zwei Objekte mit der chemischen Zusammensetzung »Cu-As-Sn(low)«, ein flaches Fragment aus Al Sufouh sowie einen Metallklumpen aus Unar 2, mit »indischer« bleiisotopischer Signatur.

Aber die wichtigste Frage bei einem Import von *Bronze* aus Indien ist die nach der letzten Herkunft des Zinns. Indien ist, genau wie jede andere Region mit tatsächlichen oder vermeintlichen Zinnvorkommen zwischen der iberischen Halbinsel im Westen und Mittelasien im Osten irgendwann einmal als mögliche Quelle für das frühe Zinn vorgeschlagen worden, und in den besagten Aravalli Hills finden sich auch gelegentlich Zinnerze (Hegde 1978). Die vorherrschende Meinung scheint aber zu sein, dass die Mengen selbst zu prähistorischen Zeiten, für den verglichen mit heute nur geringen Bedarf, unbedeutend waren. Muhly schreibt dazu in seinem Übersichtsartikel (1985: 283) »The tin deposits of India clearly never were capable of supporting anything more than the local bronze industry« und Chakrabarti (1979: 71) »As far as the Indus civilisation is concerned it is virtually impossible to accept the notion that the Indus area

was either a trans-shipment area or an independent source of export of tin to Mesopotamia«. Als mögliche Quelle des in der Harrapa-Kultur verwendeten Zinns schlägt er »Khorasan and the area between Buchara and Samarkand« als am wahrscheinlichsten vor.

Unsere hier präsentierten Daten tragen nicht zur Lösung dieses Problems bei; sie können auch prinzipiell nicht beitragen, solange die Grundannahme beibehalten wird, das für die Herstellung der Bronze verwendete Zinn sei bleifrei gewesen oder habe zumindest nicht messbar zur isotopischen Zusammensetzung des Bleis der Bronzen beigetragen. Schon Herodot wusste nichts Definitives zu der Frage nach der Herkunft des Zinns zu sagen, außer »dass Zinn aus dem äußersten Lande der Erde kommt, ist sicher«. Nach 2500 Jahren und buchstäblich hunderten von wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten sind auch heute definitive Aussagen immer noch ähnlich vage.

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Tab. A1: Zusammenstellung der Artefakte, deren Blei isotopisch analysiert wurde. Bronzen, definiert als Kupfer mit mehr als 1 % Zinn, sind markiert als »Sn«; die prozentualen Zinngehalte sind als numerischer Zusatz angegeben. Zwei der Proben fallen chemisch aus dem Rahmen: ein Nadelschaft (ED I, FARA 8) besteht aus Messing mit 11,5 % Zink, eine neu-sumerische Nadel (# 1761, Ur PG 859) zu 50 % aus Silber. Proben mit anderen als vierstelligen Katalognummern stammen aus dem MASCA-Programm. Die Unsicherheiten aller aufgeführten Isotopenhäufigkeitsverhältnisse sind kleiner als 0,1 %. Die Bleikonzentrationen wurden durch Isotopenverdünnung an den für die Isotopenhäufigkeitsmessungen verwendeten Proben bestimmt. Bei der Schreibweise der Ortsnamen und der Zeitstellung der Artefakte folgen wir Müller-Karpe (2004) sowie Helwing und Müller (2004).

Periode / Fundort	Objekt	Katalog-Nr.	Metal-art	Pb [µg/g]	²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁴ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb
Uruk							
Gaura	Flachbeil	0221	Cu	10	2,0726	0,8381	0,05341
Gaura	Flachbeil	0222	Cu	160	2,0642	0,8294	0,05297
Gaura	Flachbeil	0223	Cu	40	2,0733	0,8296	0,05275
Gaura	Flachbeil	0224	Cu	80	1,9548	0,7887	0,05019
Gaura	Flachbeil	0225	Cu	10	2,0701	0,8349	0,05339
Gaura	Flachbeil	0226	Cu	8	2,0594	0,8250	0,05261
Gaura	Flachbeil	0227	Cu	10	2,0773	0,8449	0,05430
Gaura	Meißel	0255	Cu	930	2,0627	0,8317	0,05310
Gaura	Meißel	0263	Cu	4	2,0294	0,8201	0,05225
Gaura	Gußbrocken	0286	Cu	50	2,0589	0,8258	0,05274
Gaura	Flachbeil	GAW 1; 38-13-38	Cu	400	2,0578	0,8292	0,05299
Gaura	Nadel	GAW 2; 35-10-101 B	Cu	180	2,0629	0,8285	0,05290
Qarašina	Meißel	0711	Cu	40	2,0711	0,8327	0,05303
Šaih Hassan	Meißel (?)	2613	Cu	170	2,0666	0,8286	0,05276
Šaih Hassan	Haken	2614	Cu	1130	2,0674	0,8291	0,05276

Periode / Fundort	Objekt	Katalog-Nr.	Metall-art	Pb [µg/g]	²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁴ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb
Šaiḥ Hassan	Pfriem	2615	Cu	180	2,0750	0,8377	0,05333
	Nadel m. Kegelkopf	2620	Cu	650	2,0670	0,8310	0,05297
	Nadel m. Kegelkopf	2621	Cu	7	2,0657	0,8286	0,05277
	Nadelschaft	2623	Cu	950	2,0659	0,8313	0,05294
	Röhrenkanne	2082	Cu	460	2,0597	0,8283	0,05270
	Krampe	2174	Cu	1250	2,0764	0,8353	0,05324
	Blechstreifen	2190	Cu	560	2,0769	0,8395	0,05347
	Rundstab (Fragment)	2193	Cu	1120	2,0915	0,8494	0,05409
	Nadel	FARA 3; 33-13-78	Cu	1100	2,0797	0,8400	0,05358
	Nadel	FARA 5; 33-13-80	Cu	490	2,0780	0,8388	0,05351
	Haken	FARA 6; 33-13-81	Cu	1950	2,0783	0,8383	0,05345
	Haken	FARA 7; 33-13-82	Cu	90	2,0807	0,8393	0,05361
	Flachbeil	0289	Cu	510	2,0671	0,8312	0,05295
Frühdynastisch I (ED I)	Pfeilspitze	0291	Cu	1330	2,0793	0,8383	0,05338
	Treibhammer (?)	0267	Sn 2	1440	2,0999	0,8555	0,05462
	Nadel m. Lapiskugelkopf	0269	Sn 13	420	2,1416	0,8923	0,05704
	Flachbeil	0287	Cu	1030	2,0988	0,8586	0,05498
	Speer oder Dolch	1564	Cu	900	2,0763	0,8384	0,05339
	Meißel	2119	Cu	990	2,1050	0,8656	0,05552
	Nagel	2157	Cu	660	2,1280	0,8847	0,05711
	Nagel	2162	Cu	440	2,0766	0,8368	0,05329
	Nagel	2163	Cu	80	2,0717	0,8314	0,05294
	Schaftlochaxt	0047	Cu	3240	2,0772	0,8372	0,05328
	Flachbeil	0048	Cu	1240	2,0846	0,8467	0,05408

Periode / Fundort	Objekt	Katalog-Nr.	Metall-art	Pb [µg/g]	²⁰⁶ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb
Ahmad al-Hattū	Meißel	0050	Cu	710	2,0767	0,8383	0,05347
Ahmad al-Hattū	Meißel	0051	Cu	140	2,0880	0,8499	0,05430
Asmar	Schaftlochaxt	0068	Cu	1380	2,0791	0,8378	0,05343
Asmar	Schaftlochaxt	0069	Cu	410	2,0740	0,8367	0,05334
Fara	Nadelschaft	FARA 8; 33-13-77	Zn 11	2880	2,1005	0,8315	0,05308
Gaura	Nadel	GAW 8; 32-21-369	Cu	25	2,0531	0,8226	0,05225
Hait Qāsim	Flachbeil	0388	Cu	490	2,1041	0,8624	0,05535
Hait Qāsim	Flachbeil	0389	Cu	530	2,0860	0,8422	0,05369
Hait Qāsim	Flachbeil	0390	Cu	120	2,1036	0,8613	0,05525
Hait Qāsim	Dolch	0391	Cu	290	2,1017	0,8601	0,05511
Hait Qāsim	Pfeilspitze	0393	Cu	230	2,1116	0,8681	0,05569
Hait Qāsim	Meißel	0394	Cu	790	2,1168	0,8742	0,05624
Hait Qāsim	Meißel	0395	Cu	590	2,0864	0,8463	0,05406
Hait Qāsim	Meißel	0396	Cu	1700	2,0843	0,8406	0,05351
Kiš	Flachbeil	0492	Cu	200	2,0816	0,8435	0,05382
Kiš	Flachbeil	0493	Cu	4210	2,0739	0,8375	0,05336
Kiš	Flachbeil	0494	Cu	420	2,0738	0,8372	0,05338
Kiš	Zweizack	0544	Cu	180	2,0828	0,8392	0,05352
Kiš	Meißel	0562	Cu	30	2,0786	0,8395	0,05364
Kiš	Säge	0569	Cu	150	2,0743	0,8377	0,05326
Kiš	Spiegel	0580	Sn 10	1670	2,0661	0,8298	0,05284
Kiš	Nadel	0645	Cu	1430	2,0902	0,8531	0,05463
Kiš	Meißel	KISH 4; FM 158 162	Cu	340	2,0771	0,8369	0,05336
Kiš (Grab 357)	Meißel	KISH 5; FM 158 167	Cu	520	2,0809	0,8429	0,05379
Kiš (Grab 631)	Meißel	KISH 6; FM 236 490	Cu	670	2,0792	0,8375	0,05339

Periode / Fundort	Objekt	Katalog-Nr.	Metall-art	Pb [µg/g]	²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁴ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb
Kiš (Grab 357)	Flachbeil	KISH 8; FM 158 183	Sn 6	1470	2,0648	0,8285	0,05287
Kiš (Grab 469)	Flachbeil	KISH 9; FM 228 172	Sn 3	1980	2,0645	0,8292	0,05284
Kiš (Grab 684)	Flachbeil	KISH 10; FM 236 147	Cu	8	2,0829	0,8430	0,05386
Kiš (Grab 357)	Säge	KISH 12; FM 158 103	Cu	700	2,1161	0,8746	0,05624
Razūk	Flachbeil	0716	Cu	740	2,0891	0,8439	0,05382
Razūk	Vierkantspeerspitze	0720	Cu	310	2,0795	0,8397	0,05359
Razūk	Achtantspeerspitze	0721	Cu	820	2,0682	0,8262	0,05254
Razūk	Meißel	0725	Cu	1450	2,0737	0,8359	0,05323
Ur	Zackenspitze	UR 1; 31-17-352	Cu	640	2,0717	0,8333	0,05311
Ur	Haken	UR 3; 31-17-267	Cu	510	2,0784	0,8383	0,05355
Ur	Rasiermesser	1658	Cu	200	2,0763	0,8398	0,05357
Uruk	Nadel (ohne Ohr)	2131	Cu	1120	2,0820	0,8423	0,05374
unbekannt	Flachbeil	2233	Cu	290	2,0732	0,8353	0,05321
Frühdynastisch II (ED II)							
Ägrab	Sichelbeil	0033	Cu	14420	2,0623	0,8281	0,05271
Ägrab	Ankerbeil	0034	Cu	60	2,1040	0,8610	0,05507
Ägrab	Dolch	0037	Cu	4170	2,0677	0,8259	0,05249
Ägrab	Zweizack	0038	Cu	780	2,0698	0,8303	0,05292
Ägrab	Meißel	0039	Cu	1290	2,0761	0,8351	0,05322
Ägrab	Spiegel	0040	Cu	1060	2,0813	0,8440	0,05385
Ägrab	Statuenfragment, Fuß	0043	Cu	1340	2,0728	0,8316	0,05293
Ägrab	Ständer(fragment)	0044a	Cu	200	2,0863	0,8402	0,05365
Ägrab	Korkenzieherlocke	0045	Sn 7	600	2,0673	0,8291	0,05277
Ägrab	Nadel	0046	Cu	1400	2,0871	0,8444	0,05394

Periode / Fundort	Objekt	Katalog-Nr.	Metall-art	Pb [µg/g]	²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁴ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb
Ağūla/Ağrab Hafāğī Hafāğī Mazhūr	Lanzenrohling (?)	0032	Cu	130	2,0795	0,8417	0,05365
	Nähnadel	0382	Cu	1900	2,0724	0,8345	0,05319
	Ständer	0384	Cu	1390	2,0732	0,8328	0,05301
	Speerspitze	0668	Cu	700	2,0873	0,8389	0,05353
Frühdynastisch III (ED III)							
Abū Salābīh	Flachbeil	0020	Cu	500	2,0716	0,8313	0,05292
Abū Salābīh	Dolch-Klinge	0023a	Cu	45	2,0786	0,8391	0,05354
Abū Salābīh	Meißel	0027	Cu	550	2,0737	0,8335	0,05307
Abū Salābīh	Splint	0030	Cu	590	2,0735	0,8330	0,05305
Gaura	Armring	GAW 22; 31-52-364	Cu	140	2,0825	0,8417	0,05367
Gaura	Armring	GAW 23; 31-21-206	Cu	210	2,0816	0,8409	0,05368
Gaura	Sichel	GAW 27; 31-52-362	Cu	670	2,0887	0,8455	0,05382
Hafāğī	Dolch	0362	Cu	810	2,0712	0,8327	0,05308
Hafāğī	Dolch-Niet	0363b	Cu	880	2,0696	0,8308	0,05288
Hafāğī	Meißelfragment	0371	Sn 2	550	2,0721	0,8331	0,05307
Hafāğī	Nadel m. Lapiskugelhkopf	0376	Sn 9	2030	2,1264	0,8797	0,05628
Halawa	Vierkantspitze	2535	Cu	5	2,0831	0,8509	0,05485
Halawa	Pfriem	2537	Cu	3	2,0638	0,8268	0,05264
Halawa	Pilzkopfnadel	2543	Cu	2740	2,1220	0,8707	0,05565
Hibba	Figur	0341	Cu	80	2,1065	0,8584	0,05475
Kiš	Dolch	0508	Sn 8	1220	2,0735	0,8361	0,05325
Kiš	Rasiermesser	0572	Sn 1,1	900	2,0704	0,8332	0,05302
Kiš	Nadel	0613	Cu	1810	2,0919	0,8497	0,05429
Ur (Königsgr. PG 1054)	Griffschale	1139	Cu	830	2,0727	0,8336	0,05310
Ur (PG 1293)	Griff	1140	Cu	1720	2,0868	0,8450	0,05405

Periode / Fundort	Objekt	Katalog-Nr.	Metall-art	Pb [µg/g]	²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁴ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb
Ur (PG 1722)	Schaftlochaxt	1186	Sn 12	580	2,1244	0,8782	0,05613
Ur (PG 1069)	Schaftlochaxt	1192	Sn 15	570	2,1412	0,8918	0,05703
Ur (PG 1313)	Schaftlochaxt	1193	Cu	250	2,0884	0,8461	0,05384
Ur (PG 1267)	Schaftlochaxt	1218	Sn 10	1560	2,1109	0,8650	0,05525
Ur (PG 1221)	Schaftlochaxt	1224	Cu	2170	2,0818	0,8394	0,05355
Ur (PG 1759)	Dechsel	1326	Cu	180	2,0798	0,8387	0,05351
Ur (PG 1247)	Schaftlochaxt	1331	Cu	800	2,0844	0,8421	0,05376
Ur (PG 755)	Vierkantlanzenspitze	1485	Sn 12	90	2,1495	0,8832	0,05640
Ur (Königsfriedhof))	Vierkantlanzenspitze	1493	Cu	2380	2,0881	0,8448	0,05396
Ur (PG 3)	Vierkantlanzenspitze	1502	Sn 9	310	2,1112	0,8667	0,05537
Ur (Königsgr. PG 580)	Vierkantspeerspitze	1507	Sn 8	1680	2,1347	0,8854	0,05656
Ur (Königsgr. PG 580)	Vierkantspeerspitze	1508	Sn 8	1460	2,1340	0,8850	0,05657
Ur (Königsgr. PG 779)	Achtkantlanzenspitze	1514	Sn 8	160	2,0697	0,8336	0,05311
Ur (Königsfriedhof)	Achtkantspeerspitze	1534	Sn 9	1650	2,1346	0,8847	0,05652
Ur (Königsgr. PG 580)	Tüllenharpune	1592	Cu	20	2,1191	0,8715	0,05568
Ur (PG 1687)	Säge	1652	Cu	710	2,0753	0,8334	0,05307
Ur (PG 1196)	Nadel	1853	Sn 8	810	2,0611	0,8293	0,05286
Ur (Königsgr. PG 779)	Nadel	1855	Cu	740	2,0778	0,8379	0,05345
Ur (Königsgr. PG 580)	Ring mit Manschette	2021a	Sn 5	250	2,1460	0,8953	0,05718
Ur (Königsgr. PG 1648)	Dreifuss (Ständer)	2050	Cu	2800	2,0715	0,8344	0,05309
Ur (Königsgr. PG 580)	»Helm«	2069	Cu	440	2,0868	0,8445	0,05385
Ur (PG 237)	Nadel	UR 4; CBS 17 383	Sn 2	650	2,1138	0,8670	0,05531
Ur (PG 1625)	Haarnadel	UR 8; 31-17-266	Cu	1600	2,0916	0,8442	0,05396
Ur (Königsgr. PG 580)	Meißel	UR 11; CBS 17 476	Sn 17	20	1,8626	0,7603	0,04805
Ur (PG 734)	Flachbeil	UR 13; CBS 17 363	Sn 12	550	2,0737	0,8349	0,05324

Periode / Fundort	Objekt	Katalog-Nr.	Metall-art	Pb [µg/g]	²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁴ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb
Ur (PG 1687)	Flachbeil	UR 15; 31-17-243	Sn 13	110	2,0663	0,8298	0,05291
Ur (PG 1738)	Schaftlochaxt	UR 26; 31-17-193	Cu	690	2,0849	0,8429	0,05395
Ur (Königsgr. PG 580)	Zackenspitze	UR 52; CBS 17 528	Cu	440	2,0800	0,8394	0,05359
Akkadisch							
Gaura	Flachbeil	0228	Sn 5	540	2,1009	0,8567	0,05466
Gaura	Flachbeil	0229	Cu	830	2,0606	0,8279	0,05272
Gaura	Schaftlochhacke	0236	Sn 1,5	430	2,0994	0,8562	0,05458
Gaura	Sichel	0242	Cu	740	2,0836	0,8412	0,05361
Gaura	Vierkantlanzenspitze	0250a	Cu	1040	2,0953	0,8509	0,05426
Gaura	Meißel (?)	0252	Cu	680	2,0792	0,8383	0,05353
Gaura	Meißel oder Stichel	0253	Cu	1100	2,0755	0,8363	0,05338
Gaura	Haarnadel	GAW 49; 31-52-183	Cu	1190	2,0694	0,8291	0,05281
Gaura	Haarnadel	GAW 50; 31-52-184	Cu	820	2,0705	0,8284	0,05280
Gaura	Messer/Dolch-Fragment	GAW 65; 31-52-225	Sn 4	950	2,0898	0,8489	0,05419
Gaura	Sichelfragment	GAW 71; 32-21-102	Cu	2550	2,0726	0,8339	0,05318
Gaura	Hacke mit Griff, Hacke	GAW 89A; 31-52-251A	Sn 18	2720	2,1393	0,8899	0,05689
Gaura	selbes Objekt, Griff	GAW 89B; 31-52-251B	Cu	670	2,0870	0,8440	0,05388
Kiš	Dolch-Klinge	0519a	Cu	180	2,0855	0,8431	0,05375
Kiš (Grab 63)	Nadel	KISH 15; FM 158 020	Sn 3	870	2,1007	0,8569	0,05482
Kiš (Grab 126)	Haarnadel	KISH 22; FM 228 465	Sn 3	50	2,0914	0,8442	0,05368
Kiš (Grab 68)	Nadel	KISH 28; FM 228 473	Cu	1760	2,0783	0,8391	0,05362
Kiš (Grab 143)	Nadel	KISH 33; FM 228 595	Cu	1480	2,0892	0,8471	0,05406
Kiš (Grab 136)	Dolch / Messer	KISH 41; FM 158 143	Cu	3740	2,0780	0,8372	0,05344
Kiš (Grab 136)	Pfriem	KISH 47; FM 228 598	Cu	1860	2,0824	0,8548	0,05461
Kiš (Grab 66)	Flachbeil	KISH 50; FM 236 142	Cu	10	2,0791	0,8367	0,05347

Periode / Fundort	Objekt	Katalog-Nr.	Metall-art	Pb [µg/g]	²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb	²⁰⁴ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb
Nippur	Schaftlochaxt	0685	Sn 10	920	2,0843	0,8472	0,05398
Nippur	Schaftlochaxt	0686	Sn 9	350	2,1349	0,8818	0,05632
Razūk	Flachbeil	0717	Cu	540	2,0713	0,8320	0,05298
Razūk	Meißel	0726	Cu	540	2,0714	0,8320	0,05297
Sulaima	Schaftlochaxt	0751	Sn 7	2820	2,0958	0,8496	0,05426
Sulaima	Schaftlochaxt	0753	Sn 4	2750	2,0882	0,8459	0,05400
Ur (PG 544)	Schaftlochaxt	1198	Cu	8	2,0858	0,8446	0,05417
Ur (PG 677)	Dolch-Klinge	1443a	Cu	1120	2,0765	0,8364	0,05336
Ur (PG 1386)	Pfeilspitze	1576	Cu	450	2,0761	0,8367	0,05340
Ur (PG 540)	Nadel m. silb.Kugelkopf	1765	Sn 10	340	2,1122	0,8720	0,05565
Ur (PG 780)	Haarnadel	UR 54; CBS 17 488	Cu	4100	2,0690	0,8349	0,05337
Ur (PG 1047)	Spatel	UR 56; 30-12-321	Sn 16	380	2,1329	0,8850	0,05658
Ur (PG 1249)	Haarnadel	UR 63; 30-12-373	Cu	1260	2,0838	0,8436	0,05386
Ur (PG 1230)	Nadel	UR 64; 30-12-380	Cu	1710	2,0830	0,8421	0,05380
Ur (PG 762)	Haarnadel	UR 68; CBS 17 496	Cu	1270	2,0788	0,8390	0,05359
Ur (PG 1520)	Schaftlochaxt	UR 75; 31-17-205	Sn 5	4780	2,1147	0,8700	0,05566
Ur (PG 527)	Schaftlochaxt	UR 77; CBS 17 410	Cu	1050	2,0760	0,8374	0,05340
Ur (PG 556)	Dolch	UR 81; CBS 17 516	Cu	3490	2,0789	0,8385	0,05353
Ur (PG 619)	Stabfragment	UR 91; CBS 17 317	Cu	990	2,0782	0,8375	0,05343
Ur III							
Fara	Zweizack	FARA 22; 33-13-618	Cu	190	2,0985	0,8540	0,05456
Neusumerisch							
Abū Qāsim	Schaftlochaxt	0004	Sn 6	260	2,1156	0,8684	0,05544
Ur (PG 26)	Dolch	1420	Cu	1260	2,0741	0,8371	0,05342
Ur (PG 859)	Silbernadel	1761	Ag 50	340	2,0796	0,8389	0,05349

Tab. A 2: Bleiisotopische Zusammensetzung diverser Erze, die für die Herkunftsdiskussion der mesopotamischen Artefakte von Interesse sind. Es handelt sich um bisher unveröffentlichte Daten; die Proben wurden freundlicherweise zur Verfügung gestellt von Th. Berthoud, A. Hauptmann, L.K. Levskii, E. Pernicka und U. Zwicker.

Herkunft	Region/ Koordinaten	Proben - Nr.	Erz	$\frac{^{208}\text{Pb}}{^{206}\text{Pb}}$	$\frac{^{207}\text{Pb}}{^{206}\text{Pb}}$	$\frac{^{204}\text{Pb}}{^{206}\text{Pb}}$
Afghanistan						
Ainak	Kabul	202	Cu	1,7435	0,5887	0,03608
Bezarak	Hindukusch	221	Cu	2,0739	0,8338	0,05305
Maydan	Kabul	201	Cu	2,0910	0,8327	0,05291
Shaïda	Herat	227	Cu	2,0888	0,8477	0,05427
Shaïda	Herat	228/230D	Cu	2,0907	0,8444	0,05395
Shaïda	Herat	228/230G	Cu	2,0854	0,8421	0,05385
Wostok		224	Cu	2,0916	0,8442	0,05389
Wostok		226	Cu	2,0918	0,8445	0,05396
unbekannt		210	Cu	0,7015	0,3115	0,01676
unbekannt		216	Cu	1,8583	0,6284	0,04002
unbekannt		217	Cu	1,4256	0,4030	0,02230
unbekannt		239	Cu	2,0721	0,8301	0,05313
Iran						
Ahangaran	Arak	PERS 4	Galena	2,0940	0,8502	0,05432
Bārmaluk	Täbriz	PERS 2	Galena	2,0807	0,8416	0,05401
Bāychebāgh	Täbriz	PERS 6	Galena	2,0617	0,8315	0,05305
Chehelkureh	Zāhedān	E 127/4111	Cu	2,0900	0,8394	0,05346
Chehelkureh	Zāhedān	E 128/4112	Cu	2,0871	0,8389	0,05358
Juband	Täbriz	PERS 5	Galena	2,0659	0,8307	0,05326
Mazra'eh	Täbriz	PERS 3	Galena	2,0557	0,8269	0,05298
Nakhlak*	Anarak	NAK 1	Galena	2,0877	0,8446	0,05397
Nakhlak	Anarak	NAK 2	Galena	2,0867	0,8446	0,05404
Nakhlak	Anarak	NAK 5	Galena	2,0874	0,8450	0,05404
Nakhlak	Anarak	NAK 9	Galena	2,0894	0,8450	0,05396
Nakhlak	Anarak	NAK 10	Galena	2,0874	0,8449	0,05404
Qal'eh Zari	Birjand	E 128/4286	Cu	2,0800	0,8349	0,05346
Qal'eh Zari	Birjand	E 130/4661-A	Cu	2,0789	0,8347	0,05345
Shadad**	Kerman	Pe 23 a	Cu-Schl.	2,0639	0,8314	0,05307
Shadad**	Kerman	Pe 23 f	Cu-Schl.	2,0751	0,8352	0,05319
Shamsābād	Arak	PERS 1	Galena	2,0924	0,8493	0,05432
Sharifābād	Kashan	E 105/4278-C	Cu	2,0749	0,8379	0,05362
Tal-i-Homi	Bardsir	E 118/4107-A	Cu	2,0835	0,8407	0,05385

Herkunft	Region/ Koordinaten	Proben - Nr.	Erz	$\frac{^{208}\text{Pb}}{^{206}\text{Pb}}$	$\frac{^{207}\text{Pb}}{^{206}\text{Pb}}$	$\frac{^{204}\text{Pb}}{^{206}\text{Pb}}$
Tal-i-Homi	Bardsir	E 118/4110	Cu	2,0855	0,8415	0,05389
Talmesi	Anarak	Pe 1e	Cu	1,2819	0,5447	0,03319
Talmesi	Anarak	Pe 3	Cu	1,7148	0,7003	0,04440
Talmesi	Anarak	52-21-47A	Cu ged.	0,7973	0,3606	0,02061
Tang-e-Chenār	Yazd	E 109/4280	Cu	2,0707	0,8374	0,05348
Tepe Sialk**	Kashan	52-21-48	Cu ged.	1,5076	0,6227	0,03898
Kaukasien						
Alaverdi	44:45 E 41:15 N	24/ 033	Cu - Fe	2,0804	0,8430	0,05395
Artanskoje	45:30 E 42:15 N	24/ 024	Cu - Fe	2,0937	0,8498	0,05430
Belokanskoje	46:10 E 42:00 N	24/ 025	Cu - Fe	2,0902	0,8503	0,05448
El'Brusskoje	42:00 E 43:37 N	24 /012	Pb	2,0908	0,8534	0,05456
Kedabek	45:35 E 40:35 N	24/ 034	Cu ged.	2,0766	0,8402	0,05380
Khanikomskoje	44:15 E 42:53 N	24/ 019	Pb-Zn-Cu	2,0907	0,8490	0,05427
Lukhumskoje	43:25 E 43:00 N	24/ 016	As	2,0815	0,8484	0,05459
Madneuli	44:30 E 41:25 N	24/ 031	Cu - Fe	2,0893	0,8456	0,05412
Sadon	44:05 E 42:55 N	24/ 018-1	Pb - Zn	2,0947	0,8499	0,05426
Sadon	44:05 E 42:55 N	24/ 018-2	Pb - Zn	2,0945	0,8501	0,05428
Sadon	44:05 E 42:55 N	24/ 018-3	Pb - Cu	2,0945	0,8497	0,05418
Sadon	44:05 E 42:55 N	24/ 018-4	Pb - Cu	2,0948	0,8500	0,05427
Shamlug	44:50 E 41:25 N	24/ 032	Cu - Fe	2,0793	0,8420	0,05393
Verkhnjaja Kvajsja	43:47 E 42:30 N	24/ 023	Pb - Zn	2,0898	0,8494	0,05443
Zgidskoje	43:45 E 42:57 N	24/ 017	Pb	2,0931	0,8494	0,05425
Zopkhito	43:5 E 43:0 N	24/ 016a-1	Sb	2,0666	0,8335	0,05324
Zopkhito	43:5 E 43:0 N	24/ 016a-2	As	2,0877	0,8477	0,05421
Mittelasien						
Karnab	Uzbekistan	Karnab-1	Sn	2,0378	0,8292	0,05286
Karnab	Uzbekistan	Karnab-Sn	Sn	2,0135	0,8173	0,05189
Mušiston	Tadžikistan	T 94/04-1	Sn oxidiert	2,0987	0,8566	0,05468
Mušiston	Tadžikistan	T 94/04- 2	Cu	2,1031	0,8581	0,05477
Mušiston	Tadžikistan	T 94/04-3	Sn oxidiert	2,1019	0,8579	0,05482
Mušiston	Tadžikistan	T 94/04-4	Sn oxidiert	2,0982	0,8561	0,05465
Mušiston	Tadžikistan	T 94/04-7	Primärerz	1,6920	0,6980	0,04392
Mušiston	Tadžikistan	T 94/04-9	Cu	2,1024	0,8581	0,05485
Mušiston	Tadžikistan	T 97/04a-1	Primärerz	2,0991	0,8568	0,05471
Mušiston	Tadžikistan	T 97/04a-2	Primärerz	2,1020	0,8578	0,05478

* Die Nakhlak - Proben stammen aus Teuffen von 62 m, 50 m, 50 m, 125 m und 165 m.

** Grabungsfunde

STRUCTURE, AGENCY AND COMMERCE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

BY

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We see therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development of a series of revolutions in the mode of production and of exchange.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 1848.

The magic of property turns sand to gold

Arthur Young, 1787.

How odd it is that anyone should not see that all observation must be for or against some view if it is to be of any service.

Charles Darwin, 1861.

Abstract: The nature of the economy in the Bronze Age of the Near East has been long debated. Various models are reviewed, as is the role of merchants, the structure and extent of ‘international trade’, and the nature of the market-economy. The diversity of co-occurring structures are seen as characteristic of the ancient economy.

Keywords: reciprocity, redistribution, market economy, models, merchants, interaction spheres

Today’s economic analysis differs from that of the classical or “structuralist” view, as espoused by Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Thomas Malthus and Karl Marx. The classical approach highlights the activities of collective actors, organized groups or classes, i.e. landlords, peasants, aristocrats, merchants, etc. In the 20th century John Maynard Keynes adopted this approach in directing his anger against high-saving rentiers and speculators believed to be responsible for slowing economic growth. In such an approach relationships among collective actors influence and determine technical and social progress. Markets are deemed to be the factor that determines the level of effective demand while the economy’s position depends on the interaction of supply and demand systems. In such a system supply may, or may not, create its own demand. Demand normally creates supply. Thus, while entrepreneurship, individual agency, is essential to the existence of a market economy entrepreneurial

success depends upon the state for its supportive or restrictive role (Taylor 2007).

To what extent did entrepreneurship and a market economy exist within the ancient Near East? For decades archaeologists and Assyriologists were influenced by the writings of Karl Polanyi (1957). He held that social relations determine the exchange of goods either within a context of *reciprocity*: the exchange of goods within symmetrically arranged groups or, *redistribution*: the exchange of goods organized by a powerful center. These interactions are not structured along rational actions but by social interactions. Such a view is directly opposed to neo-classical economic theory that recognizes exchange only in the presence of price-making markets. The debate between the contrasting modes of exchange that characterized the ancient Near East has endured for decades. The great classicist Sir Moses Finley in his highly influential *Ancient Economy* (1973: 28) came firmly down on the side of Polanyi:

The Near Eastern economies were dominated by large palace or temple complexes, who owned the greater part of the arable [land], virtually monopolized anything that can be called “industrial production” as well as foreign trade (which includes inter-city trade, not merely trade with foreign parts), and organized the economic, military, political and religious life of the society through a single complicated, bureaucratic, record-keeping operation for which the word “rationing”, taken very broadly, is as good a one-word description as I can think of.”

More recent research has brought about a shift in perspective. There is an identifiable terminology that documents the physical presence of markets (Röllig 1976) and, more importantly, one cannot ignore the empirical data that record the existence of market mechanisms that recognize the concepts of profit and loss, investment, price fluctuations, and situations of scarcity (Gledhill & Larsen 1982; Larsen 1976; Veenhof 1972; van de Mieroop 1999: 92-135; Özgüç 2003). The *relative* importance of a market economy and redistribution remains an enduring problem. Polanyi’s lasting contribution lies in identifying alternative means of exchange that most assuredly did exist in the ancient Near East: reciprocity and redistribution.

Third millennium institutions, principally temples and palaces, supported scores of families through a system of rations, redistributing wool, barley, oil, textiles, bread and beer. Adult men and women, children, babies, the

elderly, and the handicapped were allocated specific rations according to age, gender, occupation, and physical condition. In the second millennium the ration system was replaced by a wage structure but the central support of the majority of population by the central institutions remained the same (van de Mieroop 1999: 118). In reviewing the three modes of exchange: reciprocity, redistribution, and the market van de Mieroop reaches the following conclusion: "Again, I think that we cannot determine the relative value of these three modes of exchange at any time within Mesopotamian history, nor can we say that any one of them was absent at a particular moment in time".

Liverani (2001) in an extremely insightful study has posited an evolutionary distinction between reciprocity and redistribution. He sees redistribution as a pattern more "archaic" and linked to the origin of the state and the emergence of an administrative centrality. Thus, redistribution underscored a "centrist ideology". That which lay beyond the central control of redistribution was a world of "chaos" for "the centrality of some states left little room for a multicentered 'symmetrical' understanding of political relationships." (Liverani 2001: 6).

An important distinction between reciprocity and redistribution is made by John Baines and Norman Yoffee (2000: 16). They distinguish between "autonomous elites" (as defined by Schmucl Eisenstadt (1986) whose existence, recruitment and legitimacy do not depend on kinship or political affiliation, but on individual and intellectual abilities) and "inner elites". Inner elites according to Baines and Yoffee:

"consist of a very small percentage of people [in the earliest civilizations], certainly less than 1 %, and constitutes both the cultural and the administrative and executive core of a society... The inner elite is the group that carries and transmits the central meaning of a civilization....The conclusion seems inescapable that the principal focus of high culture was the very elites themselves, at whose behest it was created and for whom it was sustained, and the great gods. The inner elites made themselves the focus and the repository of civilizational meanings in such a way that the rest of society was excluded from the development and maintenance of those meanings."

"Autonomous elites" emerge in the later axial age civilizations of Han China, ancient Greece, Israel, Brahman India (see Eisenstadt 1986). Combining the

views of Baines, Yoffee and Liverani we have the ancient Near East of the third millennium dominated by an economy characterized by redistribution and controlled by the central authority of “inner elites”. We shall return to this perspective below.

In recent years there has been a spate of publications pertaining to trade and exchange in the Bronze Age of the Near East. Much of this concern has been inspired by southern Mesopotamian expansion into the distant regions of Anatolia and Iran. This phenomenon, known as the ‘Uruk Expansion’, refers to the movement of peoples, on a relatively large scale, into the lands of “the other”, ca. 3500 B.C. The chronology of the expansion, its duration, and above all its cause(s) are the subject of numerous books and articles. Guillermo Algaze (2005) favors colonialist, even, imperial expansion in search of resources and control of trade, while Gil Stein (1999) favors exchange within the context of what he calls “distance parity trade”, meaning that the centralized control of trade falls off at a rate proportionate to the distance from southern Mesopotamia. Both ‘models’ could comfortably coexist. It is not my intent to engage in the debate over the cause(s) of the Uruk Expansion. An excellent review of the substantive issues is available in Rothman (2001).

The Uruk Expansion raises a broader issue. What was the nature of trade and exchange that united broad areas throughout the third millennium? There is a considerable literature discussing the archaeological and textual evidence that united Mesopotamia in trade with the regions of the Persian Gulf [which the Mesopotamian texts refer to as Dilmun] (Ratnagar (2004), Potts (1990), with Oman [which the texts refer to as Magan], Crawford (1998); Potts (2000) (Costa & Tosi (1989); Stöllner, Slotta and Vatandoust (2004, Kaniuth 2007), the Indus Civilization [which the texts refer to as Meluhha] (Ratnagar (2004), Possehl (2002) and with the Bactrian-Margiana Archaeological Complex (hereafter BMAC) of Central Asia (Hiebert (1994), Sarianidi (2002), Moorey (1994). The archaeology and textual evidence relating the Iranian Plateau to the above regions is discussed by Kohl (1978), Steinkeller (1983), Potts (1999), and Lamberg-Karlovsky (1996).

The interaction that characterized the Bronze Age and brought distant places into contact has been referred to as a “World System”. This ‘model’ takes its lead from Wallerstein’s (1974) study of the emergence of capitalism between 1450-1550. Within archaeology the adoption of ‘World Systems

Theory' (WST) has had a near industrial output (Wallerstein 1974; Kardulias 1999). WST insists upon three assumptions, *none* of which are applicable to the Bronze Age of the Near East: 1. The core dominates the periphery, be it by organizational superiority, military means, or ideological agency, 2. The core exploits the periphery by asymmetric trade; the extraction of valuable resources from the periphery by exporting cheap goods from the core, and, 3. the politics of the periphery are structured by the cores organization of trade and exchange. This essentialist view, inspired by Marx, is demonstrably wrong when applied to the ancient Near East and perhaps to all pre-industrial societies. As Sahlins (1994: 412-13) has observed, in denying agency to the periphery "world systems theory becomes the superstructural expression of the very imperialism it despises". Philip Kohl (an early advocate of the Marxist perspective advocating #1 above, see 1978, but recently more nuanced 2008) believed that the core (Mesopotamia) dominated the periphery (the Iranian Plateau) and introduced WST to the archaeological community (1979). More recently he has stepped back from grand theory and suggested that interaction was due to "shared social fields". Evolutionary convergence in prehistory brought people into contact within "shared social fields" of interaction. The concept of shared social fields is derived from Alexander Lesser (1961: 99) who wrote:

"The concept of social field has a fundamental implication: social relations within the field are patterned, not unstructured, adventitious, or incidental....the field concept rather than the concept of society as an isolate or closed system reflects socio-historical processes more accurately — that human contact and patterned interpersonal relations are not restricted to social interaction within a single localized social aggregate, but are a universal constant of social life".

Who was it that shared in these social fields? What class of individual or category of institution was involved in these "shared social fields"? Were they really "shared"? Within the Bronze Age was it true that human contact, interpersonal relations and interaction was a universal constant of social life? Whether addressing colonialism, imperialism, or "shared social fields" within the ancient Near East authors have been long on allegations and short on demonstration. Within these "shared social fields", "world systems", "peer polity interactions" and "central places", just who was

the agent involved, or directing, the interaction and why? Certain it is that within the ancient Near East one cannot argue “that human contact and patterned interpersonal relation(s) are not restricted to social interaction within a single localized social aggregate, but are a universal constant of social life”. Within the ancient Near East interaction within “social fields” were far from “shared” particularly in the interaction that tied Mesopotamia to its distant periphery. The ideology of “shared social fields” involves the politics of public intent and naively ignores the complexity and tension that so frequently characterize the confrontations between private and public interests. We shall briefly examine the texts and the archaeological record to see what light they throw on the nature of the interaction that brought Mesopotamia, the Iranian Plateau, Anatolia, the Persian Gulf, the Indus Valley and Central Asia into occasional, rather than sustained interaction.

We first ask the question did wealth increase? Was there a gradual accumulation of wealth throughout the Bronze Age of the Near East? Recently, Gregory Clark addressed this question in his *A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the World* with regard to the period 1200-2000. In England, from 1200 to 1850, there was no measurable economic growth until the Industrial Revolution that promoted a rapid accumulation of wealth. Economic stagnation comes about as a “Malthusian trap” as described by T.R. Malthus (1798) and refined by David Ricardo (1821). These classic works posit that at any given moment there is a well defined level of subsistence that allows for the average family to reproduce itself. If there is a good harvest or a reduction in the supply of labor then mortality may decrease and fertility may increase. The resultant pressure of a larger population on a fixed supply of land will force labor and subsistence (wages) to fall. This is known as the law of diminishing returns: more and more workers on the same area of land results in each additional worker producing less than his predecessor as he has a smaller share of land to cultivate. Thus, in pre-industrial society the material standard of living is determined only by the level of subsistence, which, in turn, is dependent upon the relationship of population to cultivated land. Incremental technological progress, such as irrigation, fallowing, fertilizers, bronze tools, et. al. do not substantially improve living standards but do allow for more people to be supported on the same land. The Malthus-Ricardo trap may account for what appears to be the long term absence of living standards to rise in Mesopotamia.

The unprecedented leap forward in the creation of wealth, after a millennia of economic stagnation, began in England after 1780. A series of technological innovations and economic adaptations transformed the textile industry, transportation, and mining, with perhaps the most transforming invention the steam engine. The shift from men and animals as sources of energy to coal and steam allowed for the production of iron and steel which, in turn permitted for the production of machinery and the laying of railroads. Why all of this happened may explain, in part, why it did not happen before the 18th-19th century. Following the Industrial Revolution economists speak only of economic growth while prior to it medieval historians puzzle over its absence (Cipolla 1991; 1993; Bairoch 1988; 1993). The Industrial Revolution was a Big Bang, the likes of which had never occurred in human history. What brought about this Big Bang?

The conventional wisdom, best expressed by Douglas North (2005), signals out a set of legal, economic and social institutions that are conducive to economic growth. Their co-occurrence allowed for the relatively rapid advance of the Industrial Revolution, compared to the relative scale of long-term economic stagnancy. The most important are the rule of law securing the right to property, social mobility, and open markets. These, in turn, allow for a security of saving, investment and entrepreneurial behavior. The above conditions allowed for incentives that permitted individuals to devote themselves to economic activities resulting in profit instead of gain through warfare and prayer. To the above Clark (2007) emphasizes the centrality of institutions that serve to create and maintain incentives that favor innovation, enterprise and trade. Clark emphasizes the fact that economic growth results in no small part from institutional changes that move away from centralized control to an open-market economy.

In returning to the ancient Near East we may well ask what institutions and incentives existed in allowing for innovation and economic growth. Was there what Kohl (2008) has identified as a “shared social field” that united distant communities into a “world system”, a “shared social field” of cultural contact, understanding, and exchange within the third millennium of the Near East? A “shared social field” implies that all participants in the social field “shared” equal access. Within “world systems”, consisting as they do, of ‘cores’ and ‘peripheries’ relations are deemed to be asymmetrical (Wallerstein 1974), i.e. the core dominating and exploiting the periphery

(for a Mesopotamian example of the fourth millennium city-states see Algaze 2005). Is the “shared social field” and the “world system” of the ancient Near East a soothing parable of multiculturalism, an early palimpsest of globalization that led to increasing wealth?

There have been numerous studies pertaining to Mesopotamia’s commercial relations with the Indus Valley (Ratnagar 2004; Chakrabarti 1990; Possehl 2002, the Persian Gulf (Potts 1990; Cleuziou & Tosi 2007), the Iranian Plateau and Central Asia (T. Potts 1994; Amiet 1986; Curtis 1993), to name but a few. None of these studies address the specificity of agency. Who is doing the trading? Who is in control of the trade? Are they private entrepreneurs? Associated with private corporations or institutions? Representing a ‘state’ owned enterprise? Or representative of all of the above? We shall try to address these questions.

Throughout the 1920s Anton Deimel, on the basis of a third millennium archive recovered from the temple of Bau at Girsu (Lagash), deduced a series of conclusions regarding the structure of the economy of the Mesopotamian city-state. Anna Schneider (1979) adopted his conclusions and presented a view of Sumerian society in which the temple functioned as the sole organizing institution for the production, consumption and redistribution of both goods and labor. This view continues to have an abiding influence upon both the Assyriologist and the public imagination. In such a view the merchant can hardly help being an agent of the state (temple-palace). Within a decade of Schneider’s publication Thorkild Jacobsen, I. M. Diakonoff and I. J. Gelb independently criticized this perspective (for a full documentation of the debate see Powell 1977 and references therein).

In 2001 Mario Liverani published an important and incisive work: *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1600-1100 B.C.* In that study he discussed what he referred to as a “regional system” that brought Egypt, Hatti, Assyria, Babylonia, Elam, and the Mitanni into ‘international relations’ both political (marriage alliances, diplomatic treaties) and economic (trade and exchange). The geographical expanse of these relations encompassed the region from Egypt to Iran (see Potts (in press) for the identification of the kingdom of Shimashki as the BMAC) and the Persian Gulf. Liverani concludes that two forms of exchange characterized the ‘international relations’ that brought these distinct polities into contact: reciprocity and redistribution. Reciprocity involves the movement of goods between symmetrical groups while redistribution involves the movement of goods toward a center and out again. Liverani (2001: 8)

views redistribution as more “archaic”, linked with the origin of the state, and involved with “centricity”. Thus,

“The redistributive pattern underscores both disparity of rank between the central agency and peripheral partners and the imbalance between centripetal and centrifugal contributions. So the ‘real’ situation can range from unidirectional contributions (forced by physical or ideological constraints, and with purely ideological returns), to a centralized arrangement of reciprocal (balanced or unbalanced) relations).... reciprocal relations is the point of view of the central partner...any ‘peripheral’ partner could similarly build a centralized network of his own....ideology plays a central role” while reciprocity is more ‘evolved’ and, the reciprocity pattern also brings about an equivalence in exchanged goods, and this does not exist ‘in reality’ either. The two different partners have different hierarchies of values, so that the evaluation by the one is never coincident with that of the other. The reciprocity pattern adopt the convention of at least pretending to consider each other as equals and of regarding their exchanged goods as equivalent....the pattern shifts from a description of real exchanges to an ideology of the actors involved in them. Under the ideology of reciprocity, quite unequal relations — extending to the extreme case of ‘colonial exploitation’ — can be seen to exist.” And, finally: “...it should be clear that the two patterns — reciprocity and redistribution are not descriptive models but *interpretations* of a unique reality. In other words, the adoption...of one pattern or another is the result of an ideological decision, a selecting of only some elements as meaningful and a discarding of others as irrelevant or inconvenient.... So the very same episode can be framed into both patterns at the same time”.

Thus, both reciprocity and redistribution involve a “centrist” ideology in which both partners consider themselves as fictive equals. That which exists beyond this centrist ideology is the world of chaos. Within the context of redistribution the Mesopotamian texts celebrate imports and almost totally ignore exports. The propaganda of imports is characteristic of redistributive economies. The influx of goods is the tangible expression of power. The central authority obtains the goods, accumulation is the name of the game, consumption, or use, of the goods rarely mentioned. What is

said of the Egyptian pharaoh may stand for all kings, “He is a King who takes, but from whom no one takes” (Allam 1973: 99).

The presence of redistributive patterns of exchange go back to the earliest written sources (Renger 1995) and to the origins of the Mesopotamian city-states ca. 3500 B.C. and “is strictly linked with the origin of the state organization as an expanded household, or ‘great house(hold)’ if we want to keep the ancient terminology’ (Liverani 2001: 6). That kingship within the ancient Near East was structured along the lines of an extended household (in Sumerian called the *é-gal*=great house) consisting of kin, retainers, and slaves is without debate (Postgate 1992: 88-109; Schloen 2001). In the middle of the third millennium, commensurate with the beginnings of interaction that laced Mesopotamia to the Indus Valley, the Gulf, the Iranian Plateau and Central Asia, the Mesopotamian social landscape was characterized by stratified households of clans and lineages ruled by absolutist kings. Johannes Renger (1995) succinctly states: “The records, both written and archaeological, indicate that large institutional households decisively determined the social and economic reality in southern Mesopotamia, i.e. Babylonia, at least since the latter part of the fourth and the beginning of the third millennium.” These households constituted ‘the center of the productive economic activities we now handle through the market’ (Lekachman 1959: 3). David Schloen (2001) has convincingly argued that the Mesopotamian household exhibits many aspects of Weberian patrimonial rule in which the state is an extension of the royal household. Modern examples abound: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, perhaps even in unexpected places, where dynasty becomes as important as democracy, India. USA? In the patrimonial estate there is little functional division between private and official spheres. Official offices originate in the ruler’s household¹. Power, in sum, remained the personal property of the ruler. Michael Mann (1986) has offered a reformulation of Weber’s notion of the patrimonial state — one that Montesquieu first coined as representative of “oriental despotism” (the first of many *ism*’s). Mann (1986: i,1) sees a dialectical relationship between the state and civil society in which a “range of infrastructural techniques are pioneered by despotic states, then appropriated by civil societies (or vice versa); then further opportunities for centralized coordination present themselves, and the process begins anew’.

¹. For the features of the patrimonial state see Weber: 1978: i,1006-10

His view that society is less a system or a structure than a series of “multiple overlapping and intersecting sociopolitical networks of power” accords more with the modern world than the absolutist power of Medieval or, for that matter, Bronze Age kings. In approaching the manner of agency, that is addressing the question of *who* as individual, and *what* as institution, was responsible for long distance exchange in Mesopotamia we take the position that power is always negotiated and as Mann (1986: i, 172-3) argues, “it is the dialectic between the centralizing and decentralizing that provides a considerable part of social development’. One further point can be made that has diminished a concern for individual agency. The designation of the ancient city as a “consumer city” (Weber 1978) is closely associated with the notion that commerce played a minor role in its economy. Weber constructed the ancient city as a parasite extracting taxes and rent from the hinterland and never returning comparable value in goods and services. In this view trade is relegated to insignificance playing little, if any, role as impetus to increasing production. Such a view still has resonance among those that distinguish an ancient from a modern economy (Finley 1973; Scheidel & von Reden 2002).

Trade and exchange are stimulated by: 1) a need for resources or, 2) a desire for profit. Mesopotamian texts clearly hint at the presence of the two forms of trade. On the one hand the state administered trade and rigidly controlled the merchants activity. The state would provide the merchant with goods to be traded for specific commodities in distant communities. Upon the completion of the trading mission the administration would enter the value of goods sent and those obtained in order to maintain a balanced account. If entering and exiting values could not be reconciled, i.e. if there was a deficit, it would be subtracted from the next account. The system allowed for considerable elasticity. The administration would lack precise knowledge as to the rates of conversion used for specific goods in distant lands. There was room for merchant ‘profit’ even in administered trade. The state, on the other hand, was minimally concerned with profit. Its interests lay almost exclusively in assuring a guarantee that its procurements were met. The state gave fixed values to goods. Prices were conceptualized as innate and immutable. Only goods subject to a seasonality of demand, i.e. cereals and animals, were prices subject to seasonal fluctuations. The behavior of the merchant, unattached to the central administration, was completely different. Once he departed with a consignment of goods, i.e. textiles, his sole concern was to maximize profit. Administered

trade, controlled by the state, and private entrepreneurial ventures easily coexisted in the complexity of Mesopotamia's commercial complexity.

Discussions such as "world systems", "interaction spheres", "peer polity interaction", and "shared social fields" avoid identifying agency, that is the role of individuals and institutions involved in trade and exchange. In-so-far as such discussions unfold they are the domain of Assyriologists involved with the textual record (Leemans 1960; Veenhof 1972; Larsen 1987; Renger 1984; 2000; Hudson and Levine 1996). Debates tend to revolve around the question: "Was the merchant an independent entrepreneur? An agent of the temple or palace? Or a combination of the above? Deciding between the above is often difficult. The majority of the Mesopotamian (and Egyptian) texts are recovered from institutional contexts (temples and palaces) that suggest control over all aspects of foreign trade. In spite of this, however, we argue that there is sufficient evidence to document individual agency within commerce, even within the context of private enterprise.

We must distinguish differing roles of trade and exchange in different social contexts as well as in different periods of time. The models, advocated within the archaeological community, tend to discuss 3rd millennium interaction as a functionalist or structuralist singularity. Thus, the model advanced, i.e. "World Systems" unites a near continental horizon of trade and exchange; a commercial enterprise that brought Mesopotamia, Anatolia, the Caucasus, the Iranian Plateau, the Indus Valley, the Persian Gulf and Central Asia into spheres of commercial exchange. This grand edifice is constructed solely on the distribution of material remains without consideration of social institutions or individuals. In a word there is no agency to commerce only a distribution of goods. The distribution of artifacts stand as proxies for cultural interaction. To paraphrase Clifford Geertz 'thin description' is offered as explanation.

There is an abundance of evidence for trade in the second half of the third millennium. The evidence from the archives, recovered from temples and palaces, indicate that foreign trade was largely a monopoly of these "Great Institutions" (Oppenheim 1957). The situation is, however, more complex. Within the Late Bronze Age, (ca. 1200 B.C., see below) numerous centers of complexity had the capacity to engage in writing. The *lingua franca* that united their correspondence was Akkadian. Throughout the third millennium, however, there was but one place that was literate, Mesopotamia. Only texts and archaeology serve as witness to the nature of the trade

and exchange that united distant regions. (For the triumph of writing in political and international relations in Mesopotamia see Glassner 2003).

Of course trade and exchange can already be documented in the Neolithic, ca. 6500 B.C., when Anatolian obsidian, not the only resource to be traded, is found from the Levant to Iran (Renfrew 1977). Within Mesopotamia during the Uruk period, ca. 3900-3100 B.C., numerous resources came from distant regions to supply the increasing number of city-states. These raw resources included copper, gold, silver, alabaster, and lapis lazuli to name but a few. Despite Wallerstein's (1974) dismissal of such commodities as mere "preciosities" we recognize their critical role in economic growth (J. Schneider 1977). These materials possess what Arjun Appadurai (1986) has called "prime value". The manufacture of high status items involves the creation of *added value*, the qualities and worth added to materials by labor. Raw materials moved toward urban centers where 'added value' was created and where centers of manufacture formed an increasing number of urban networks (as elegantly detailed by Jacobs 1970).

There are echoes in texts written in the late third millennium that may relate to the trade of the late fourth and early third millennium. These texts may represent the collective memory of an earlier trade and exchange. Enmerkar, the ruler of the city-state of Uruk, tells how he negotiated with the ruler of a distant land, referred to as Aratta and located beyond seven mountain ranges and across several rivers, to secure lapis lazuli, carnelian, and other stones from the mountains to embellish his temple of Innana. Messengers go back and forth and following protracted negotiations and threats a consignment of precious goods is exchanged for a donkey caravan of grain. Sadly, we have but one side of the story as the lands of Aratta were illiterate (for Aratta see Potts 2006) and Zaccagnini (1993) for Enmerkar's role in long distance exchange. Early third millennium texts are rarely concerned with foreign trade but they do make mention of the ordinary merchant, the *gaeš*, and the foreign trader, the *garaš*. The ubiquitous merchant of the second millennium, the *tamkārum*, who operated in both local and long distant trade as both a private entrepreneur or as representative of temple or palace, is not mentioned in third millennium texts. It may be conjectured that the absence of the *tamkārum* in the third millennium represents an absence, or minimal presence, of private merchants. In early Mesopotamian literary texts the redistributive pattern describes the movement of goods from the distant world to the central capital. Two well-known examples from the literary canon will suffice.

In the 'Curse of Akkad' the prosperity of the city of Naram-Sin depends upon contributions made from the four quarters of the world: Meluhha in the east, Amurru in the west, Subartu in the north, and Sumer in the south. All bring their products to fill the granaries and storehouses of the 'central place', Akkad (Cooper 1983: 3). In describing the construction of the Ningirsu temple, Gudea describes the transport of timber and stone from various mountains beyond Mesopotamia. The ideological framework and the tributary mode of Mesopotamia's attaining goods is succinctly described by Liverani (2001: 143):

The whole world contributes to the construction of the temple at its centre, and once built, the temple will perfectly express the universal control of its god (and its city-ruler) over all lands. The cosmic landscape is patterned accordingly, at the centre of a cultivated and inhabited plain, a city lies where a temple is built, all around the plain, the mountains are rich in raw materials, and from mountain to plain the rivers provide the necessary channels for transporting them. The heroic enterprise of the city-ruler consists in opening the roads to the mountains, gathering the raw materials, and bringing them to the centre. In this 'mental map' the world is shaped as a funnel in order to ensure the centralization of resources. Exchanges between different points within the periphery itself are physically impossible and ideologically irrelevant, and a flow of material goods 'against the current', from the centre to the periphery would be contrary to the funnel-like shape.

The transport of goods from the periphery is an index of power. Imports are celebrated, exports rarely considered. Ideology constructs the 'mental map' of the distant periphery. Its primary function is the extraction of goods. One virtually never reads of the nature of the 'other'; their religious beliefs, central institutions, political or social organization. The periphery exists within their 'mental map' only as a region from which to obtain resources. The material world is a manifestation of these "mental maps". Of the countless references, throughout the third millennium, of the distant places of Dilmun, Magan, and Meluhha we read not a single word of the people or of the nature of their society, only of the resources obtained from them. The ideal of accumulation is the hallmark of the texts. The concentration of surplus is a state monopoly while consumption (so central to

modern markets), as well as exports, are never idealized. Self-sufficiency and accumulation are set in different social contexts but neither depend upon, or acknowledge, a relationship of interdependence — a dependency upon the ‘other’. The Mesopotamian ‘mental map’ which set in opposition a center and a periphery had hierarchical value. Far from “shared social fields” they were oppositional, superior and inferior. The difference was even noted in vocabulary; the Sumerian inner country was *kalam* and the surrounding mountains/lands *kur.kur*. Recently, Steinkeller (2007: 231) has written that “the word *kur* meant “foreign”, also “strange, alien and hence “hostile” and maintained the same meaning whether written in Sumerian or Akkadian. The Mesopotamian perspective maintained a ‘centrist’ position in which there was a clear-cut opposition between inner and outer lands; the former friendly, the later hostile. The texts maintain an astonishing indifference to the environmental, ecological and social worlds of foreign lands. Foreign lands attain significance only in so far as they can fulfill the needs of the central country. These needs were fulfilled by the extraction of tribute, reciprocal gift exchange, and, as discussed below entrepreneurial trade and exchange. Mesopotamian texts record the types of materials obtained and at times the quantity received. Rarely are exports mentioned and even more rarely what was done with the imports, i.e. lapis to adorn a temple (Pinnock 2006). The archaeological record attests to specific materials coming from given destinations: copper from Oman, lapis lazuli from Afghanistan, carnelian from the Indus, carved stone bowls from southeastern Iran, while the islands of the Gulf, referred to in the texts as the land of Dilmun, acted as ports of trade gathering materials derived by maritime trade from distant regions and trading them to Mesopotamia. These regions were frequently referred to in the Mesopotamian texts. Their role in trade is well documented in both the textual and archaeological record. Thus, the Indus=Meluhha (Ratnagar 2004; Possehl 2002); Oman=Magan (Cleuziou and Tosi 2007; Potts 2000); Bahrain=Dilmun (Crawford 1998; Potts 1990); southeastern Iran=Marhasi (Steinkeller 1982; 2006), and more controversially the Oxus Civilization (BMAC) of Central Asia=Shimashki(?) (Potts, forthcoming).

That tribute, gift exchange, and marriage alliances tied Mesopotamia to the distant periphery is long known and much commented upon (Renger 1984). Akkadian conquests extended from the “upper sea”, Syria and Anatolia, to the Iranian Plateau, and the “lower sea”, (Dilmun [Bahrain] and Magan [Oman], see below). In recent decades archaeologists have

uncovered industrial activities, far from Mesopotamia, involved in the extraction of raw resources that were shipped to Mesopotamia. From Oman (ancient Magan) came copper, from Afghanistan lapis lazuli, from Marhasi (southeastern Iran) carved soft stone vessels, and from Meluhha (the Indus Valley) came carnelian. To judge from these, and other examples, long-distance trade involved raw materials rather than finished products. In turn, the luxury goods manufactured in Mesopotamia from the imported raw resources were rarely exported to the distant periphery. In discussing the trade and exchange that brought Mesopotamia into contact with distant lands it is misleading to ignore the different roles of trade in different social contexts. To map the provenience of resources in foreign lands and document their presence in Mesopotamia indicates the presence of interaction but offers no understanding of the structure and/or nature of the trade relations underlying the interaction. There is no agency to the inferred interaction. Furthermore, to suggest that interaction tied distant lands into patterns of interaction representing “shared social fields” is inherently misleading. The social fields within each region of interaction were far from “shared”. The items traded can be broadly identified as essentials, staples, and luxuries. Trade in each of these items have different correlates in society. Trade in *luxuries* (a significant percentage of Mesopotamia’s long-distance trade — as evidenced by their archaeological recovery) involved a very small part of the population, while the *staples* trade, i.e. imported copper or exported textiles, was largely a monopoly of state and did not involve a significant population, while *essentials* such as the production of salt, the acquisition of mortars and grinders, stone tools, shoes, rope, etc. are all but invisible in the texts. There is a presumption that materials extracted from the immediate environment, i.e. reeds, clay, certain stones, would favor a home-based craft production while imported status goods, i.e. gold, silver, lapis, copper and semi-precious stones, would be obtained, and their production initiated, largely by state institutions (Postgate 1992: 229).

The second half of the third millennium offers an excellent complement of textual and archaeological evidence for long-distance trade that tied Mesopotamia to foreign lands (Liverni 1993). The Akkadian Dynasty (2334-2193 BC) procured rare foreign goods by military conquest, by political alliance, and by diplomatic negotiation. Ships from the distant lands of Dilmun (Bahrain), Magan (Oman), and Meluhha (the Indus Valley) are said to have already moored in Akkad’s harbor during the time

of Sargon (2334-2279 BC), founder of the Akkadian Dynasty. While Sargon boasted of his “international trade” his son Manishtushu bragged of his victory over 32 Magan “fortresses”, probably oases towns well known to archaeologists working in Oman, i.e. Bat, Bisya, Hili (Cleuziou & Tosi 2007). Manishtushu’s son Naram-Sin had to re-conquer Magan, defeat its leader Mannium, and took as booty a compliment of stone vessels that were recovered in the excavations of Ur and Nippur. We note that, today as in the past, items of high value [Magan: honey, perfumes, spices, frankincense(?)] packed in expensive containers, i.e. decorated stone vessels, are the key to successful gift exchange. Naram-Sin’s daughter, Taram-Agade, sealed a diplomatic marriage with the Syrian city-state of Urkesh. Similarly, the last ruler of the Akkadian dynasty Sharkalisharri (2217-2193 BC) wed a princess from the kingdom of Marhasi, a kingdom that overran Elam. Such marriages suggest that the Akkadian state did not exist in a political vacuum but was surrounded by other states with which it went to war, had alliances, extensive commercial relations, and negotiated with on a level of equality (for the texts dealing with the traditions of the kings of Akkad see Glassner 1993). The texts offer explicit commentaries on the transaction of materials and amounts exchanged, *res gestae*, as well as chronicles of shifting alliances and relations, *in media res*. Interpreting the texts, however, is never an easy or straightforward matter. The relationship, indeed the very existence of the extent of private entrepreneurial vs. institutional state control, of both trade and production, remains a much debated and shifting target, varying through time and space (van Driel 2000). The vast majority of Mesopotamian texts offer a history from above, a documentation of state, while archaeology, with its excavation of the ‘oikos’, the individual household, provides a view from below. The texts and archaeology would seem to offer a synthesis of an urban-rural continuum. Initially labor was controlled by urban institutions, one could accumulate wealth but laborers, craftsmen, farmers, merchants, bureaucrats, and long-distance trade, were all controlled and attached to state institutions (Renger 2000). In time, by the early second millennium, individuals were able to demand exemptions from labor, taxes, and obtain land. The city extracted agricultural surplus from the villages. Villagers lived at a subsistence level, were characterized by a domestic mode of production in which their labor was free. Such a view is in accord with the reconstructions of Diakonoff (1974), Liverani (2006), Postgate (1992).

Benjamin Foster (1977; Liverani 1993) documents the existence of an extensive private entrepreneurial trade within the Akkadian period. Such trade in the hands of merchants was entirely local and dealt with animals: cows, pigs, donkeys, asses, sheep and goat; commodities: flour and oil while silver and grain (served as a medium of exchange), wood, slaves (with Mesopotamian patronymics [rarely foreigners]), garments and textiles. The professional business agent, called *dam-gàr*, acquired commodities and sought profits from his trade with either state or private client. Texts dealing with internal trade and exchange can be found in every Mesopotamian city-state. What is striking, however, is what is rarely found in Akkadian texts. Surprisingly absent are the very products one would expect to see if trading agents were to acquire goods not available in Mesopotamia. There are no accounts of merchants bringing in bulk acquisition of copper, silver, lapis, or other precious or semi-precious goods. Internal records of transactions of these commodities do exist, sometimes in large quantity, but of their arrival through trade with foreign lands there is silence. Foster (1977: 37) concludes:

“There is in short no evidence in the available records that the Sargonic *dam-gàr* played any significant role in the acquisition of products foreign to Mesopotamia, or was anyone other than a businessman who sought profits for clients, including the state in Mesopotamian markets with mostly Mesopotamian goods”.

We note, however, that the term *nam-garášh-ag* meaning ‘to exercise the profession of traveling merchant’ (Kramer 1977: 61) appears once, and only once, in the extant literary texts, in the epic poem already referred to, namely, Enmerkar and the Lord of Arattta. Similarly, in a Sumerian hymn to Enlil, chief god of the pantheon, there is reference to “merchant of the wide earth” (Falkenstein & von Soden 1953: 76). The presence of such terms in these texts offer suggestive evidence that merchants did travel to foreign lands to obtain goods. That the foreigner was largely responsible for trucking goods to Mesopotamia was an early observation of W.F. Leemans (1960; 1977). Mesopotamians prayed to foreign gods to bring timber, gold and lapis to Nippur. The texts indicate that foreign messengers and traders arrived in southern Mesopotamia from Ebla, Mari, Dilmun, Magan, Meluhha (even a village of resident Meluhhans living within Mesopotamia, Parpola & Brunswig 1977), Susa, Ansan, Simashki, and Byblos. Leemans (1977: 7) summarizes:

With regard to Sumer and Babylonia it can be stated that there is no evidence that they themselves were typical trading countries, nor in general, as already said, that the Sumerians presented themselves as long-distance traders of great importance. From the Sumerian sources it can be rather concluded that foreign traders came to South Mesopotamia.

On these matters there are many nuanced and important differences of opinion. Thus van de Mieroop (1999) and Steinkeller (1987) independently suggested that craftsmen, and other economic activities, in the Ur III period were not as centralized as other scholars believe. Van de Mieroop (1999: 92) concludes that “The common worker in the state sector of the Ur III period, was only part-time employed by the state, worked with other family members, and spent a substantial amount of time engaged in a world inaccessible to us”. In discussing the relations that brought Ebla, Mari and Ur into contact during the Ur III period Pinnock (2006: 95) reminds us that the relations between Syria and Mesopotamia were “more multifaceted and complex, based more on ideological and political elaboration than on single mechanisms of trade, exchange, and imitation”. She finds that the nature of the trade that did exist in the Ur III period was characterized by the “peer exchange of luxury pieces”, i.e. furniture, precious wood, musical instruments, while “predominant were exchanges apparently on a base of reciprocity, of cattle for food, gifts or cult” (as also argued by Owen 1990: 116-21). Finally, contact between the three cities, at least between the administrative elite, it seems is “that the prevailing mechanism was that of peer-polity interaction on a large scale, and of a reciprocal acknowledgment of roles”. The administrative archives speak of gift exchanges, the sharing of royal ideologies, and their attentive role in maintaining and adorning the temple. There is hardly a word of the production for local consumption, of the trade and exchanges that clearly must have taken place between village and villager. Van de Mieroop (1999) is assuredly right that ‘the common worker’ is “inaccessible to us”. That inaccessibility hides and distorts a world of private agency, enterprise, initiative, and productivity!

Eanasir, one of the great merchants from the city of Ur was involved in the shipment of substantial quantities of copper from Dilmun to Mesopotamia. Eanasir lived in a residential area of Ur during the reign of Rim-Sin (1820-1763B.C.). His residence and archive was located on what

the excavator, Sir Leonard Woolley, dubbed 7 Paternoster Lane (Woolley 1931; 1954). Eanasir's involvement with the copper trade was on a most impressive scale. We read in the texts that Eanasir's share of copper in a *single* shipment of $18\frac{1}{2}$ metric tons was $5\frac{3}{4}$ tons - all destined for Mesopotamia (Leemans 1960: 38-39; for metallurgy in the Persian Gulf see Weeks 2004). The remainder of the copper belonged to other merchants and their partners. Although copper was the primary concern of those referred to as the 'alik tilmun', the guild of traders involved in the Dilmun — Mesopotamian trade, other merchandise included pearls, silver, gold, lapis lazuli, coral, ivory, carnelian and other semi-precious stones. It was largely a trade in luxuries commanded by the elite for the adornment of their temples and palaces. Eanasir's commercial operations were both public and private in the sense that his merchant activities in Dilmun represented king and state in acquiring copper on their behalf while simultaneously attending to his own, and his partners, private enterprise. Eanasir and his partners (i.e. Nanni, Shumi-Abum) would invest distinctive amounts of silver and according to the amount invested in the trading mission they would reap a comparable percentage of the profit. On the one hand, his merchant activities in Dilmun served the interests of king and state, and on the other hand, he attended to his own (and his partners) private entrepreneurial acquisition of copper to be sold in Mesopotamia (Leemans 1960: 18-5). Then, as now, there was confusion, and pretense, that public office and private interests were separate concerns.

Goods derived from Dilmun were obtained from elsewhere for there is neither copper, gold, silver nor lapis lazuli on Bahrain, or in the nearby north-eastern regions of the Arabian Peninsula. Dilmun acted as a transshipment center, a port of trade, for goods obtained elsewhere (i.e. copper from Magan[Oman] and carnelian from Meluhha [the Indus Civilization]) that were, in turn, shipped to Mesopotamia (for an excellent review of this trade see Ratnagar 2004). What did Mesopotamia offer in return for the goods from distant places? The texts tell us that the principal Mesopotamian exports were garments, textiles, perfumes, oils, and grain. Two examples suffice:

Lu-Endilla, a merchant from Ur during the reign of Ib-bi-Sin (2028-2004 B.C.), received the following goods from the temple of Nannar (the principle temple of Ur): 60 talents of wool, 70 garments, 180 skins (leather), 6 kur of sesame oil for "merchandise for buying copper and ivory from Magan". While this text (Leemans 1960) clearly indicates that the temple institution was directing the trade the following expresses a

private undertaking: “Lu-Meshlamtae and Nigsisanabsa have borrowed from Ur-Ninmar 2 minas of silver, 5 kur of sesame oil and 30 garments as capital for a partnership for a expedition to Dilmun to buy copper there.” (Bibby 1969: 191). Waetzoldt (1972) documented both the extensive shipments of wool to the Gulf and the scale of the textile industry in Mesopotamia. A single archive deals with merchants procurement of four tons of wool shipped to Dilmun while texts from Ur attest to 9,000 workers (slaves?) employed in its textile industry. A *single* text attests to the processing of 6400 tons of wool (within an unknown period of time) during the reign of Ibbi-Sin (Jacobsen 1953: 174-78). We note that there is a shift in the administration of long distance trade, or so the limited number of texts seem to indicate, between the reigns of Ibbi-Sin and Rim-Sin. Lu-Enlilla appears to act solely on behalf of the temple, there being no evidence for his involvement in private entrepreneurial activities. At a later period Eanasir is both an agent of the palace as well as engaged with others in private enterprise. Such evidence is suggestive, as noted long ago by Leo Oppenheim (1954; 1957) of a shift from temple to palace and an emergence of private entrepreneurial activity.

The Ur III period is one of astonishing textual documentation. Some 40,000 texts are published with tens of thousands awaiting publication. The texts can document the receipt of one sheep or calculate the harvest of 38 million liters of cereal. The written record is, like that of the Akkadian Dynasty, extremely biased. It is produced exclusively by the state and casts light only on its activities. Were there individual agents that were involved in long distance trade? The texts seem to indicate that during the Akkadian Dynasty and the following Ur III period the state maintained a near monopoly on foreign trade.

The founder of the Ur III state, Ur-nammu (2112-2095 BC), arranged for the marriage of his son and successor Shulgi to a princess from the city-state of Mari in northern Syria. Shulgi, in turn, is known to have married at least nine women, each of whom represented a political alliance both within the Mesopotamian world and with distant lands, i.e. a princess from Marhasi. The texts detailing his alliance with Marhasi is particularly illuminating. It details the extent of gifts exchanged in cementing the alliance (Steinkeller 1982). Three of the five kings of Ur (five generations of rulers from the same family) sent their daughters to marry Iranian princes. One can assume that such alliances also involved gifts within a reciprocal exchange of goods and resources. The Ur III state extended its control over

Elamite Susa and imposed a military regime over the region. In the provinces this regime was headed by a governor (*ensi*) and military generals (*shagina*) responsible for extracting tribute (referred to as the *bala* tax). Within the Ur III empire, the goods obtained were calculated in exact numbers whether animals, i.e. cattle, sheep, goats, or other goods and/or resources, i.e. copper taken from the periphery. Political alliances and military conquest formed twin approaches to the construction of an Ur III empire. State control left little room for private enterprise, which, if extant, would have been tightly controlled by the state. It is, however, difficult to imagine that individual state agents and messengers (as Eanasir) did not contract their own business on the side. The multiplicity of regional systems and the permeability of state control to become diffuse, would act as counter measures to the states desire for centrality. That merchants, messengers, and ambassadors carried seals that referred to them as “servant of the king” serves a state ideology but does not eliminate the fact that individual merchants could involve themselves in private enterprise. Nevertheless, Neumann (1979) is not alone (see Lambert 1981) in arguing that the Ur III merchants were entirely in the employ of the state. The existence for private entrepreneurial merchants, however, is deduced from the presence of capital loans for interest. A.L. Oppenheim (1964: 88) remarked that Mesopotamia is exceptional in its acceptance of the economic principle of sponsoring state and private loans at set interest. The existence of such loans is sufficient for Powell (1977: 29) to conclude not only that there were private merchants (availing themselves of state loans in order to conduct their trade) but that “These pieces of evidence bear witness to a type of economic structure that corresponds more closely to a model of market economy than to a model which posits some kind of central redistributive agency such as the temple or state”. Within the Ur III state, the most absolutist of third millennium states, the relationship between merchant and state is a mix of largely state employed merchant, a private merchant’s dependence on the state, and textually invisible private merchants. At Umma the most common commodities that state merchants *received* from the administration were grain, wool, silver, dates, fish, leather/hides and vegetables. The goods received by the state merchant were given a total value in silver. In exchange for these goods the merchant then *supplied* the state with: silver/gold, lard/sausages, copper/tin, bitumen/gypsum, resin/timber, spices (i.e. coriander). The silver value of the materials received was then compared to the value of the materials supplied. If the

silver values were equal the transaction was closed as a balanced account. If, however, the value of materials received was greater than the value supplied the account remained unbalanced and the merchant was indebted to the state. Alternatively, if the supplied materials had a greater value than the received materials the merchant could keep the difference as 'profit'. It is the later instance that accounts for the established 'wealth' of the merchant. The texts pertaining to the activities of the state merchants at Umma, numbering over 75, and the nature of their private vs. public activities is presently being studied by Xiaoli Ouyang, a doctoral candidate at Harvard University (2008).

Within the Ur III period cattle drives brought large herds from the Iranian Plateau to a place near Nippur called Puzurish-Dagan. From there the meat was distributed to the temples (for further redistribution) as well as to the court and military. The eastern periphery, Susa and the Zagros highlands, was exploited for its animal stock. Two hundred sheep could arrive at Puzurish-Dagan in a single day. These animals fuelled a woolen industry which the Lagash texts inform us employed 6000 female workers in a single 'factory'. Textiles were a major export, together with sesame oil, to Magan and Meluhha (Potts 1993). Royal inscriptions mention a variety of places and people on the Iranian Plateau that were raided for booty as well as for captives — often, and importantly, referring to the capture and transport of foreign craftsmen for shipment to the Ur III heartland. With the passing of time the imperial dominance of the periphery failed. Eastern states, such as Shimashki, which Potts (forthcoming) identifies with the Oxus Civilization (BMAC) of Central Asia, were implacable enemies of the Ur III state. Around 2000BC an Elamite and Shimashkian alliance brought an end to the Ur III kingdom. The last of the Ur III kings, Ibbi-Sin, was chained and dragged to Elam. From 2000 to ca. 1700BC an Elamite revival, inspired and directed by Puzurishushinak's Mesopotamian conquests, dominated the Iranian Plateau and played a controlling role in the politics of Mesopotamia (Potts 1999: 122-27). Treaties negotiated after the Ur III wars with Mesopotamia involved gift-exchange and trade that channeled lapis lazuli, copper, carved steatite vessels, horses, tin, and craftsmen from one ruler to another. It is perhaps no accident that at this time (ca. 2000BC) materials of the BMAC (Shimashki?) are to be found on numerous sites of the Iranian Plateau, the Gulf, and the Indus Valley (Amiet 1986; T. Potts 1994). As David Anthony (2007: 417) notes the arrival of the horse and the increased use of tin, all resources coming

from the Central Asian north, began to appear — coincident with the spread of the BMAC on the Iranian Plateau. The impact of the horse and tin, both derived from the north, on the economy (and warfare?) of the greater Near East cannot be over estimated. Zimri-Lin (1776-1761 B.C.), king of the powerful city-state of Mari, in the eighth year of his reign distributed 905lbs(!) of tin to his allies. Texts indicate that the dissemination of the horse took the form of gift exchange (Moran 1992) while tin from the north, Uzbekistan (Stöllner et. al. 2004, for a review of these sources see Anthony 2007) and from the east, Afghanistan (Cleuziou & Berthoud 1982; Piggott 1999) was, in part, more of a private venture in the hands of the Old Assyrian merchants (see below).

In the Persian Gulf the Ur III period continued to sustain extensive contact with Dilmun, Magan and Meluhha. To Dilmun alone eight different countries transported their goods: Meluhha, Marhashi, Tukrish, Magan, the Sealand, Zalamgar, Elam, and Sumer. Archives indicate that state merchants took wool, sesame oil and textiles, a major Babylonian industry, to Dilmun and Magan and exchanged them principally for copper. The Dilmun trade in copper was astonishingly large and complex. Dilmun (the islands of Bahrain, Failaka, and the northeastern coast of Saudi Arabia) does not have copper. It obtained its copper from elsewhere, likely Magan, and trans-shipped it to Mesopotamia. A single text indicates that a shipment from Dilmun to Mesopotamia could involve 18 tons (Cleuziou & Tosi 2007: 196). The centrality of the Iranian Plateau in the literature of the third millennium offers a minimalist perspective. The texts are all about trade in luxuries involving the elite and controlled largely by state institutions. Trade in staples or necessities, privileging the masses, is conspicuously absent. Roger Moorey (1993: 43) captures the essence of this relationship:

“the role of this flow of luxuries in sustaining Sumer’s great organizations of state and their hierarchies is everywhere apparent. It is far less clear how it affected the local highland communities engaged in the extraction, processing and distribution of minerals, since little is known of their subsistence technologies, their social structures, and the extent to which their economies were geared to a production for export.”

Joan Oates (1993) presents a similar view for northern Mesopotamia: elites both controlled and served their own interests in the procurement of status

goods. With regard to supply and demand mechanisms, the dumping of cheap surplus goods in return for luxury items, the cost of goods relative to transport costs, the supply of labor relative to the costs of goods, and other capitalist or Marxist modes of analysis are, given the evidence at hand, elusive and misleading goals. Christopher Edens (1992: 94), after examining Mesopotamia's trade relations, succinctly states: 'to analyze precapitalist complex societies, and the place of long-distance trade in those societies, as economic configurations is to misplace basic social forces in these societies.' Peasants, for instance, are all but invisible in the Mesopotamia texts - excepting those that I.J. Gelb refers to as 'semi-free', dependent laborers employed by the Mesopotamian city-state and 'paid' by food-rations. Edens may be correct in observing that trade in precapitalist societies cannot be compared to modern society yet the precapitalist concern for luxury goods obtained in long distance trade has a resonance in David Snail's (2008: 161) recent observation that, "It is often pointed out, with reason, that the modern economy is oriented around the delivery of status goods". Perhaps precapitalist and capitalist societies share the value that status goods represent wealth that, in turn, signifies power.

The ambiguity in the polarizing perspective that juxtaposes an institutional state control over the economy vs. private enterprise has been a consistent, if misguided theme, within the study of the ancient Near East. That gift exchange, reciprocity, redistribution, and a limited private enterprise all coexisted throughout the third millennium is abundantly evident from the above discussion. Which was dominant, and which contributed the greater proportion to the economy varies in time, space, and by the culture(s) involved. Shifting power relationships and alliances, internal and external conflicts, warfare, climatic ameliorations, were but some of the factors that shifted the always precarious balance of trade between geographic and institutional settings. That a market economy thrived fostering private entrepreneurs, acting as venture capitalists, dedicated to the acquisition of profit, can be amply demonstrated in the first centuries of the second millennium. Before turning to the well documented Old Assyrian market economy it is worth contemplating the nature of a market economies origin. Theories of market development can be reduced to two schools: those that explain its development from the 'bottom up' or from the "top down" (Smith 1976; Berry 1967). The first view emphasizes the role of exchange among rural farmers and the human propensity, so highly regarded by Adam Smith, to truck, barter, and exchange goods. Other factors nourishing this perspective

are 1) the development of surplus producing technologies, i.e. irrigation 2) ecological diversity and the differential distribution of resources, and 3) increasing population pressures. Each of the above ‘explanation(s)’ supports the notion that markets will emerge locally, without an impetus from an external stimulus.

On the other hand the “top down” school argues that markets are not likely to develop locally. External, foreign influences, such as long distance trade, the essential procurement of urban food supplies, exotic elite goods, are viewed as essential for the development of market transactions (Vance 1970; Meillassoux 1971). Whichever thesis one favors for the emergence, if an evolutionary emergence is even required, a market economy, in its various forms, from market fairs to global corporations, represents a considerable diversity of cultural complexity. It can be argued that a market system favors a governing elite for it is they that structure the rules of the market economy, i.e. taxes and the interest rates on loans. The urban elite can either stimulate higher or lower levels of production by managing the rate of interest on borrowed seed-corn allowing the farmer to produce more. In this regard the state may employ a number of strategies to foster the market economy. It may promote a free peasantry removed from the serfdom of a patrimonial domain, it may establish, as in medieval Europe, fairs under religious or royal authority, it may promote a unified currency, with standard weights and measures under its authority, and finally, it may establish a tax linked to an exchange economy. The importance of instituting a tax is well captured by Gabriel Ardant (1975: 196):

.... seeing that taxation requires a certain economic structure, developed economic exchange, active commerce, and the division of labor, it behooves the state and is in fact vital to its existence as a state, to bring its powers to bear upon that structure [the market economy] and to shape it into a structure better able to support taxation.

Such a view suggests that market economies and the origin of state complexity are co-evolutionary phenomenon. One may well imagine that the political process in early states set independent patrimonial estates in conflict with the centralizing tendency of the state. The ruler(s) of state, on the one hand, wish to centralize control at the regional scale while, on the other hand, the strategies at the local level employ efforts to minimize

the importance of the expansionist state. In this regard a key strategy of the state is to support institutions that erode autonomy at the local level, i.e. bureaucracies, armies, and, significantly, a market economy. A market economy extends beyond the sphere of the local community, erodes local authority, and in reaching out to a regional scale allows the producers to direct their surpluses beyond the local community. In breaking down local authority the regional scale market system is compatible with state goals: centralization and taxation. The importance of a market economy to the formation of states and empires is the focus of S.N. Eisenstadt's magisterial study *Political Systems of Empires* (1969). On the one hand, self-interest motivates the individual in a decentralized market economy while, on the other hand, the state benefits from a centralized distribution of the wealth created. In 1776 the moral philosopher Adam Smith, referred to by many as the first economist, captured the essence of the interaction of the private and public in perhaps the most famous metaphor in western economic thought:

Every individual is continually exerting himself to find out the most advantageous Employment for whatever capital he can command.... He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. He intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an *invisible hand* to promote an end which was no part of his intention. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. (Smith [originally 1776] 1979: 423; for more on the 'invisible hand' see Emma Rothschild 2001).

In a more recent vein Jerry Muller (2008: 24) has linked the rise of ethnonationalism with the rise of both the state and the market economy:

By creating a new and direct relationship between individuals and the government, the rise of the modern state weakened individuals' traditional bonds to intermediate social units, such as the family, the clan, the guild, and the church. And by spurring social and geographic mobility and a self-help mentality, the rise of market-based economies did the same.

In recent decades ‘models’ have been advanced to comprehend ‘the big picture’ of the ancient Near East. These models include world systems theory, trade diasporas incorporating colonialist, even imperialists agendas, distance-parity models, or, as already discussed, the strangely post-modern notion recently put forth that “shared social fields” in the ancient Near East suggest an “evolutionary convergence in prehistory and contemporary practice” (Kohl 2008). These models often combine, or stand apart, from overt interpretations favoring Marxist, statist, even capitalist modes of production believed to characterize the social order. It is commonly stated that we write about the past in order to comment, criticize, or enlighten the present. We burden the past with our present concerns, view the past as we wish the present, or idealize the past to instruct the present. In all instances the past does indeed exist but within a post-modern perspective as an *agenda* of the present. Can we remove the agenda and allow an understanding of the past on its own terms? Or does that become an undesirable historical particularism? Adopting any of the above ‘models’, or allowing for agenda driven interpretations, clearly distorts the past and subordinates it to our modern concerns. Today our understanding of the complexity of the third and second millennium cannot be subsumed by any single model. The commercial relations of the ancient Near East can no longer be understood by mastering an understanding of a part of the greater whole, i.e. Mesopotamia. The dominance of southern Mesopotamia [and Egypt] is countered by its increasing relationship, at times even dependence or subordination, to an outer world. The archaeological conquest of a vast cultural mosaic is an achievement of the 20th century. Southern Mesopotamia today is but one polity that interacted, at different times and in different ways (conquest, alliance, trade, etc), with northern Mesopotamia, Egypt, the distinctive kingdoms of Elam inhabiting the Iranian Plateau, the cultures of the Arabian Peninsula (Dilmun, Magan), the Indus Valley (Meluhha), Anatolia, the Levant, Central Asia and the Caucasus. If one contemplates the origin of the horse and tin in this already continental world expands onto the Eurasiatic steppes (see Anthony 2008). Interaction between these distinctive polities was often direct and, at times, indirect. No single model captures its complexity, no single interpretation forms its reality. The concept of “interaction sphere”, the quest for an understanding of what brought different polities into contact is, unlike the above ‘models’, without economic, political, or ideological baggage. The concept of “interaction spheres” was introduced by Joseph Caldwell (1964; Lamberg-

Karlovsky in print)) and posited a correlation between interaction and innovation: “When different cultural traditions are brought together there becomes available to each a new supply of diverse forms upon which new arrangements of forms- innovations and inventions- can be built.”

The presence of redistributive systems, under the control of institutions, and marketless trading, within a context of barter, reciprocity and gifts, as emphasized by Polanyi (1957), were but part of the economy of the ancient Near East. That it was not its entirety is hinted at by the private merchants that plied the Dilmun trade and given concrete evidence in the Old Assyrian trading colonies in Anatolia (Veenhof 1972).

The presence of independent agents, groups of agents, price fixing, institutionalized markets, prices dependent upon supply and demand, interest rates on loans, and risking both labor and profit within a market economy are all attested in the 20,000 texts recovered from the site of Kültepe in Anatolia (see Özgüç 2003). The texts were kept in the houses of Mesopotamian merchants from the city of Assur who established a colony at the edge of the Anatolian town of Kültepe. Texts attest to the presence of venture capitalists in an economic system of private venture-taking. The presence of a capitalist market economy at Kültepe does not eliminate the continuing presence of state institutions administering trade. Far from it. It is precisely our contention that a mosaic of economic structures co-existed rather than promoting a single mode of production! Texts that advise the merchants to “Sell at any price” (Veenhof 1972: 88) highlight the liquidity of the market and the risks involved. Careful calculation of margins of profit take into consideration customs expenses and costs of transport. The texts detail a ‘capitalist’ concern for the procurement of silver and gold in Anatolia in exchange for textiles and metal, principally tin, obtained from the city of Assur in northern Mesopotamia. Assur, in turn, obtained tin from further south, attesting to a more distant transport trade from the source(s) of tin. The differential value of tin as priced at Kültepe vs. Assur permitted the merchant his margin of profit. In Assur the merchant could obtain 15 shekels of tin for one shekel of silver while at Kültepe the rate was 7 to 1. Individual merchants, or a merchant corporation (a group of individuals pooling their capital) could either rent or purchase donkeys and wagons to transport bulk commodities. The maximum load of a four wheeled wagon could carry as much as 1350kg. Such wagon loads contained tin (up to 60kg in a single shipment), textiles, raw wool, leather, gold, lapis lazuli, pearls, ivory, firewood, straw, olives, wine, grapes, onions, furniture, and other

commodities (Gökçek 2007; Derksen 2000). Texts archive the activities of individual merchants, families of merchants stationed at Kultepe and Assur, as well as merchant corporations handling ‘investments’ of private individuals in search of profits (not unlike Eanasir in the earlier Dilmun trade). The texts record the existence of smuggling past customs, the costs of food en route, the amount of interest paid on loans, the liabilities within partnerships, the legal adjudication in disputes, and responses to market fluctuations, i.e. in the price of tin which could vary as much as 20 % over short periods (Larsen 1976). Although the archives from Kultepe clearly attest to capitalist markets (ca. 1900 B.C.) strong indications exist for its earlier existence, i.e. the Dilmun trade of the *alik Tilmun*. Texts detailing trade between Eshnunna to Larsa and Susa to Sippar indicate that the market economy was already present in the late third millennium. Long ago Lambert (1953) remarked upon extensive raw materials from the Gulf being passed from town to town in a series of bilateral exchanges that connected the city-states from southern Mesopotamia to the distant north. Such “relay” trade in the hands of a succession of merchant middlemen connected consumers with suppliers.

The archive at Kultepe is restricted to three generations within the period of a century (1910-1830 B.C). The quantity of materials traded is most impressive! In a sampling of 189 translated texts (of 20,000 recovered to date) we read of 90 donkey loads representing 11 tons of tin shipped into Anatolia and the receipt of 14,500 rectangular bolts of textiles. One of the many merchants residing at Kultepe was a man named Innaja (Michel 1991). When his Father Elali died Innaja went to Kultepe while his older brother took charge of the business in their home office at Assur. Innaja’s sons were also involved in the business and were located in different Anatolian towns coordinating the family business in those communities. Innaja also worked closely with his wife, Taram-Kubi, who remained behind in Assur gathering goods that she forwarded to Kultepe. Inter-marriage within trading families was not uncommon as evidenced by Innaja’s wife being the sister of another prominent trader, Imdi-Ilum (for his archive see Larsen 1982). Veenhof (1977) estimates that 2000 inhabitants, of a total of 15,000, from Assur were engaged in the Anatolian trade - of which one-third traveled to Anatolia. At Assur, as at Kultepe, the king and the palace are barely mentioned. Traders ran their businesses with little interference from the state, save for the essential collection of taxes, the imposition of restrictions on the nature of the goods traded, and the adjudication of disputes. It is of interest to note that

the material remains excavated in the houses of the merchants at Kultepe replicate the indigenous culture. The only items attesting to the foreign origin of the merchants are the written texts, cylinder seals, and their impressions. Thus, if merchants “go native” in a foreign land there is virtually no way for the archaeologist to detect their presence in the absence of their instruments of commerce; texts and seals. One can imagine that this was not an infrequent occurrence in the Mesopotamian periphery.

Within the third millennium of Mesopotamia it is exceedingly difficult to offer an essentialist perspective on the nature of their economy. Gift-giving, reciprocity and redistribution (governed by what Oppenheim (1977) called the ‘Great Organizations’: temple and palace), tribute, and a market economy, fuelled by private entrepreneurial behavior, all co-existed. To attempt to find a dominant mode, as none existed, is to express an agenda. Calling upon an outmoded Marxist mantra of characterizing a continental economy by a singular ‘mode of production’, whether kinship, tribute or capitalism (Wolf 1982), simplifies and distorts the complexity and multidimensional nature of an economy. By the middle of the third millennium the extensive interaction that brought so many different cultures within the Near East into contact would have ameliorated the dominance of any single institutional form. An appreciation of a constructionist view, one that recognizes that trade and markets bring different cultures into contact that in turn transform old social meanings and create new ones. Trade and market practices are inherently social practices that require degrees of acculturation and assimilation and demand an understanding of distinctive cultures as partners in trade. Trade and markets requires a mutual understanding of ‘value’ both within the context of social behavior as well as within the commodity. The import and export of commodities brings about a materialization of identity wherein certain materials are identified with specific regions, cultures, and ethnicities. Thus, carnelian would be identified with the distant Indus, copper with Dilmun and Magan, carved chlorite bowls with southeastern Iran (Marhashi), horses with the Elamites, and curiously, a type of onion, much demanded in Mesopotamia, with Magan. In this manner trade and interaction brings about not only awareness but individual identity through production (Smith 2007).

The use of distinctive seals from Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley, the Persian Gulf and Central Asia, symbolically communicate which commodities came from which of the above regions. Years ago it was observed that:

A related matter of shared ideology and meaning can be derived from seals. The use of very distinctive, highly individualized styles and shapes of seals of the Indus (square), the Persian Gulf (round), Mesopotamia (cylindrical and Turkmenistan-Seistan (compartmented) in the middle of the third millennium is... far from accidental. The seals in all of the above areas are believed to have served a similar function [sealing merchandise for transport, confirming ownership, and for security]. The seals allowed one to identify the mother country of the merchant [and the merchandise]....The seals, in short, provided an overt symbol of ethnic identity as well as a practical tool for trade regulation (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975: 362-63)

Thus, the shape of the seal offers what David Wengrow (2007) has recently referred to as “commodity branding”. Goods coming from different regions would be ‘branded’ by their distinctive seals. Branding identifies within a bazaar economy the region from which the commodities were coming. Specific goods within the third millennium market place were heterogeneous, unbranded as to specific provenance, of dubious quality, and involved procedures of weighing and measuring that were subject to manipulation. Within such a context personal trust and loyalty are paramount concerns of the merchant in expanding their trade relations. One may well assume that trading networks involved kinship networks assuring levels of trust.

In the later Bronze Age (1500-1200 B.C.) royal relations brought Egypt, Babylonia, Elam, Assyria, the Hittites, and the Mittani into a contact referred to as the “Brotherhood of Nations”. Great kings established with their counterpart a fictive relationship by addressing each other as ‘Brother’ (Moran 1992; Cohen & Westbrook 2000; Bryce 2003). This “Great Powers” club was an exclusive one, one in which members recognized each other as an exclusive participant within a family metaphor that excluded “the other”. The “basic principle” characterizing ‘the Brotherhood’ is enunciated by Cohen and Westbrook (2000: 20): “the exchange makes pervasive even obsessive reference to the basic principle of reciprocity”. Reciprocity is the principle ingredient within the substantive exchange of messages, messengers, and gifts. Levi-Strauss’s (1969) trio of items of exchange- messages, gifts and women, are well represented in the communications that united this “Brotherhood”. Diplomatic alliances, threats of war, requests for brides, and above all requests for gifts with countering arguments as to the sufficiency of the gift abound! Whether the gifts were,

or were not, adequate expressions of reciprocity was a constant issue. Laws of hospitality in distant lands protected ambassadors, merchants and professional couriers in carrying out their engagement in political alliances, trade, and gift exchange. An appreciation of the importance of the ceremonial, almost ritual, aspect of gift exchange is fundamental.

The great kings of the Brotherhood never traveled to distant lands. In fact, Burna-Buriash the Babylonian king had little idea of geographical distances. He thought the Egyptian pharaoh was a neighbor and had to have his messenger confirm that Egypt was indeed a distant country, namely, a 2-3 month donkey caravan distant. The Amarna Letters, an Egyptian archive documenting the correspondence of the “Brotherhood”, is full of contentiousness between the “Brothers” (Moran 1992). Much of the contentiousness dealt with the comparative value of the gifts exchanged and by efforts to establish a superior role in negotiating for more or better quality goods. There were rules to the game: specific gifts cannot be asked for, gifts are to be given in a dispassionate manner, gifts must be accepted and appreciated, and gifts deemed of equal value **MUST** be reciprocated. Finally, membership in the club was an effective way of formalizing a civilized centrality, the “Brotherhood”, from a barbarian periphery, non-members. Were it not for this archive the very existence of the “Brotherhood” and its formal manner of negotiating war, peace, trade, marriages, border disputes, and above all gift exchange would be all but unknown.

The glue that held this ‘Brotherhood’ together was a trade in commodities masquerading as gifts. These, in turn, allowed for further exchanges: commercial, dynastic and cultural. Great Kings depended on each other for the supply of key items: gold, silver, horses, chariots, iron and wives. Importantly, they also depended upon the exchange of craftsmen, physicians, and augurs. These personnel were exchanged as gifts and viewed as prestige goods (Zacagnini 1983: 250). That artisans were mobile is already attested on the famous wall-painting at Beni-Hasan in Egypt, ca, 2000 B. C. The scene depicts a traveling smith with his equipment on the back of a pack donkey (Moorey 2001). Gifts as Marcel Mauss (1967: 1) wrote in his classic study “are in theory voluntary, disinterested and spontaneous.... are in fact obligatory and interested”. Gifts are given in the expectation of reciprocation and economic self-interest. As Mauss (1967: 3) demonstrated, systems of total prestation in which literally all items are subjects of gift exchange are characteristic of archaic cultures. Within a context of *quid pro quo* gift exchange underscores the centrality of exchange and as

Liverani notes is “the only possible starting point for the functioning of an international community”. Within the Amarna letters we read (see Moran 1992, EA refers to the number of the translated letter):

Whatever you desire in my land, write to me and they will bring it to you; and whatever I desire in your land, I will write to you and they will send to me. (EA 19)

Between kings there is brotherhood, friendship, peace and good terms if there is plenty of (precious) stones, plenty of silver, plenty of gold. (EA 11)

Since my fathers and your fathers established good relations between them, they sent each other fine gifts and they never refused each other any request for fine things. Now my brother sent me as a gift (only) two minas of gold. If gold is abundant send me as much as your father, if it is scarce send me a half of what your father (used to send). (EA 9)

In Egypt gold is more abundant than dust, and your brother loves you very much. What kind of man is he, who loves but does not send anything but this stuff? (EA 20)

As I am told in my brother's country there is everything and my brother is in need of nothing so also in my country there is everything and I too am in need of nothing. But it is a good thing received from olden times, from the previous kings, to send gifts to each other. Let the habit remain established between us! (EA 7)

Liverani (2001: 153) summarizes:

The idea of accumulation is mainly attested at the official level, that of generosity at the level of personal conduct. This means that the state (the royal palace, the temple) is in charge of accumulation, and its prosperity and effectiveness depend on its capacity to store wealth for the future. The individual members of the community, however, must be generous and show no interest in acquisition. The overall model is that of a continuous and balanced circulation at the bottom

of the socio-political pyramid with accumulation taking place at the top. The concentration of surplus is a state monopoly; the single cells of the community have to keep a reciprocal balance through exchange of goods and mutual aid.

The model of “shared social fields” suggests an expansive egalitarianism. In reality the world of the ancient Near East was far from a “shared social field”. It was a restricted and restrictive world, offering a cultural mosaic of appreciation for regional variation, diversity, and hierarchical difference. The only “shared social field” that existed at a distance, i.e. long distance trade, was restricted to the realm of the elites for “This is a society where most of the people never went beyond the next village, and were hardly aware of the distance separating them from the royal palace and the state border (Liverani 2001: 19). Prolonged interaction among the elites offered status, wealth, an idealized symmetry, and an increasing number of centralities (cores).

Within the Brotherhood the consumption of gifts is all but ignored. What happens to them is never discussed. Consumption is ignored, the goal is accumulation. The concern is to obtain goods but the rule is to give them. Bargaining exists in the guise of generosity. Commercial relations are wedded to political relations and ambitions. Imports are celebrated while exports are all but ignored. Self sufficiency is praised while interdependence is the reality. Within the context of the “Brotherhood” Zaccagnini (1990) reminds us that no single state possessed a monopoly of either military power or the luxury goods that constituted the basis of international trade. To paraphrase Pierre Bourdieu, the field of power is the relations of force between individuals who hold sufficient authority to put them in a position to influence communal decisions. No Great King could impose his will or bring meaningful pressure upon another. For a finely tuned appreciation of both textual and archaeological knowledge of the complexities inherent in the gift exchanges and international relations of the Late Bronze Age world there is no better guide than Liverani (2001).

An understanding of the complexities of the ancient economy of the Near East necessitates an imagination that allows for the co-existence of various economic actors and structures whose relative importance varies both within and over time. Mesopotamia was neither dominated by capitalist style activity, as argued by Silver (1985), by Polanyi's (1957) reciprocity and redistribution, or by Wolf's (1982) varied modes of production.

Such crystallization of singular types recalls the arguments of the Bücher-Meyer controversy which over a century ago juxtaposed “modern” vs. “primitive” economic structures (see Finley 1979 for a review of this controversy). Our own contemporary aversion to state control of an economy, our belief that free enterprise is a panacea for all social ills, or a contrasting view of communal ownership in a society of shared social fields, are but a few ideological impulses with which we burden the past. Goal motivated behavior is a decisive factor in social transformation, whether the motivation be for power as ultimately practiced by the state, or for profit, as sought by the entrepreneur. Trade highlights interaction both within a community and at a distance. Interaction, in turn, highlights the importance of agency that precipitates individual action. Interaction, whether it be between states or individuals simply cannot be treated as mere structural phenomenon confirming a universal or essentialist model. Interaction is a continuing process at times co-operative, often violent, almost always unpredictable, subject to forces resulting too frequently in unforeseen consequences. There are indeed “shared social fields” that Kohl (2008) believes represent a convergence of prehistory and contemporary practice, but not in the sense of his meaning. Today the state, priests, and merchants, as in the third millennium, continue to envelope us in their macabre dance in which profit and value serve as motive, even as adaptive, force. The convergence of prehistory and contemporary practice, with regard to profit and value, present us with a stark contrast between the past and the present world. Profit and value, as countless other attributes, are perceived and acted upon by individual agents in a completely different manner, dependent upon the distinctive cultural context. Cores and peripheries, as well as their economic structures, depend upon perspective. Contending imperial traditions be they Ebla-Ur, Persepolis - Athens, Rome - Constantinople, or Madrid - Vienna, suggest that contending historical centers have always lacked a precise geographical point. Within our mental map of the ancient Near East the cherished centrality of Mesopotamia must give way to the center being located on a shifting horizon. As the first philosopher of the dialectic, Heraclitus of Ephesus (540-475 B.C.), observed “Everything is and is not”.

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HAFTAVAN IV (IRON II) SETTLEMENT CEMETERY: NW-IRAN, AZERBAIJAN

BY

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Abstract: Some 25 graves excavated at Haftavan Tepe in Iranian Azerbaijan came from Iron Age II, Haftavan IV. This article examines the contents of the graves; all are simple pit graves with relatively simple ceramics and a poor collection of jewelry and other personal ornaments. The burials have been dug in the cemetery at the edges of the settlement areas. This can be seen in marked contrast to the old burial practices of period VI (LBA), where burials were made at various points under the settlement floor and, most importantly, infants were buried in jars. On the basis of relative dating, typological parallels and stratigraphic sources, the use of the graves can be assigned to the 12th to 8th centuries BC. Finally, from an overall viewpoint, the tentative nature of the conclusions presented in the article must be stressed.

Keywords: Iran, Azerbaijan, Iron Age, Haftavan Tepe, Cemetery.

Introduction

In the last decades the accumulation of burials in cemeteries on the Iranian Plateau has been interpreted in several ways. Without going into a great deal of detail, it must still be stated that the existence of only one archaeological analysis of burial rites — significant in its use of different methodologies for an explanation of burial customs in the period with which we are concerned — make it difficult to develop a hypothesis about the nature of burial rites on the Iranian plateau during Iron age.

Medvedskaya's analyses the burial rites of Iron I in the plateau in order to test the association between Iron I burial rites and the cultural change that may have been initiated by the Iranian tribes arriving onto the plateau (Medvedskaya 1982). In this connection one should note that in most Iron Age cemeteries, such as Dinkha Tepe (Muscarella 1974), Yanik Tepe (Burney 1964) and Talysh (Schaeffer 1948), no traces of habitation were

located, so that their spatial relationship to the cemeteries is not known. At Haftavan, unlike the other relevant cemeteries, not only is the cemetery related to the settlement but also the total cemetery area seems to be extended in a semi-circle around the mound, from the east to the west (Pl. 1).

The Iron II levels and relevant burials were excavated during the 1968 – 69 – 71 – 73 – 75 seasons at Haftavan (Burney 1970, 1972, 1973 and 1975). However, the principal data for this period are derived from both the burials and settlement. In this connection there is clear stratigraphical evidence that these burials were associated with the Iron II settlements in the site (Pl. 2). Moreover many objects of this period were found in situ. Therefore one can gain a considerable understanding of the Iron II occupation at Haftavan by examining the burial data.

Haftavan IV Graves:

The mound of Haftavan was used as a burial ground throughout a major part of its inhabited history. Graves contemporaneous with periods V through I have been discovered in the debris forming the mound, and there is no reason to doubt the existence of more graves in the unexcavated area. Over 25 graves contemporaneous with Haftavan IV were found. When the discovery of the only one grave in period V correspondingly increased.

The graves discovered on the mound can be grouped according to their stratigraphic sources. In most cases, it has been possible to determine the stratigraphic origins of the given graves by an examination of their horizontal distribution, for — with some exception — the location of the graves of Haftavan VI are usually found concentrated in a few areas (Pl. 1). On the other hand, pottery vessels were found accompanying the burials which are most important for purposes of checking the stratigraphic attribution of the burials — relationships between the pottery of the graves, on the one hand, and that of period IV, on the other hand, do therefore exist.

Turning onto an examination of the sources and horizontal distribution of graves from Haftavan VI; 11 graves contemporaneous with period IV were found in area A (Pl. 1). They occurred at depths ranging from 2 to 3 meters below the surface of the mound. Eight graves were dug from period IV into the underlying period V in the B area. The third group is situated in area C and consists of 6 graves. Not surprisingly, however, the location of so many graves in the western edge of the mound (area A

and B) (Pl. 1) indicated all the signs of a cemetery having existed in this part of the mound during the Iron II period. A further complication is the fact that many contemporaneous graves were occupied by infants and children in area A, so that some definite reason must have existed for the concentration of this selective range of graves on the western edge of the mound (Burney 1970).

It goes without saying that the burials have been dug in the cemetery; perhaps also elsewhere but not under the floor of the houses. This suggests that the custom of burying in cemeteries may have been a new development in the site. This new development can also be seen in contrast to the earlier period (VI) (Late Bronze) when burials were made at various points under the floors, and infants especially were almost always buried in jars (Edwards 1983).

On the basis of the available evidence it is safe to assume, however, that there is a distinct locational division between the cemetery areas on the site. There is also a differential density of burials within each area. The eastern grouping (area C) has a low density while the central western group (area A and B) has a relatively high density. This situation either represents some disproportionate grouping of the community of fast population growth with a resultant crowding of cemetery space to the central west (area A and B). Thus there is a possibility that the locational distinction within the Haftavan IV cemetery burial area for the different age groups is probably based upon residence, descent or social affiliation.

The most probable explanation for two distinct age groups (adults and infant/child) within one village would be some sort of age stratification, most likely in regard to social position. However, there is no indication of such an age distinction from the material culture remains included as grave goods. Moreover, the orientation of the burials was more or less identical in each cemetery area. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in the other relevant excavated cemeteries, i.e. at Dinkha Tepe, the same observation concerning the occurrence of positioning by age of the burials within the site has not been made. In this site, 7 infants/child burials out of a total of 33 burials were recorded without any indication of age operating as a factor in the location of burials (Muscarella 1974).

Whether these differences between Haftavan and Dinkha cemeteries were a result of ethnic or religious differences is, of course, not known; but this is a topic that can be seen as a potential source of future research, in its own proper context.

Surprisingly only one type of grave can be distinguished: inhumations in simple pits occurring in periods IV and V (Burney 1970; 1973; 1975). It is thus the only type of grave to persist throughout all levels covered by Iron I and II periods, all other varieties either being totally unrepresented in certain levels or restricted to limited periods in the history of the Haftavan Iron Age.

In their simplest and most common form, the inhumations have no cover of any kind. It is possible, of course that the discovery of another cemetery at Haftavan might tend to revise the whole picture. Nevertheless, there was a profound shift, at the time of Haftavan V – IV (Iron Age I – II), in the nature of inhumation burials. This change in type of burials and the existence of cemeteries are especially noteworthy, because this occurs suddenly at a time when foreign influences were being made apparent in the material culture of the site, i.e. grey burnished pottery. But to relate this phenomenon all to the same general source — general Iranian migration during this period — is problematic (Tala'i 2007). In the line of Haftavan V and IV it is highly probable that the inhumations may represent an *in situ* development at this site. As regards the suggestion that burials began to be concentrated in cemeteries for reasons of hygiene, this is not a hypothesis which is easy to test.

One of the most constant features of pit grave inhumations is the contracted position of their occupants. The degree of contraction is usually medium, but some sharp and slight examples were also found (Pl. 3). Just how these contracted burials are to be interpreted is problematic, for the orientation of the occupants is one of the least consistent features of the graves.

The heads of the occupants of the graves were usually placed to the east and their feet to the west, while the reverse orientation of the heads to the north and feet to the south seems to be a less common alignment of bodies occupying graves contemporary with Haftavan IV. However, an important modification of these broad generalizations should be made. As most of the skeletons discovered were those of infants or children, whose bones were often completely decomposed or else had been found in a confused mass, the orientation and position of such skeletons could not be recorded, and we thus possess only incomplete data on these important details. However, in the mere 11 graves in the area A, where orientation of the head could be determined, eight had been placed with their heads to the east, one to the south, two to the north, and there was

overall a complete absence of westward orientation of the head. This fact, however, furnishes an interesting link with the Iron I burials of Dinkha Tepe, for among these only one out of 31 graves had its occupant's head turned to the west (Muscarella 1974).

In regard to the position of the skeletons on either the right or the left side, there does not seem to have been any rigid rule in period IV requiring the deceased to face in any particular direction. The occupants of a number of graves were in a half-turned position, the upper part of the body resting on the back but with one leg resting upon the other in the usual contracted position. Such a position, in some if not all cases, is undoubtedly due to post-burial movement brought about by the pressure of the earth resting upon the body, or even by the effects of earthquakes, endemic to this area. Therefore it may be safely assumed that these persons had originally been interred on either the right or left side of the body. The position of the body on either right or left side seems to have been subject to its own customs, for A and B areas show the occupants of the graves originating in the Iron II period, to have been placed, with only four exceptions, on their left sides.

The hands of the occupants of the pit grave inhumations had for the most part been placed on the knees, but some had been raised to the head or face or placed on front of the face (Pl. 3). Graves whose occupants had each hand or arm in different position were very rare. Leg contraction is another feature of the pit burials. It is apparent that in all cases contraction of the leg is the rule, varying only in degree. The occupants of some burials had the legs sharply contracted, while in some other instance the legs were placed in position of medium contraction.

There is no definite evidence that the occupants had been wrapped in cloth. Only one burial attributed to Haftavan IV contained traces of cloth on the skeletons, but as no remains of cloth were discovered on its floor, it seems more probable that the dead were buried in their own dress. The presence of bronze buttons in some graves should also be noted. Mention may also be made of the occurrence of grain in some graves, while some burial in the A area yielded the bone remains of a small sheep or goat (Pl. 3).

These food remains, various objects such as beads and bronze rings and perhaps other perishable and hence untraceable items were probably in the nature of burial gifts. However, the mere presence of such materials in association with the burials does not, in itself, necessarily prove belief in a future life, for affections and sentiments may go far towards explaining them.

It should be noted that data on the sex of individuals occupying the graves are, in some cases, unfortunately not available. Some skulls and skeletons were badly crushed or had disintegrated; the children and infant's bones in particular being in extremely poor condition. However, it is obvious that the number of infants and children interred on this part of the site (areas A and B) is disproportionately large. Thus, as was discussed earlier, this area represents a distinct locational division between the cemetery areas in the site. Moreover the number of burials attributed to Haftavan IV period is considerably less than what one may surmise the population to have been. There must consequently be an undiscovered adult cemetery somewhere on the mound. This postulated cemetery is probably located on the eastern slope of the mound, where several adult graves of period IV date were found (area C). Furthermore, a very limited area of this sector of the mound has been explored, so it is likely that more adult graves contemporaneous with Haftavan IV are to be found in this part of the mound.

Grave Goods

The graves of Haftavan IV are usually poorly furnished. This is especially true of some graves whose occupants had no funerary equipment of any type, excepting beads. The most numerous objects encountered are beads, pottery, jewelry and small bronze objects of probably daily use. As a whole, none of the grave goods indicate any particular belief. Thus definite conclusions may not be drawn from the nature of the finds found in the Haftavan IV burials. However, these objects may have been articles of personal adornment used as mortuary gifts. Having made this suggestion, one needs to qualify it by pointing out that such broad classifications are too vague and fallible to provide an adequate framework for the present discussion. Since the cemeteries at Haftavan were associated with the settlement, it has been more practical to group the grave goods on the basis of the materials employed in their manufacture, such as stone, bronze, etc. This system of classification according to materials has, however, in some cases had to be abandoned in favour of a typological classification as in the case of pottery analysis. The pottery will therefore be dealt with separately. Pottery vessels were, however, much less commonly present in the graves than might have been expected. Only a few pottery vessels were found accompanying the burials. They consist largely of pots, bowls and jars (Tala'i 2007).

– Beads: A thorough statistical analysis of the occurrence of beads in the grave will not be given here. Such an analysis would be of limited value, as it is extremely dubious that all the beads have always been found and accounted for. This is especially the case with some graves which were not expertly examined. Neither shall I enter upon a discussion of the origin and typological peculiarities of the beads, because such a discussion ought to include a far larger area than northwestern Iran to be of any interest. With these reservations in mind some comments will be given on the occurrence of beads in the period IV finds (Pl. 4).

In general, beads occur in larger numbers and in greater variety in period IV than in period V. This may not be of particularly strong significance, but there is no doubt that it indicates a trend. Another trend which is clearly indicated is the frequent occurrence of beads in such graves is always very high: from a single one up to 100 – 200 beads in each.

Beads have been found both in occupation debris and more frequently in graves. One of the most interesting facts emerging from the excavations of the cemeteries in the Haftavan IV period is that strings of beads were not only employed as necklaces but as head dress and possibly as anklets as well. To judge by the evidence of still other graves, beads were more commonly worn as head dress on necklaces than as decoration for any other part of the body. This rule seems to have applied in both adult and children's graves.

The number of beads found in graves of period IV sometimes mounts into the hundreds and when resting necklaces often reach a length of a meter. As most of these beads were tiny rings and cylinders, it is not surprising that their number should prove so large; but by far the greatest number of beads came from the burials. In Haftavan IV the material commonly employed in the manufacture of beads includes yellow stone, white paste, glass, carnelian, limestone and marble. Shell was also employed in the production of beads. It seems, however, that it was not commonly employed in this way, but when used for beads they were cut into discs and small rings or else used in their natural form.

As regards shape, almost all stone beads conform to a very few types, irrespective of the grave in which they originated. Thus rings, discs, barrels and cylinders are the overwhelming favourites in all graves. Examples of these common shapes may be seen in Pl. 4. In addition to the beads already described, Haftavan IV produced a small number of stone beads bearing

engraved decoration. Bronze and iron beads are comparatively rare. Most of these metal beads, regardless of their find spot, are spherical or barrel shaped. It is very likely that metals were not imported materials in the manufacture of Haftavan IV beads.

– Metal Objects: Objects made of iron are rare in the Haftavan cemetery now under review; but bronze was more extensively employed. The metal objects from Haftavan IV cemetery are actually caches of jewellery and ornaments which were found as burial goods. In dealing with such objects one has to remember that their context may cover a considerable period of time, since some metal objects may belong to the very beginning of the period (c. 1200 – 800 B.C.) under discussion and others to its very end. On the other hand, due to their specific character as caches of precious objects which may have been used for a long period of time, their contents can be older than the date of their deposit. Very little can be said concerning the technical aspect of Haftavan IV metal objects, since the necessary laboratory investigation is lacking. Therefore only the aspects of technique which can be determined through a visual study of the objects can be discussed here. In this regard, bronze objects are normally made from wire. However, some examples seem to be made from tightly rolled sheet metal. Triangular sectioned tips also occur.

The immediate impression one can get by classifying the Haftavan IV metal objects is the scarcity of tools. It is also strange that no metal weapons, such as spearheads and arrowheads, have been found in Haftavan IV cemetery and that these do not become popular until Urartian times (Haftavan III). In order to simplify this discussion, the metal objects from Haftavan IV have been divided into anklets, bracelets, ear- and finger rings, pins, headbands, pendants, bell and chains (Pls. 5-9).

Some of the above objects are already known from the occupation of period V (Iron I) at Haftavan and became quite popular during the Haftavan IV (Iron II) period. As stated earlier, no parallels can be offered for these objects, which have a wide geographical and chronological distribution. However it is logical to assume that most, if not all, of these objects were imported. At first glance, the increased presence of imported objects in Haftavan IV would seem to indicate an increase in trade activity, as well as suggesting the material prosperity of the Haftavan IV communities and the maintenance of the same distribution centre as operated during the Haftavan V period.

– Chains: These mainly derive from grave finds, and in this case are always made of bronze. No evidence exists for the manner of objects which might have been attached to the chains. On the basis of the available evidence it appears that chains played a comparatively small part in the Haftavan IV period. The number of Haftavan grave finds containing bronze chains amount only to one. From a technical point of view the chains are manufactured by means of rings which are hooked one into the other.

Although bronze chains are comparatively few in this metal material, they have quite a wide chronological dispersal. Similar chains have been found at Hasanlu IV. Chains of this type at Haftavan appear to be associated with dress ornaments; while at Hasanlu many of the chains are found in combination with other objects (Porada 1965). In grave N/1 No. 5 there is a bronze chain, 70 cm. long, which was found in the vicinity of three iron pins with which it may have been associated. In addition, several bronze pendants have been found at the same grave.

– Pendants: This group of ornaments occurs in most of the graves in rather large numbers but not in a variety of shapes. They are made of a semi-circular top with only one loop attached to the bottom edge. Bronze is the only material used for the pendants. Among the graves 8 contained pendants and in one instance a single grave included 6 pendants and 3 pendants stems (Pl. 5).

The geographical distribution of these finds offers few clues for a determination of their origin. Pendants of this type are not found in Haftavan V (Iron Age I). Thus on the basis of Haftavan evidence, it is possible to assume that this type of pendant appeared in the area during the Iron II period.

– Earrings: Earrings occur in Haftavan IV in roughly the same distribution as other bronze objects of Iron II. They are found almost exclusively in graves, but within this category of finds they constitute the most popular type of ornament by far (Pl. 7). The earrings occur most frequently in female graves. The number of earrings in such graves is always very limited, from a single specimen to 2 or 3 in each. Earrings are made of bronze and belong to the so-called “S” shaped type. Very similar earrings are found in period V (Iron I) of Haftavan (Pl. 7). In general, it can be stated that the “S” shaped earrings occur in notably larger numbers in period IV than in period V, and they occur as well in Kordlar and Sialk B graves (Lippert 1979; Ghirshman 1939).

– Anklets: These ornaments occur in a variety of sizes. A total of four anklets are on record (Pl. 6). Typologically, the rings are not very interesting. All of them are quite simple and it remains an open question as to whether they should be regarded as finished rings or as unfinished material for such rings. The fact that these rings usually occur in graves justifies the view that they should not be regarded only as ornaments in the strictest sense but also as valuables, i.e. as possible investment items. This view is corroborated by the fact that a number of rings are found together. It seems natural therefore to pay more attention to their economic implications than to their aesthetic qualities. Such a view, however, should not be limited to the anklets but must also be applied to other objects such as beads, bracelets, pendants, and chains. It seems to be easier to demonstrate such a correlation in the Iron II period materials than in those related to the Iron I period, the data from the latter being relatively poorer. Finally, anklets of this kind are found in the late second and early first millennium cemeteries at Dinkha Tepe (Muscarella 1974), Tepe Giyan (Contenau & Ghirshman 1935), and Sialk B (Ghirshman 1938).

– Bracelets: Numerically the bracelets constitute a somewhat larger group than the anklets. In total we have 15 of them, but this comparatively large group is naturally divided into two subgroups: bronze and iron bracelets. These subgroups do not differ from each other with respect to dating and context and to some extent typologically as well.

Generally speaking, the iron bracelets are a new introduction to the site and occur in grave finds. The bronze bracelets, on the other hand, derive from the previous period (V). The iron bracelets are numerically the smaller group, but they are of special interest because of the dating possibilities offered by them. These possibilities are particularly important, since some of the graves did not contain any datable pottery. The dating therefore can be based on the iron bracelets.

– Finger rings: Finger rings were more popular in period IV than in period V. The majority of the rings originate from grave finds. Two of the graves contained 2 rings each, all of them very simple and in a bad state of preservation (Pl. 6).

– Metal pins: This is a rather large group consisting of over 12 pins from graves. Chronologically, they are distributed throughout the entire period IV

(Iron II), but rather unevenly so. From period IV we have both bronze and iron pins. As a general rule it can be stated that iron pins have been popular in period IV, and that they enjoyed a somewhat increasing popularity towards the end of period IV (Pl. 8).

Some of the pins are small, and it is possible that they were used as dress fasteners or possibly as hairpins. In the graves they were found near the shoulders of the buried person. However, it is not safe to pay too much attention to this, since their location in the graves may represent other aspects of the burial rite. If the pins were really used as hairpins, we may have here a new tradition.

Haftavan IV pins fall into two classes, those with simple hooks or scrolled-headed and those with round-shaped heads. These classes of pins are not known in any of the previous periods at Haftavan. However, the pins with round-shaped heads were not in common use in period IV. This latter group of pins has much in common with the bone pins from Haftavan V (Iron Age I).

It is therefore an obvious question as to whether continuity can be demonstrated, in this category of materials, between Haftavan V and IV. In this connection there does not seem to be any striking link between the bone and metal pins. On the other hand, the question of continuity in production of bone objects in periods V to IV is closely tied up with the question of local production of these objects. It is difficult and risky therefore to argue, at any rate until more comparative material has been thoroughly studied and the results published. When such a study has been carried out, it may then become possible to single out local types, which may reflect local production centers.

– Discs: This group of bronze objects does not occur in a great variety of forms. The simple discs (Pl. 9) are the most commonly found type in graves of period IV. There is no reason then for a more detailed description of their formal peculiarities. As the execution of these discs bears a definite uniformity, they thus should be regarded as a result of possible mass production. In the previous period – V – they do not often occur. This may indicate the relative popularity of this object in period IV – Iron II.

The main characteristic of the occurrence of the bronze disc in Haftavan graves is that they are generally found in groups, probably as a direct consequence of their function. In this respect, however, they can hardly be interpreted other than as head dress. This evidence can also be taken as an indication of a full development towards the characteristic Iron II period

female costume. As stated elsewhere, the beads occupy a position of their own in the set of jewellery, having to some extent been used in direct combination with discs as a connecting string between them. They occur in combination with such discs in the same grave. In this case, however, the beads are usually small.

Conclusion and discussion:

A number of conclusions have been drawn from the present enquiry. As pointed out earlier, concerning the period IV cultural context additional data come from a cemetery which is associated with the settlement. Information concerning the graves of Haftavan IV is based mainly on 25 burials discovered there. One of the most striking features of the skeletal material of period IV is infant/child burials on the western edge of the main cemetery is found. This situation suggests that this particular area of the cemetery was a preferred burial ground for female infant/children during Haftavan IV. In this connection, the adult burials, at least in part, are actually located in the eastern and southern parts of the mound. When looking at other relevant cemeteries such as Dinkha II, this distribution at the Haftavan IV cemetery appears to be unique. There is no ready explanation for this uniqueness. Female infanticide or age stratification is possible but a highly tentative hypotheses.

The graves of Haftavan IV are usually poorly furnished. Females and males are fairly equally supplied with burial goods during period IV. Such goods include pottery vessels, bronze pins, pendants, ear-, finger and arm rings, bracelets, necklaces, large numbers of beads, animal bone and other materials. Most of the burial goods were grouped around the head and upper body of the dead. The number of pottery vessels associated with a burial varied from three to none, the majority having no vessels. Some dead were wrapped in cloth before being deposited in simple pits; but such wrapping is not a common feature of Haftavan IV burial rites.

One of the most consistent features of the graves is the contracted position of their occupants. On the other hand, the orientation of the body and head shows the absence of strict mortuary rules during period IV at Haftavan, although as a whole east-west orientation of body is preferred to a north-south one, the head of the dead in most cases being placed towards the east. As for the position of the dead on either the right or the left side, there seems to be no rigid rule. The hand of the dead in most cases had

been placed on the knees. Similar body orientation can be seen in the cemeteries at Dinkha II and Sialk B.

As a rule the Haftavan IV dead were buried in simple pits in the cemetery or in a temporarily deserted section of the mound. This can be seen in marked contrast to the old burial practices of period VI (LBA), where burials were made at various points under the settlement floor and, most importantly, infants were buried in jars. What has been said in regards to the existence of a cemetery during period IV cannot be said for Haftavan V (Iron I), due to the lack of sufficient evidence. We can therefore only be reasonably sure of the presence of a true cemetery at Haftavan during period IV, although in Hasanlu V and Dinkha III we have evidence of fairly large cemeteries that contain burials of at least two forms: inhumation and brick tombs. Also it should be pointed out that, in contrast to the situation at other relevant cemeteries, at Haftavan there are no traces of multiple burials. Thus, as a rule, all the dead are buried in single burials. Finally, from an overall viewpoint, the tentative nature of the above conclusions must be stressed. Thus the picture presented here may be modified in the future as further research is undertaken.

Object Catalogue

Pl. 4. Examples of common bead shapes in Haftavan IV graves

- B) Y3/burial 1 (1975), stone bead.
- C) Y3/burial 1 (1975), signet, blue stone.
- D) Y3/burial 1 (1975), brown glass beads.
- O) P2/ burial 1 (1969), five beads, material is not clear.
- P) P2/ burial 3 (1969), iron, glass, carnelian and frit beads.
- Q) Y3/ burial 1 (1975), orange carnelian bead.
- N) TT6D/1B burial 1 (1973), yellow stone bead.
- H) TT6D/1B burial 1 (1973), yellow stone bead.
- I) TT6D/1B burial 1 (1973), yellow stone bead.
- S) P1/burial 3 (1969), beads (headdress), material is not clear.
- T) P1/burial 3 (1969), beads, (necklaces), material is not clear.
- U) TT6D/1B burial 1 (1975), necklace, stone beads (yellow, black & white).
- V) P1/burial 5 (1969), necklace, material is not clear.
- W) P2/burial 4 (1969), beads, iron and glass.
- X) P2/burial 6 (1969), beads, carnelian and silver.

Pl. 5. Examples of bronze pendants in Haftavan IV graves

- C) J1/burial 3 (1968), bronze, pendant.
- D) N1/burial 4 (1968), bronze, pendant.
- E) J3/burial 1 (1968), bronze, pendant.
- H) N1/burial 5 (1968), bronze, pendant.
- N) P1/burial 5 (1968), bronze, pendant.
- P) J1/burial 3 (1968), bronze, pendant.

Pl. 6. Examples of bronze/iron rings in Haftavan IV graves

- A) P1/burial 5 (1969), bronze, ring.
- B) P1/burial 3 (1969), bronze, ring.
- D) A1/1B (1968), iron, ring.
- E) A1/B1 (1968), bronze, ring.
- W) A3/burial 1 (1968), bronze, ring.
- L) A3/burial 1 (1968), bronze, small ring.
- M) A3/burial 1 (1968), bronze, small ring.
- N) A3/burial 1 (1968), bronze, large ring.
- Y) P2/burial 3 (1969), bronze, ring.
- Z) P2/burial 3 (1969), bronze, ring.

Pl. 7. Examples of S shaped rings in Haftavan IV graves

- A) TT6D/burial 1 (1973), bronze, large “S” shaped ring.
- B) A3/burial 1 (1968), bronze, small “S” shaped ring.
- H) P2/burial 6 (1969), bronze, “S” shaped ring.
- I) P2/burial 6 (1969), bronze, “S” shaped ring.
- J) P2/burial 5(1969), bronze, “S” shaped ring.
- K) P2/burial 5(1969), bronze, “S” shaped ring.

Pl. 8. Examples of bronze pins in Haftavan IV graves

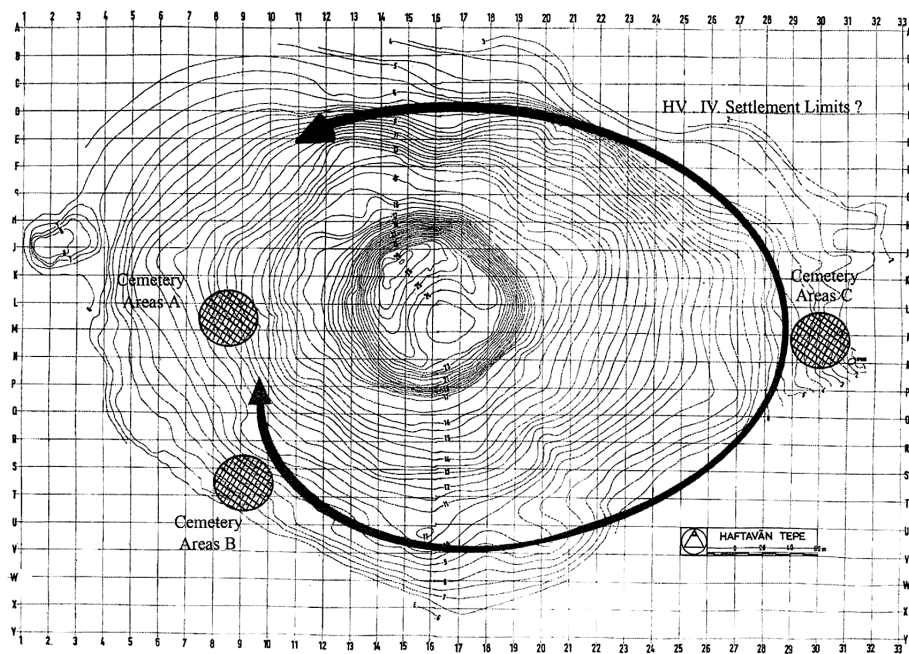
- B) P2/burial 6 (1969), bronze, two scroll-headed pins.
- Z) Y3/burial 1 (1975), bronze, hair pin.

Pl. 9. Examples of bronze discs in Haftavan IV graves

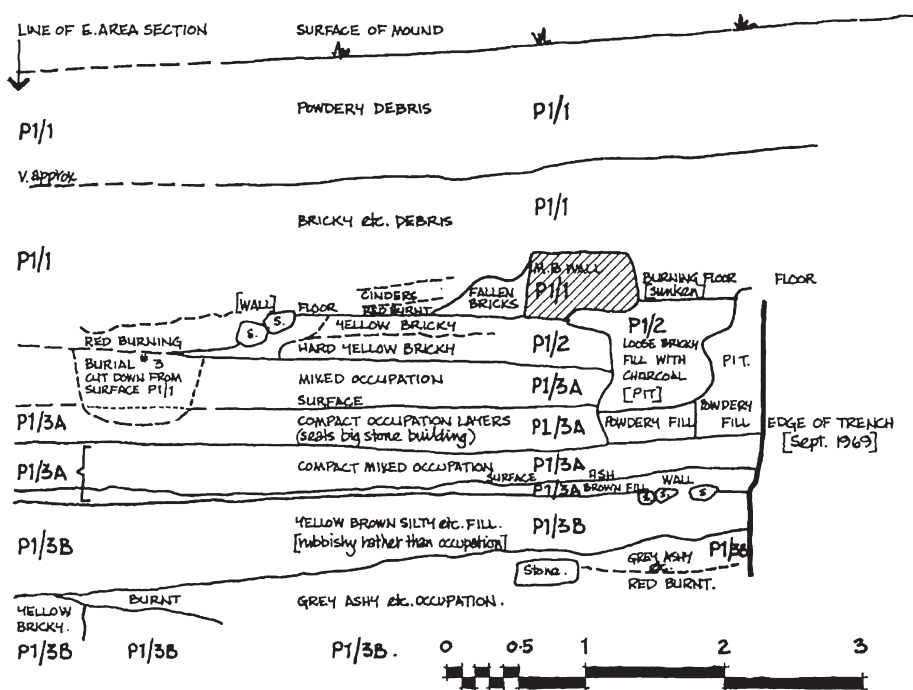
- V) P1/burial 3 (1969), bronze, large disc (headless).
- H) P1/burial 3 (1969), bronze, large disc (headless).
- I) P1/burial 3 (1969), bronze, large disc.
- J) P1/burial 3 (1969), bronze, large disc.
- B) J3/burial 1 (1968), bronze, disc.
- D) P1/burial 5 (1969), bronze, large disc (headless).

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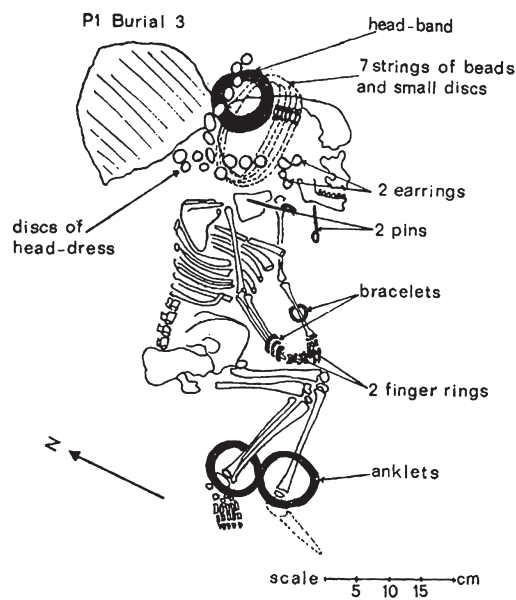
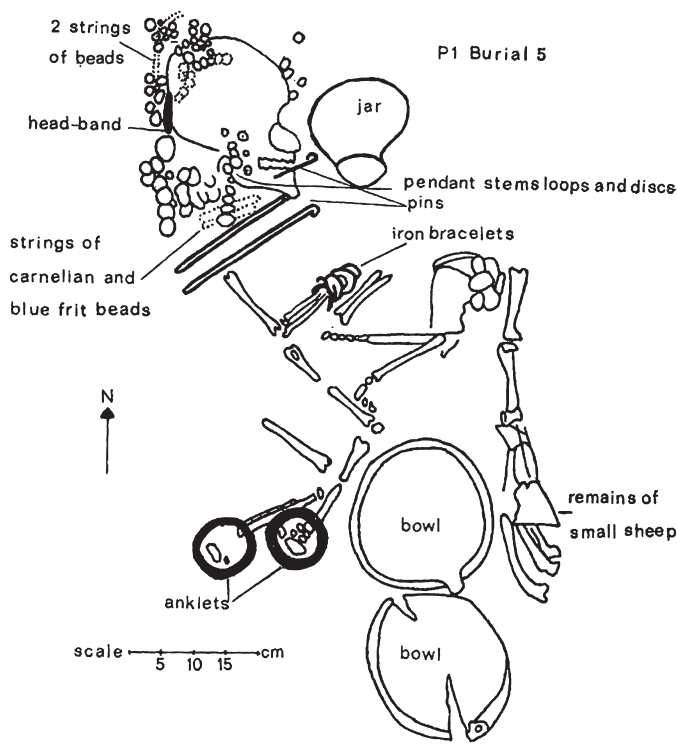
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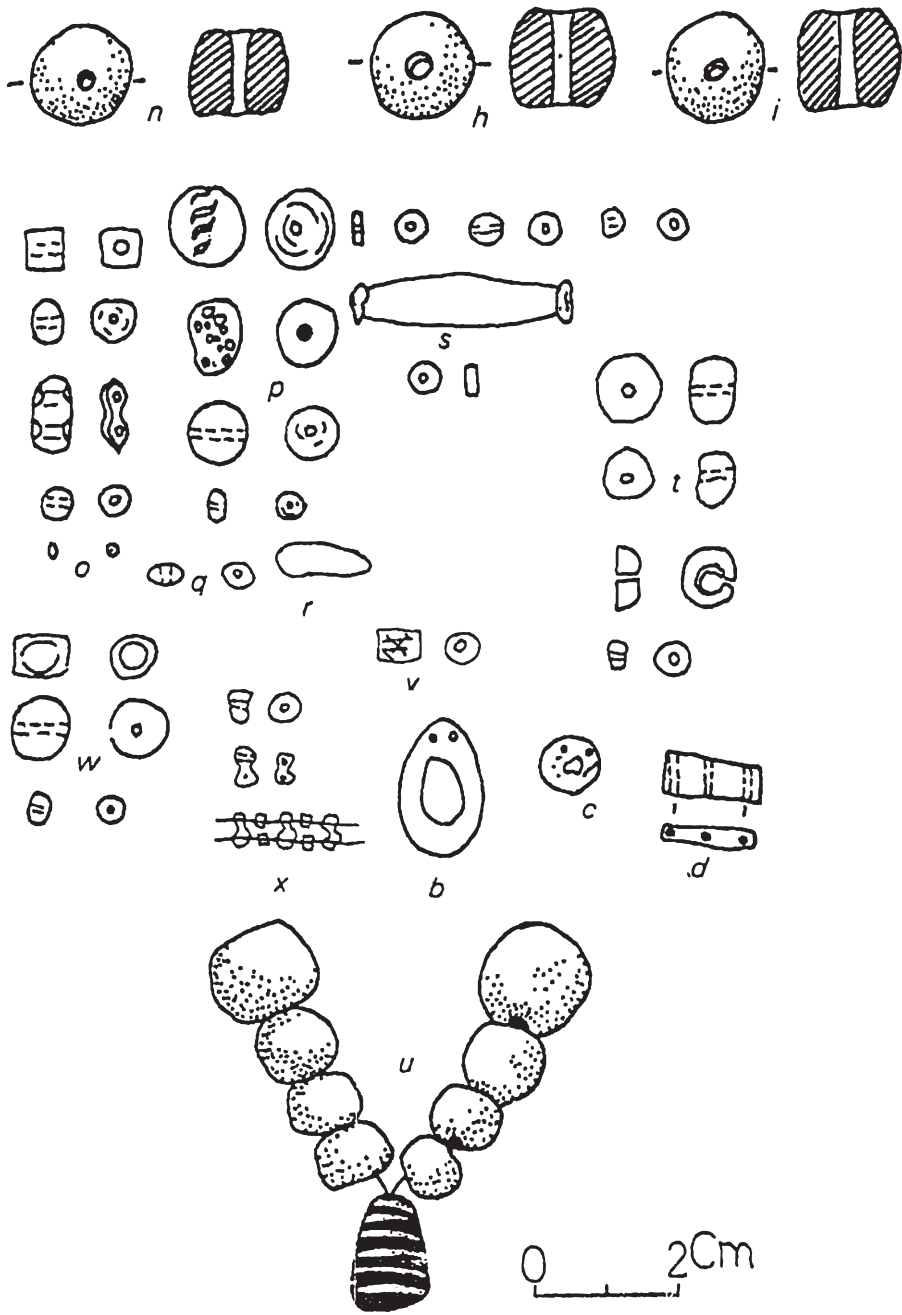
Pl. 1. Site plan showing Haftavan IV settlement limits and the cemetery areas.



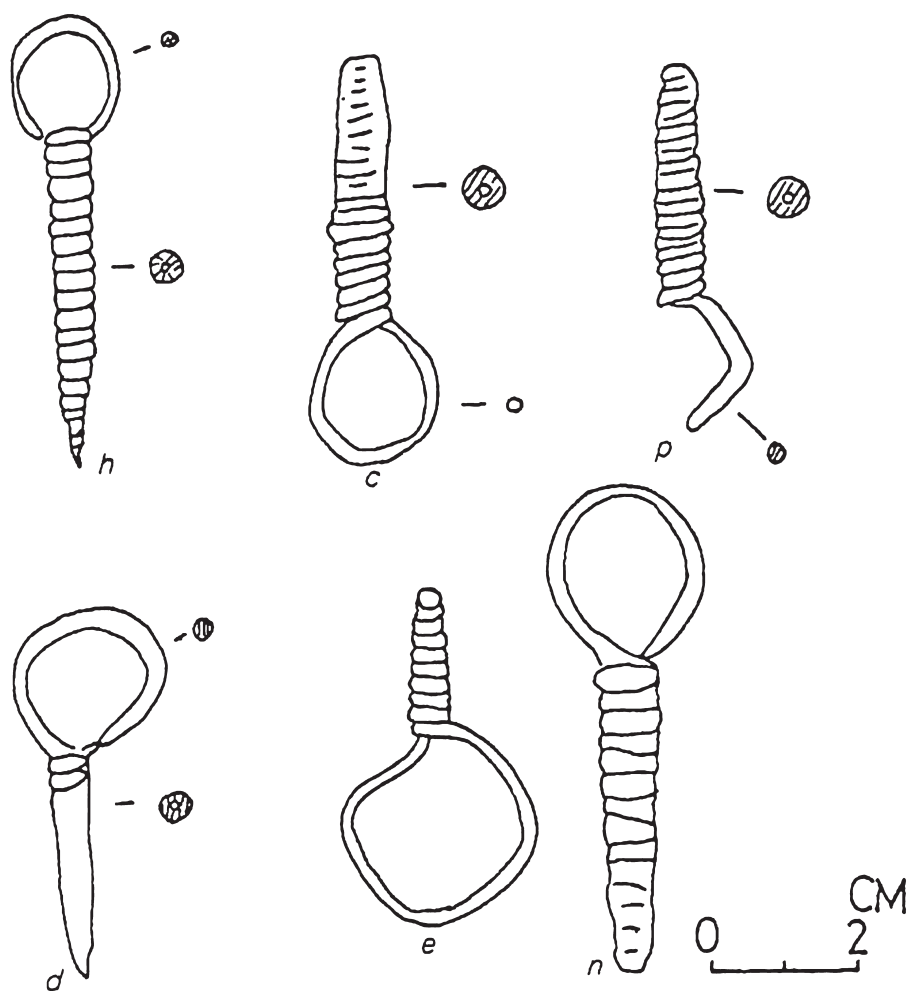
Pl. 2. A section from the A area showing the stratigraphic position of Haftavan IV burials.



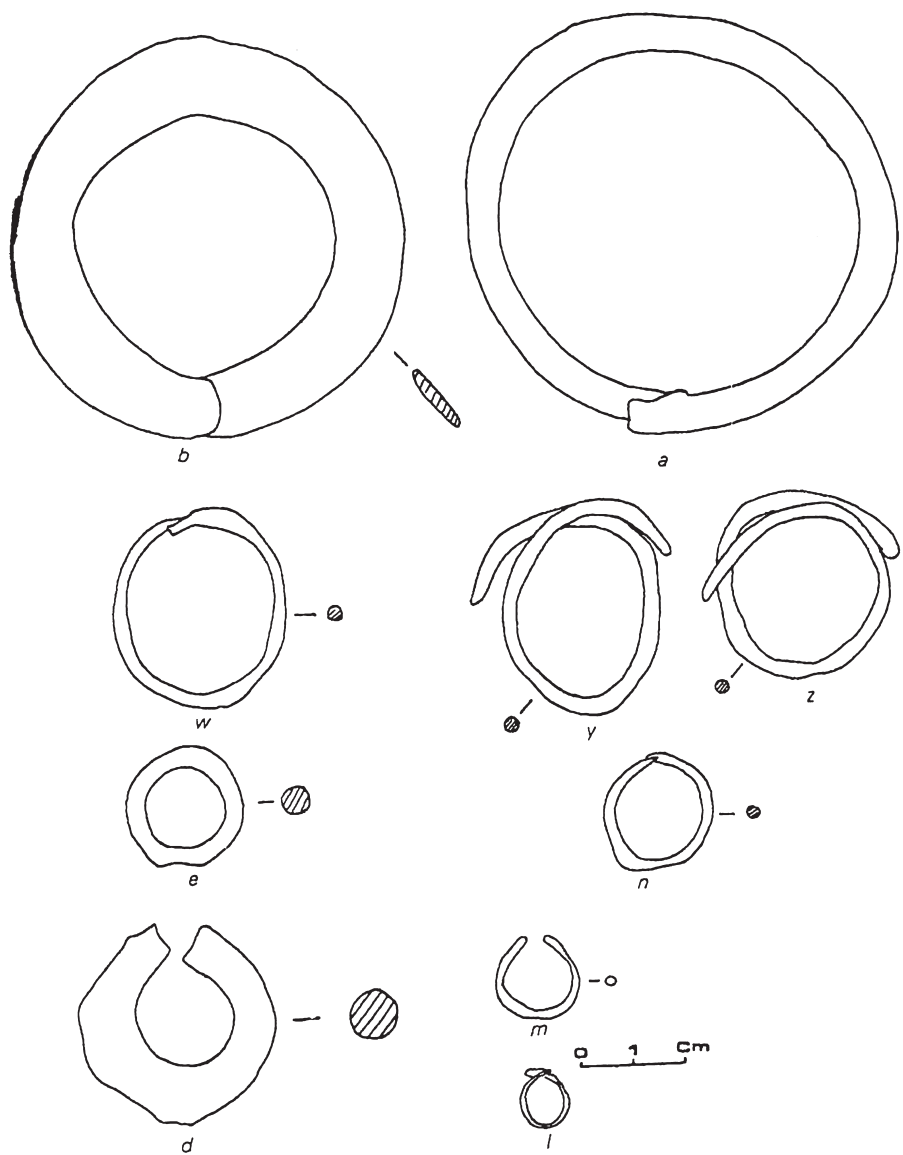
Pl. 3. Examples of Haftavan IV burials in situ.



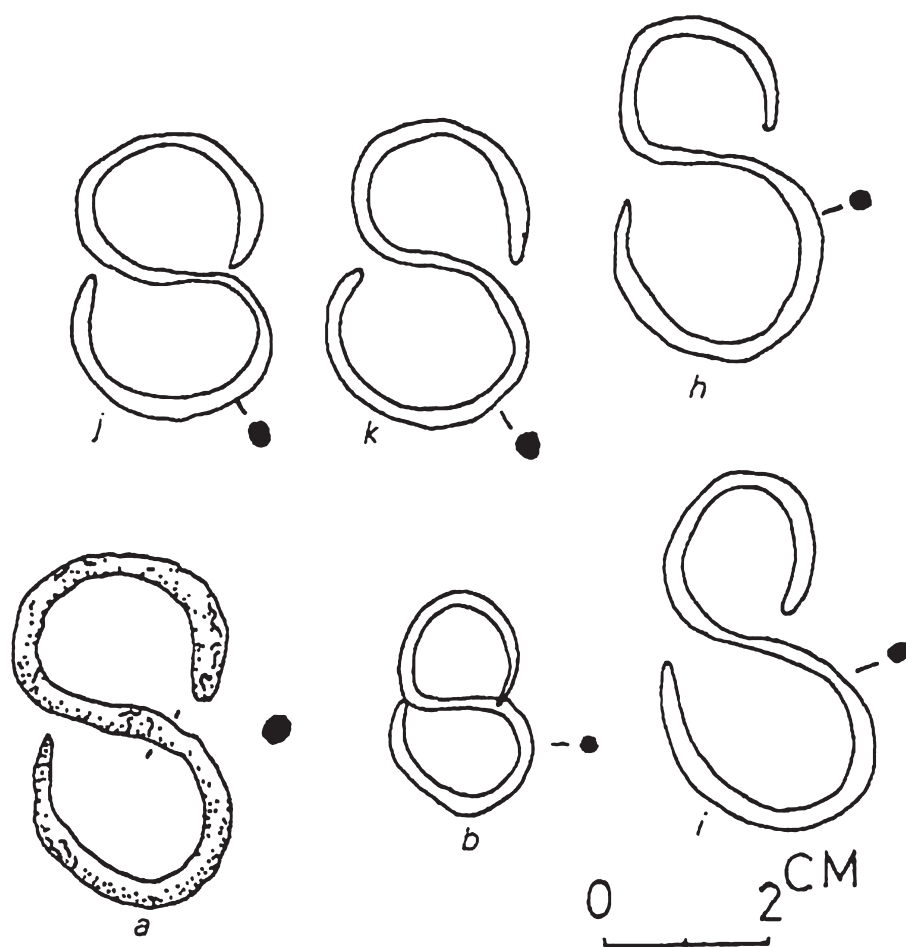
Pl. 4. Examples of common bead shapes in Haftavan IV graves.



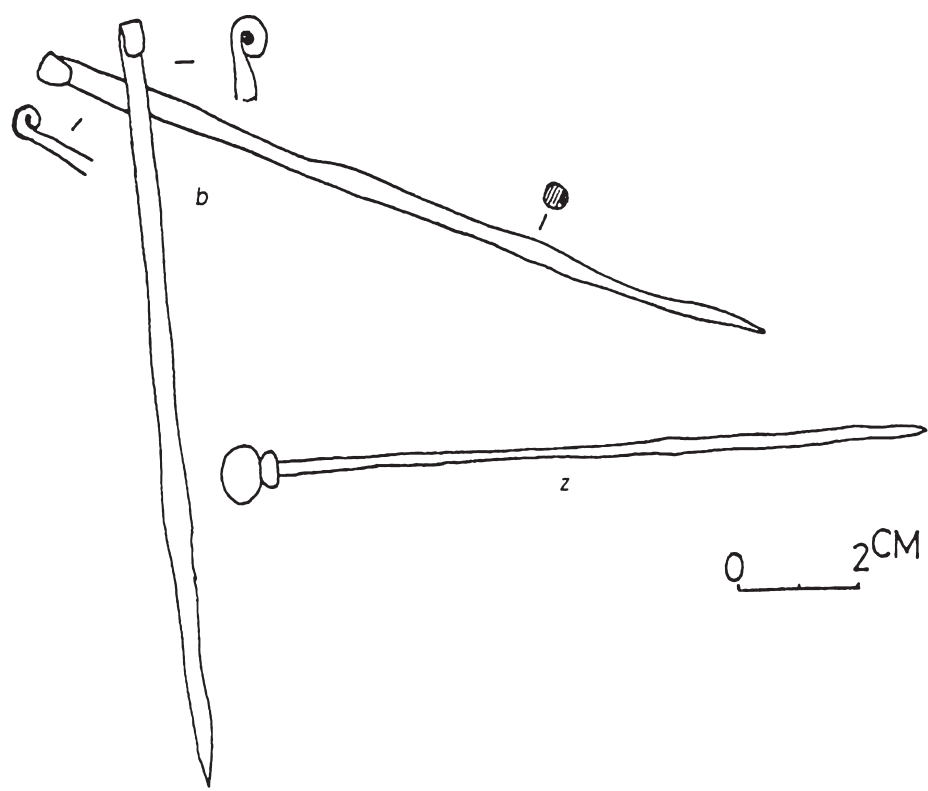
Pl. 5. Examples of bronze pendants in Haftavan IV graves.



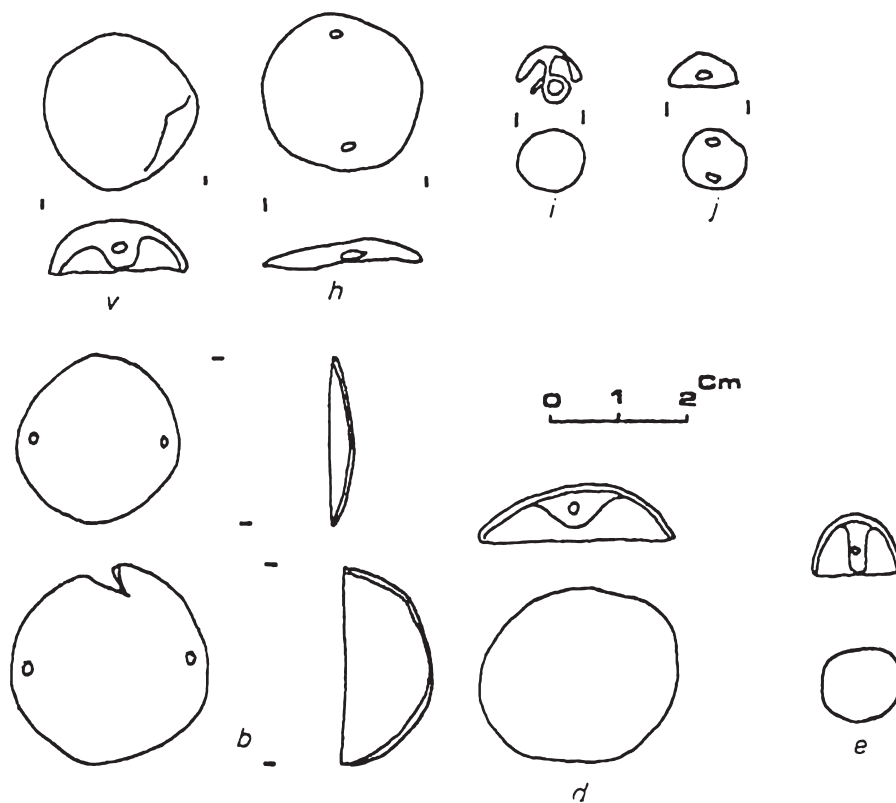
Pl. 6. Examples of bronze/iron rings in Haftavan IV graves.



Pl. 7. Examples of "S" shaped rings in Haftavan IV graves.



Pl. 8. Examples of bronze pins in Haftavan IV graves.



Pl. 9. Examples of bronze discs in Haftavan IV graves.

A PRELIMINARY REPORT OF EXCAVATIONS AT RABAT TEPE, NORTHWESTERN IRAN

BY

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Abstract: During the course of his research in northwestern Iran, Bahman Kargar identified Rabat Tepe for the first time in 1986. In 2005 he excavated two architectural stages (Iron Age II and Iron Age III). Period I (=Iron Age III) is divided into two phases (Ia and Ib). Period II (=Iron Age II) has not been the subject so far of excavations. Boulder/cobble and brick floors made with rows of brick and concentric circles of small cobbles were discovered. A large amount of remains were found during these excavations and include painted and glazed decorative bricks, pottery vessels and clay doornails. Preliminary observations, suggest a date of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. for Rabat Tepe.

Keywords: Iran, Little Zab River, Rabat Tepe, Iron Age, Mannean

Introduction

Northwest Iran is adjacent to the Nakhichevan plain in the north, the Anatolian plateau in the northwest and N-Mesopotamia to the west. This location gave it a strategic position. This region was chosen for research since it was a center of confluence of different tribes with diverse cultural and national structures as well as an intersection for transit and trade. As such, this particular region played an important role in the 1st millennium B.C. in power equation between two major political centers, namely Assyria and Urartu. Northwest-Iran was the seat of the Manneans. However, only very few strongholds and sites of the Manneans have been researched so far.

American archaeologists considered Hasanlu IV and IVB as Mannean, but only later it was realized that Mannean sites existed only to the southeast of Hasanlu (Dyson 1989). At last, recent researches show that Hasanlu IV may have been diplomatically linked to Mannea but that it was not part of Mannea (Khatibshahidi 2006). Excavations conducted in the mountainous region of Ziwiye identified the site as a Mannean-Median fort (Motamedi 1997).

In 2002 and 2004 Hasan Rezvani and Kourosh Roustaei excavated a cemetery at Kul Tarike, 50 kilometer north of Divandereh. They related this graveyard to Mannean culture (Rezvani and Roustaei 2007). Pottery from Zendan-i-Suleiman is also comparable with Mannean sites (Naumann 1967).

During his extensive research of the region, Bahman Kargar identified Rabat Tepe in 1986. With the discovery and identification of Qalaichi in the same year and its initial excavation by Esmail Yeghmaei, as well as the appearance of an Aramaic inscription, of remarkable architectural remains, and of painted bricks with geometrical, vegetal and mythological motifs (Yeghmaei 1985), this site attracted much attention and propounded as pivotal site related to Mannean culture (Kargar 2005).

Location

Rabat Tepe is located at the southern fringes of the Lesser Zab River and about 5 km east of the city of Sardasht, in northwestern Iran. Sardasht lies about 30 km away from the border of Iraq (fig. 1). This tepe is about 11 hectares and is situated at 36°12'11" longitude and 45°32'35" latitude, with an elevation of about 20 m. above actual surface level and 1145 m. asl. (fig. 2).

Excavations

Some 25 trenches of 5 × 5 m. were opened, four trenches at the northern edge and the other at the western side of the tepe (Pl. 1). Surface of this tepe was almost clear and was under cultivation before the excavation process. Some parts of the tepe show traces of illegal digging.

Two architectural stages were identified: Stage I: 1st millennium B.C. (Iron Age III); Stage II: Later 2nd millennium B.C. and early 1st millennium B.C. (Iron Age II).

Architectural remains

Up till now, we have come across two complete separate architectural periods in descending order:

- Period I, itself is divided into two phases (Ia and Ib). A stone pavement placed on the boulder/cobble floor represents phase Ia while the boulder/cobble-brick floor is phase Ib (Pl. 2).

- Period II was only recognized with a 3.5 m. deep sounding, below the floor. This period has not been put under excavation (Pl. 3).

In order to distinguish the limits of the site and its extension in the southern part of the site, a sounding of 4×2 m. was made. At a depth of ca. 40 cm. the remains of a 2.5 m. wide wall were identified with two rows of large stones as outer and inner wall filled in with rubble. Probably it was part of a defensive wall around the site.

Boulder/cobble and brick floor (Pl. 2, 4 & 5)

With the extension of excavations in the central area of the site, remains appeared of a stone floor. With the use of small boulders/cobbles, floors had been created with intricate and concentric circles all around. The distance of each circle is about 10 cm. The center of the circles is made of



Fig. 1. Map with location of Rabat Tepe.



Fig. 2. General view of Rabat Tepe.

larger stones. Gaps between big circles have also been filled in with the same boulders thus creating cluster designs. Further, these circles are surrounded by a row of bricks of $34 \times 34 \times 8$ cm. and $38 \times 38 \times 10$ cm. These bricks were first set in clay creating the outline of the pattern and then the space inside was filled with the small boulders/cobbles. The stones are abundantly found in the nearby Zab river and vicinity.

In some cases, the circles are not complete due to the passing of a brick row in the middle and thus they look like semi-circles.

On the north-south axis, seven rows of complete circles and one row of semi-circles were counted and on the east-west axis, eleven rows of complete circles and one row of semi-circles. All the shapes are inserted in a square with each section being 170 cm. long and occasionally rectangular with 170×150 or 180×170 cm. dimensions. Inside each of them, one big circle has been placed with many smaller circles. The diameter of the big circle is 180×150 cm. and as usual it contains 5 to 8 smaller circles (Pl. 4).

Apart from this, at a later stage, a 220-240 cm. thick stone surface was created on top of this boulder floor that became hidden under this stone surface.

The boulder/cobble floor is probably related to the courtyard complex that we still have not reached upon (Ia) (Pl. 2).

Similarly, there is a rectangular shaped section in the southeastern part, whose surface is not covered and it has not been excavated yet. There is a section in the middle of the surface with 220×110 cm. dimension that has been filled with bricks and clay. We still don't know the use of this rectangular surface. If we accept that the floor enclosure is part of the courtyard, it can be said that this surface is a brick platform built with a particular aim (perhaps for a religious ceremony) (Pl. 4a).

Brick Remains

A large number of bricks were found. Some were complete, others broken and only partially preserved. These bricks can be classified into following groups:

1. Non-decorative bricks

They include full size bricks with dimensions of $34 \times 34 \times 8$ cm. and $38 \times 38 \times 10$ cm. each, and half bricks of $18 \times 38 \times 9$ cm. and $18 \times 34 \times 9$ cm. Some show a "U-like" symbol on the upper part.

2. Painted and glazed decorative bricks

– *Ordinary bricks*: These include $34 \times 34 \times 8$ cm. full bricks and quarter-size bricks with sizes of $14.5 \times 14.5 \times 8$ cm. and $16.5 \times 16 \times 8$ cm. These are better baked and of better quality than the non-decorative bricks. Designs are usually on the outer surface or at the sides. Motifs are varied and include:

- a) Concentric circles along with each other and with little distance and each of them with two smaller circles are seen with yellow, turquoise and white colors (Pl. 6c).
- b) Design of three concentric circles close to each other, whose maximum distance has been decorated with two circle-segments back to each other that are visible two-dimensionally.
- c) Rope or ribbon designs on the sides of quarter bricks (Pl. 6b).
- d) Designs of four interconnected and joint rhomboids at the sides of full sized bricks in white, turquoise and yellow colors. One rhombus

is proportionally bigger with a projection (shape of a big eye) on the side of quarter-brick (Pl. 6a).

- e) Design of flowers with eight petals.
- f) Winged lion-man in an advancing position. The human, beardless head is in white. The figure has black hair at the back of the head and a yellow hair band (Pl. 7).

– *Serrated bricks*: These tiles have little thickness (between 4 and 7 cm.) and were made in different shapes. The designs have different sizes and measure up to 60 cm. These bricks had to be joined to form a larger design. Designs include:

- a) Trees of life (Pl. 8).
- b) Nude winged goddess: Attractive and unique design, unfortunately partially preserved. Shoulders, head and legs are lost. She has been sketched completely nude, with clearly indicated breasts with pronounced nipples and a spiral shaped navel. Her sexual organ is shown with projection and exaggeration. This winged creature has spread arms in an angle (Pl. 9).
- c) Beardless human face with pronounced eyes and a white hair band (Pl. 10).

Pl. 8 shows a stepped brick like a stepped battlement and could have belonged to the following category of stair shaped bricks (the decoration on Pl. 8 is very similar to the one on Pl. 11).

– *Decorative stair-shaped bricks*: Similar in shape to the stairs of a building. They show various designs:

- a) Tree of life with twisted stems, flowers and buds on a turquoise background and yellow and white petals (Pl. 11). A similar decoration is also visible on the serrated fragment (Pl. 8).
- b) Drawing of lower part of a beast (lion/tiger?) with only front and rear paws and tail remaining. It is in half-raised posture. Background is blue but actual color of figure is fading away (Pl. 12).
- c) Projected claw and wing that probably relate to an eagle (Pl. 13).

Other remains

More than 40 decorative and broken clay doornails with 8 and 16-petals (Pl. 14) have been found. Other finds include metal objects, pottery beads,

bone objects and glass. Pottery is also present and three main groups can be distinguished, notably a fine ware, an ordinary ware and a coarse ware.

The site of Rabat Tepe can be dated to the 8th/7th centuries B.C. and its remains are closely related to that from sites like Qalaichi, Ziwiye or Hasanlu. Rabat Tepe most likely belonged to the Mannean realm. The numerous military campaigns and intrusions of both Assyrian and Urartians kings in NW-Iran clearly indicate the pivotal role this region has played in power games between great empires. During the campaign of Sargon II in 714 B.C. numerous cities and fortifications were mentioned in the region and Tepe Rabat may be one of them.

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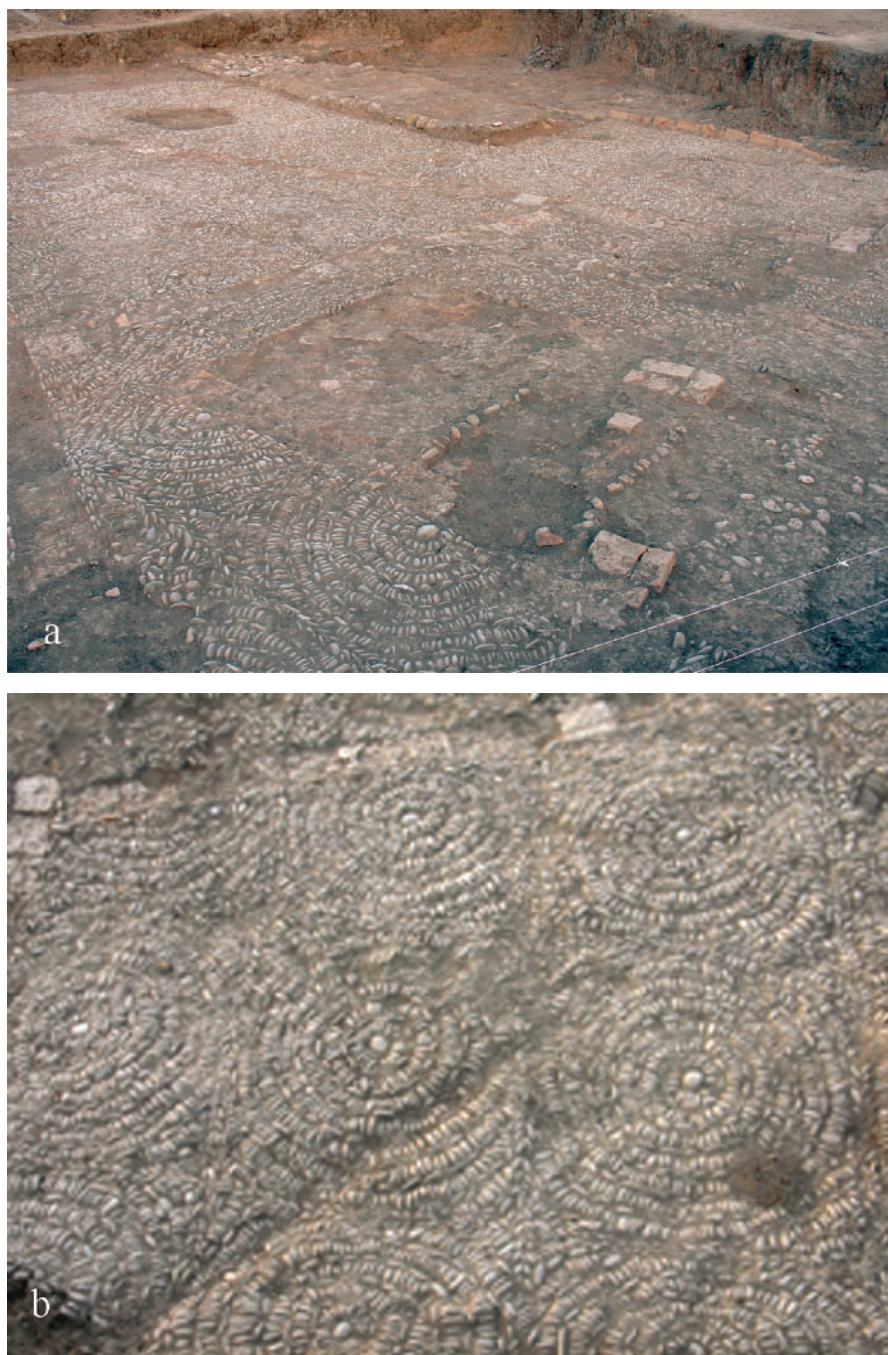
Pl. 1. Rabat Tepe: position of trenches.



Pl. 2. Rabat Tepe. Period I, phases Ia and Ib.



Pl. 3. Rabat Tepe. Stratigraphic trench, levels 1 and 2.



Pl. 4. Rabat Tepe. Floor made with boulders/cobbles and brick.



Pl. 5. Rabat Tepe. Floor made with boulders/cobbles and brick.



Pl. 5b. Rabat Tepe. Floor made with boulders/cobbles and brick.



Pl. 6. Rabat Tepe. Painted and glazed decorative bricks.



Pl. 7. Rabat Tepe. Painted brick showing a winged lion-man.



Pl. 8. Rabat Tepe. Serrated design brick with “tree of life”.



Pl. 9. Rabat Tepe. Serrated design brick with nude winged goddess.



Pl. 10. Rabat Tepe. Serrated design brick with human face.



Pl. 11. Rabat Tepe. Decorative stair-shaped brick with “tree of life”.



Pl. 12. Rabat Tepe. Decorative stair-shaped brick probably showing a lion/tiger.



Pl. 13. Rabat Tepe. Decorative stair-shaped brick probably showing an eagle.



Pl. 14. Rabat Tepe: Clay doornails.

ASHURBANIPAL'S FEAST: A VIEW FROM ELAM

BY

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*For a (distance) of a month of twenty-five days' journey I devastated the provinces of Elam. Salt and sihlu I scattered over them. The daughters of the kings, the sisters of the kings, together with the older and younger of the families of the Elamite kings, the prefects and mayors of all of those cities which I had conquered, the chiefs of the bowmen, the "second" (-men of the chariots), the drivers, the "third" -riders(?) (of the chariots), the horsemen, the (light-armed?) bowmen, the captains and (heavy-armed?) bowmen of the whole army, all there were; the people, male and female, great and small; horses, mules, asses, cattle and sheep, which were more numerous than grasshoppers, I carried off to Assyria (D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 1927; Eighth campaign against Elam, 811).*

Abstract: As observed by numerous commentators, the slab relief panel from the North Palace at Nineveh depicting the banquet of Ashurbanipal is, in a variety of ways, most exceptional. In these pages, I will explore this relief within the context of an Elamite viewpoint and look into those aspects of the relief which directly point to an Elamite political and cultural milieu. This background evidence, together with an in-depth analysis of the garment and headdress styles espoused by the enthroned lady, further expand our insights regarding its conception, intended audience, and the identities of main participants exhibited in the relief.*

Keywords: Ashurbanipal, Naqi'a, Urtak, Humban-haltas III, garments, mural crown

* NOTE. The inspiration behind this research came about after reading a manuscript by Professor Margaret C. Root [forthcoming]. At the time, I was working on an analysis of Neo-Elamite textiles, garments, and headdresses [forthcoming 2010]. This paper has benefited from the criticisms of friends and colleagues. In particular, I am most grateful to Ernie Haerinck (Ghent University), Margaret Miller (University of Sydney), David Storch (University of California at Berkeley), and Matt W. Waters.

Contents: §1. Introduction: Physical and Political Setting; §2. Ashurbanipal's Feast: the Elamite Presence; §2.1. Ashurbanipal's Queen; §2.1.1. The Headdress; §2.1.2. The Garment; §3. Commentary and Conclusion: Explaining Elam

§1. Introduction: Physical and Political Setting

The bas-relief from the North Palace at Nineveh showing the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal reclining on a couch and, opposite him, an enthroned lady (Pl. 1) is widely seen as “one of the most remarkable, but also one of the most enigmatic, subjects in Ancient Near Eastern art” (Barnett 1985: 18). The stone slab where this scene is depicted (preserved as BM 124920) was discovered in August 1854 by W.K. Loftus during excavation of a distinctive wing of the palace whose architectural setting included the presence of an entrance hall with a large portico (Room S, Pls. 2-3). The relief was part of a much larger continuous narrative thought to have been originally displayed on the second floor directly above Room S; more precisely, perhaps along the north-western wall of Room S¹ (Gadd 1936: 193-4; Barnett 1976: 19).

The portico opened into the northwestern terrace of the citadel, conceivably affording sweeping panoramic views of the lower town below. The function of this area cannot be determined with accuracy (see Pls. 2 and 3). The fact that it was effectively enclosed on the north by a long dividing wall may indicate a private recreational area but this cannot be confirmed (Turner 1976: 32). Room S had three additional doorways: entrance (a) lead into an unexcavated area of the palace; entrance (b) included a doorway exhibiting sculpted lintels representing protective apotropaic beings facing into Room S (Turner 1976: 32). Otherwise, the interior of suite T and V is characterized by the absence of sculpted slabs and the existence of a recess in the northeastern wall of room V which was interpreted as having hosted the king's couch (Barnett 1976: 18). In all probability, however, suite T and V should be described as a bathroom and an ablution room (Turner 1976: 32)¹; entrance (c) led into a small square room (W) including

¹ Additional interpretations for Rooms T and V include accommodation for the commander of the palace watch (Meissner and Opitz 1939: 49). We find a similar recess in the southwestern wall of the Susiana Room (Room F). At the back of this recess there was a sculpture representing “a most hideous lion-headed monster with extended jaws, the tail of a scorpion and the feet of an eagle” (Rassam in Barnett 1976: 14). Room F is closely associated with the throne room and may perhaps be interpreted as a bathroom (Turner 1970).

the remains of a heavy arch in solid masonry which most likely functioned as support for a staircase. The convergence in this wing of the palace of a monumental portal (opening, perhaps, to a leisure area), a staircase, and solid walls, has inspired the view that it belonged to the private quarters of the palace including, on a second floor, a royal *harem* (Barnett 1976: 18; Albenda 1977: 44)².

The term *bît hilāni* has been employed to describe this sector of the palace (Meissner and Opitz 1939). As stated by Barnett, technically and from an Assyrian viewpoint, this term may not accurately describe the characteristics of Room S, a large rectangular hall with a columned portico structurally integrated *into* the main building and not independent from it (see also Turner 1976: 31, n. 1). By *bît hilāni* C.J. Gadd (1936: 115) suggests, “a structure which they [the Assyrians] avowedly imitated from Hittite (i.e. Syrian) palaces—namely, a doorway with columns, a loggia above, and certain side chambers.” Expanding upon the same notion R. Barnett (1976: 18, and n. 2) remarks, “a building with a loggia on an upper floor with windows standing above a portico, forming quarters particularly convenient for the women-folk, where they can unseen watch everything happening”.

Line-drawings of the stone slabs originating from Room S made by W. Boutcher and the authoritative works of C.J. Gadd, Meissner and Opitz, R.D. Barnett, and P. Albenda remain our best references to examine the condition and internal associations of the reliefs representing the banquet of Ashurbanipal (see Pl. 4). These slabs were originally divided into three horizontal friezes, with the central piece of the composition depicted on the uppermost tier. Very little is known of the middle frieze; the drawings portray rows of pine trees, pomegranate trees, shrubs, birds, and servants carrying food, a table, and collecting grapes and lilies. The lower frieze has been almost totally lost; what is left shows a marsh landscape with reeds and a solitary wild boar (Albenda 1976: 69).

The first attempt at reassembling the surviving reliefs was made by C. J. Gadd (1936: 194, after drawings by W. Boutcher) and this was further complemented by Meissner and Opitz (1939, Taf. XVII), by additional fragments assembled by R. D. Barnett (in particular, slab B, 1976: 56-7), and by the presentation of a unified reconstruction by P. Albenda (1976, Pl.I). It is unknown how extensive the original composition might have

² Turner (1976: 32) suggests the presence of an additional open courtyard linking this private sector of the palace with room E.

been. According to the reconstructions by the preceding authors it may have included at least eight slabs, assuming that gaps A-B, C-D, and D-E included only a single slab (after Barnett 1976, Pl. LXIII). This reconstruction presents itself as follows (see Pl. 4):

- (1) Slab A. C.J. Gadd Kuyunjik Gallery 35, topmost register survives as BM 124794; with a fragment of the middle register surviving as BM 135119. Depiction of the Elamite king Humban-haltaš III and Elamite nobles serving Ashurbanipal.
- (2) Gap A-B
- (3) Slab B. (see Barnett 1976: 57). This relief includes four fragments representing a procession of musicians amongst trees.
- (4) Slab C. topmost register as BM 124920 representing the main scene showing the king reclining on the couch and the enthroned queen.
- (5) Gap C-D
- (6) Slab D. Preserved in three registers (middle and lower registers lost). The uppermost register survives at the Berlin Museum as VA 969. It shows a table with horse trappings and attendants under a tree.
- (7) Gap D-E
- (8) Slab E. Survives as British Museum 124922. This is the only slab which has survived almost in its entirety. On the top and middle registers, it represents the side of an enclosure in the royal park, with musicians and guardians.

The surviving bas-reliefs were in fact subjected to alterations before and after their discovery. One of the most fascinating examples of ancient iconoclasm took place during the collapse and destruction of Nineveh in the month of Abu/August 612 BC. At the time, key individual figures exhibited in this relief appear to have been intentionally disfigured by what appears to have been an act of retribution at the hands of the Elamites (see below for discussion). A different type of alteration took place after the reliefs were discovered by W.K. Loftus. Many panels were cut and trimmed into rectangular shapes to become isolated works of art that fitted the aesthetic demands of museums. Additionally, there are tangible examples revealing that individual panels were “restored” to fit the idea of complete autonomous scenes (see also below; Barnett 1976: Preface xii).

The combined imagery exhibited in the banquet of Ashurbanipal has no parallels in Assyrian artistic records, which helps to explain why there is

no clear consensus amongst scholars regarding the actual meaning of the scene or where the banquet was held³. The scene has given itself to various interpretations of secular as well as religious character; ranging from a royal picnic in a garden setting to a religious ritual marking the outcome of religious prophecy⁴. The actual setting where the banquet might have taken place has also elicited a diverse array of opinions⁵.

From the Elamite viewpoint the most striking aspects of this scene pertain to obvious references to the defeat of Elam, the presence of Elamite nobles in the Assyrian court, and the emphatic and deliberate effort to stage their humiliation. These references are closely linked to concrete events of late Elamite military, political, and social history. The general outline of these references is, for the most part, well known⁶. It is set against the background of war cycles against Elam and, most particularly, in the context of Ashurbanipal's support of the Elamite royal House of

³ Key references to the study of this relief are Gadd (1936: 193-194), Albenda (1974, 1976-7), Barnett (1976: 56-57), and Dentzer (1982: 51-69); for an update see also Nylander (1999).

⁴ For an example of religious interpretation see R. Barnett (1976: 19-20; 1985) and comments by Reade (1995; 2005: 27). According to Wiseman (1983: 142) "there is no need to interpret the depiction of Ashurbanipal and his queen feasting in the garden to musical accompaniment as a cultic scene. The attendance of the queen probably indicates it as an occasion of pleasure and entertainment." On the various interpretations, see Nylander (1999, with refs). The focus of attention is the raising of a cup to the lips by Ashurbanipal and the queen. The gesture of drinking from the cup ceremony has also been widely discussed (see Dentzer 1982; Pinnock 1994; Michalowski 1994; and Reade 1995). It is important to recall that Hittite ritual texts allude to the deification of the liquid inside the cup, suggesting a deeply religious experience of "drinking the blood of the god" (Güttenbock 1998).

⁵ See also Nylander (1999, with refs). S. Parpola, K. Deller, and L. Oppenheim concur in seeing this as an enclosed space for a religious, royal ritual. Albenda (1976: 61) suggested the setting is the queen's garden. Parpola suggests "a fenced area (mostly situated in the temple precincts) reserved for the performance of cultic and magical rituals demanding the highest secrecy" (Deller 1987: 231, nt. 17). A discussion of the words *qirsu* and *kikkisu* by K. Deller (1987: 230; 237-8) proposes a sacred area where the king retires, perhaps related to a reed fence or wall. Oppenheim discusses the terms *bītan* and *bītānu* suggesting a small building within the palace or temple used for certain prestigious purposes, "denoting a garden 'kiosk' or 'summerhouse' that became an essential feature of the palace of Assyrian kings beginning with the Sargonids and originating in the West" (Oppenheim 1965: 331). For an interpretation of the landscapes, see Albenda (1976-7) and, more recently, Thomason (2005: 187). Thomason sees an imagined reconstruction of the landscapes of prominent, defeated foes (in her view Syria and Babylonia).

⁶ For an update on Neo-Elamite history see Potts 1999; Waters 2000; Steve, Vallat, and Gasche 2002; and Álvarez-Mon, Garrison, and Stronach [forthcoming].

Urtak, the Ūla(-)ya/Ulai river (Tell Tuba) battle with the resulting decapitation of Te'umman (653 BC) (The 653 BC date for the Ulai battle remains open to question: it could as well be 663: Reade & Walker 1981/2:122), and the capture and degradation of king Humban-haltaš III (645 BC).

The immediate background to these events can be found in the 674 BC bilateral treaty of “good will and peace...friendship and comradeship” — sealed by oaths and sworn by Elamite and Assyrian gods and by an exchange of Elamite and Assyrian princes — made between the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) and the Elamite king Urtak (675-664?) (Parpola 1972: 34, nt. 66, with references; Parpola 1987: 181). A goodwill letter sent by Esarhaddon to Urtak after the treaty was made reveals the presence of Assyrian princes and princesses in the Elamite court and stresses the brotherly tone of this relationship: “.... *may Urtaku king of Elam, my brother, be well, may my sons and daughters be well, may your magnates and your country be well!*” (Luuko and Van Buylaere 2002: 4)⁷. After the death of Esarhaddon, relationships remained amiable with Ashurbanipal honoring his father's treaty with Urtak by helping the Elamites during a period of drought and famine. Peace between Elam and Assyria lasted five more years.

In 664 B.C the treaty came to an abrupt end when, for no apparent reason, Urtak decided to take part in a surprise attack against Babylonia. Ashurbanipal noted vehemently: “...*an attack by whom I had never considered with my heart, of whose enmity I had not even thought.*” Urtak died in the aftermath of the raid “*on a day not appointed by fate*” (Piepkorn 1933: 59). Thereafter, a challenger to the Elamite throne named Te'umman, “*the image of a gallû demon,*” sat on the throne of Urtak (Gerardi 1987: 133). Te'umman's coup d'état caused a large contingent of Elamite princes, nobles, entourage, soldiers, and supporters, including key members of the Houses of Urtak and Ummanaldaš to seek refuge in Assyria. Accordingly: ‘*Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, the sons of Urtak, king of Elam (and) Kudurru (and) Paru sons of Ummanaldaš (II), brother of Urtak, king of Elam*’, along with ‘*sixty of the royal family,*

⁷ The names of the Elamite and Assyrian princes and princesses who were exchanged before 664 are unknown to us. It is fair, however, to hypothesize that the depiction, in the Assyrian reliefs, of Elamite princes (sons of Urtak and Ummanaldaš) at the Assyrian court and participating with Ashurbanipal in his hunting exploits, and perhaps in shooting contests, may depict events that took place either as result of the peace treaty or during their exile in Assyria (see nt. 9).

countless bowmen, free Elamites’ exiled to Assyria (Streck 1916/II: 109; Potts 1999: 276-277). It is of interest to note that Ashurbanipal did not hold responsible Urtak (or his descendants) for violating the *adê* treaty. Instead, he reckoned that Urtak had been misled by an officer “*who had brought evil upon Urtak*”, demonstrating perhaps the unique nature of personal relationships (and political interests) between Ashurbanipal and nobles of the Urtak household (Piepkorn 1933: 61).

All available evidence seems to indicate the Elamite aristocrats and their retinue remained under Ashurbanipal’s umbrella until the Tell Tuba battle of 653 BC. Te’umman dispatched emissaries to Assyria asking for the extradition of the Elamite nobles only to be repudiated by Ashurbanipal: “*because of the insolent (messages) he had sent ...while he was puffing himself up in Elam before his assembled armies*” (Luckenbill 1989: Nos. 858, 866). In fact, according to a letter sent by Ashurbanipal to the Elders of Elam, the battle of Tell Tuba — which skillfully plays such a privileged role in the visual war propaganda of Ashurbanipal — can be considered an armed clash between two main Elamite factions, those supporting the House of Urtak (and forcefully backed by Assyrian forces) and those supporting Te’umman; The letter states: “*When Ummannigaš (Huban-nikaš II) came and seized my feet, so that I sent my army with him and they went and fought against Te’umman*” (Waters 2002: 82)⁸. With the death of Te’umman, and perhaps after an exile in Assyria of more than ten years, the House of Urtak returned to Elam to retake control of the three main urban centers of Elamite power: Madaktu, Susa, and Hidalu.

For a period, it seemed that Elam had entered the circle of Assyrian political vassalage. In 652 BC the Great Babylonian Rebellion broke out and the House of Urtak sided with the Assyrian prince Shamaš-šum-ukin and his Babylonian allies⁹. Regrettably, we lack the Elamite version of this political drama. The Assyrian (Ashurbanipal’s) account emphasizes the ingratitude of the House of Urtak, singling out Ummannigaš/Huban-nikaš II as the main culprit. The stakes were high, given the traditional involvement of Elam in the internal affairs of Babylonia and neighboring Zagros polities,

⁸ We do not know who the Elders of Elam were. In light of Ashurbanipal’s letter, one can speculate that they were an assembly made up by the heads of the most prominent Elamite Houses.

⁹ Edition B of Ashurbanipal’s Annals credits the involvement of the Elamite king Huban-nikash II (653-652 BC) in the rebellion to a payment from Shamaš-šum-ukin. See Brinkman (1984: 93-104).

a victory of the Elamite-Babylonian alliance over Ashurbanipal would have solidified Elamite authority throughout the region. Yet, shortly after the end of a bitter and victorious war against his brother, Ashurbanipal was more determined than ever to bring misfortune to his former Elamite guests. In 647 BC Assyrian troops ravaged western Elam, looting, destroying, and burning parts of the royal city of Susa.

Large numbers of Assyrian slab bas-reliefs ornamenting the walls of the Southwest and North Palaces at Nineveh were dedicated to illustrate graphic depictions of the social, politic, and military interactions between Ashurbanipal and particular members of the Elamite royal elite (Reade 1976)¹⁰. They also depict a diverse range of Elamites prisoners, including women, children, bowman, soldiers, musicians and singers. The presence of the sons of Urtak and Ummanaldaš at the Assyrian court and the fate of two individual Elamite kings: in particular, the tragic end of the usurper Te'umman (664?-653 ?) and the capture, surrendering, and humiliation of Humban-Haltaš III (648?-645?), seems to have played a privileged role in these series of narratives (see Pls. 2-6)¹¹. Te'umman and Humban-Haltaš III appear exhibited in a variety of ways including their duplication in the same stone slab. Their headdresses, hairstyle, and garments were also subjected to the particular attention of the Assyrian illustrators and sculptors (see Pls. 5-6)¹².

¹⁰ For a concise review of these slab reliefs see also Álvarez-Mon, Garrison, and Storch (forthcoming).

¹¹ Evidence for the presence of the sons of Urtak at the Assyrian court is attested in the hunting scenes, depicted in slab reliefs from Rooms S and S¹. From Room S: Slab 10 (BM 124878) depicts at least three Elamites depositing (five) bows at the feet of Ashurbanipal while he unleashes an arrow over their heads (Barnett 1976, Pl. LI). According to Reade (1976: 99) "what is happening is that Ashurbanipal has taken his guests out for a shooting party; they have failed to kill their lions, and he is obliged to rescue them." The caption of a related slab suggests that these humiliated Elamites may very well have been elite members of the House of Urtak, living in exile in Assyria, although the carving of the slab, as suggested by Reade (1976: 99), must have been made about 645-640 BC. The caption reads: "...Urtaku, king of Elam, who had fled and laid hold of my feet...a lion made for him and... he was scared and implored my majesty (for aid)" (Luckenbill 1927: No. 1026); From Room S¹: A series of five slabs depicted Ashurbanipal hunting lions from a chariot, on foot, slaying lions just released from a cage, and making a libation over their dead carcasses. Slab A depicts the king hunting lions from the royal chariot (Gadd 1936: Pl. 37, Barnett 1976: Pl. LVI). This slab was lost in the Tigris but it carried an epigraph which, after a new edition by E. Weissert (1997: 341, fig. 1), refers to the presence of the Elamite prince Ummanappa (beginning of line 6, [Ummana]pp[a] s[on of Ur]taku).

¹² For a comprehensive historical summary of the documented life of Te'umman see M. W. Waters (2000: 47 and 2006); for Humban-haltaš III see M.W. Waters (2000: 68).

§2. Ashurbanipal's Feast: the Elamite Presence

In a rather ornamental manner the small relief panel representing Ashurbanipal reclining on a couch becomes the focal point of a vigorous artistic agenda dedicated to documenting highly edited episodes of interactions with Elam. Behind the apparent relaxed atmosphere of this scene lies a carefully staged patina of defeat, humiliation, and the not-so-hidden sub-text of Ashurbanipal's personal quest to subjugate Elam and disgrace the Elamite offenders. In 1976-7, P. Albenda in a commanding analysis of this relief, perceptively remarked on the ambiguous presence of war trophies within the context of a royal *harem* and the festive setting of the banquet (Albenda 1977: 45). This ambiguity is not easily resolved. From the perspective of a modern audience, we appear to be looking at the final act of a dramatic play with key elements scattered across the stage, and frozen-in-time choreographed gestures. The "play", as it were, is noticeably over yet our fragmentary knowledge of the plot makes its conclusion uncertain and mystifying.

Keeping these reflections and ambiguities in mind, I will rely on the wealth of visual, textual, and archaeological documentation from both Elamite and Assyrian sources to explore the significance of the Elamite presence in this relief. By invoking the Elamite evidence, a generally neglected source of historical investigation, I will attempt to show that, from an Elamite viewpoint, these two thematic threads (celebration and humiliation) disclose a new space through which to articulate original channels of artistic transmission and historical narrative based on social history. I will attempt to deconstruct the self-conscious theatrical strategy of visual propaganda encountered in this relief and stress visual references that shed light on the record of personal interaction between Assyrian and Elamite elites. I shall further argue that this interaction with Elam, in concert with the physical context of the relief, may have played a decisive role in determining the artistic outlook exhibited in this exceptional work of art.

As indicated by both, C. J. Gadd (1936: 180, 193) and R. Barnett (1976: 56, see Pl. LXIII), this single relief panel depicting Ashurbanipal reclining on a couch (Slab C) cannot be considered in isolation from the immediate

For aspects of the artistic inspiration of the Tell Tuba battle see O. Kaelin (1999), where he investigates Egyptian prototypes for this battle scene. For a study of Neo-Elamite garments and headdresses see Álvarez-Mon (forthcoming d).

context presented by the (known) associated panels (Slabs A, B, D, and E) nor from the fragmentary epigraph found in slab BM 124794 (Slab A) which states: [...] *(whose) good (deeds?) they (i.e. the gods) love, all the princes of the whole...the kings of Elam, whom with the aid of Ashur and Ninlil [my] hands captured...they stood (?), and their own hands prepared their royal meal, and they brought it in be[fore me]*. This epigraph and its related imagery depicting the Elamite nobles Tammарitu, Pa'e, and Humban-Haltaš III, introduce a new dimension to the sequence of events, suggesting that the artistic narrative cycle that began with a desire to depict Elamite princes in residence at the Assyrian court, reached its pinnacle with the Ulai (Tell Tuba) battle and may have ended eight years later with the capture of Humban-haltaš III in 645 BC (BM 124794, slab A; Barnett 1976, plate LXIV)¹³. Furthermore, it leads us to believe that the banquet of Ashurbanipal (and, therefore, the carving of this scene) might have taken place sometime around ca. 645 BC. J. Reade finds these dates hard to reconcile and instead has proposed that the two panels from Room S¹ representing Humban-Haltaš III and the Elamite nobles may have been a secondary addition “made after Ashurbanipal had the idea of including in the composition an amusing allusion to his recent magnificent collection of Elamite kings” (Reade 2005: 27)¹⁴.

Notwithstanding the differences of opinion regarding the timeline of events, the final scene, as we know it, is ridden with an assortment of visual rhetorical devices alluding to the defeat of Elam and the ensuing

¹³ For identification of the Elamite nobles see below (#2) and note 18.

¹⁴ In arguing against J. Reade's proposition, I should point out that the references to Humban-haltaš III are not limited to the two reliefs from Room S¹ but extend also to episodes related to the demise of Humban-haltaš III and his cities depicted in Rooms T¹ and V¹. In addition to the banquet scene, these are the key subjects represented on the series of slabs thought to have fallen from the second floor (all references from Barnett 1976). Fallen from Room S¹: (I) Ashurbanipal hunting lions from a chariot, hunting lions on foot, and making a libation over their carcasses; reference to Ummanappa son of Urtak; (II) Ashurbanipal in a royal chariot, the surrender of Humban-haltaš III, assault and capture of a city, Chaldean prisoners; (III) Fragments of “Persian auxiliary bowmen” (Barnett 1976: Pl. LXVII); (IV) The Banquet of Ashurbanipal series; (V) Capture of the Elamite city of Hamanu, Elamite and Chaldean Prisoners. Fallen from Rooms V¹ or T¹: (VI) Capture of the Elamite city of Din-Šarri; (VII) Ashurbanipal in a chariot, Chaldeans and Elamite prisoners; (VIII) Assyrian army in action, Elamite prisoners. Of further interest, P. Albenda (1977: 32) compared the head of Te'umman at the time of his decapitation with the head hanging from the tree exhibited in the banquet relief, concluding that differences in appearance suggest that this trophy head had been preserved for display in some manner.

degradation of the royal Elamite households. At least six tangible references to Elam and its rulers can be teased out from the relief.

(1) The severed head of the Elamite king Te'umman hanging from a tree. After being separated from its body in the Ulai river battle, Te'umman's head was sent to Assyria. As a symbol of Ashurbanipal's victory, the head was paraded and took part in triumphal entrances into Nineveh where, in all likelihood, it was subject to a public display entailing a libation ceremony in front of the gate *Libur-iššakku-Assur* "*May Assur's Ruler Grow Old*" (Luckenbill 1989, Nos. 865, 866, and 1099). From there, the triumphal procession paraded to the religious holy city of Arbela: [After] *I had offered sacrifices to Sherri (Kurri), the god (goddess?), [had celebrated the House of the New Year's feast, had laid hold of the reins of Ishtar, surrounded by... (the Gambulu nobles) and the head of Te'umman I made entrance into the city of Arbela...* (Luckenbill 1989: No. 1041). Here Ashurbanipal enacted a ceremony; next to an offering table he set up his bow over the head of Te'umman (a bow that he will later dedicate to Ištar) and made a wine libation over the head¹⁵. These victorious entrances and libations at Nineveh and Arbela underscore the political, propagandistic and religious cultic aspects of the ceremony associated with the head of Te'umman. This series of events most likely culminated, perhaps as many as eight years later, with the representation of the head in the banquet relief.

(2) The presence of captured Elamite rulers humiliated as servants and compelled to bring food to Ashurbanipal. These Elamite kings may be now identified as Tammarišu, Pa'e and Humban-Haltāš III (Gadd 1936: 180; Barnett 1976: 57; see the new edition of passage I R 10, 17-30 Prism A by A. George 1996: 376). Of these three, the capture, surrender, and humiliation of Humban-haltāš III became the subject of a complete cycle of narratives represented in a series of four slabs from Ashurbanipal's Northern palace: two from rooms M (the "Babylonian Room") and two from room S¹. Incidentally, while I am not necessarily convinced that all of these images represent the same individual, I do not have the evidence to dispute this view.

¹⁵ It has been debated whether or not the head of Te'umam is depicted in the Louvre slab AO 19914 (see comments by Albenda 1976: 55, n. 2; for the drawing at the British Museum see Barnett 1976: plates 25 and 26); for an update and further comments see Weissert (1997: 350, 353). This slab is of further interest to us because it may have included in its (now lost) lower register a representation of Susa (Reade 1976: plate 25).

(2.I) Slab British Museum 124793; this fragment was found by Rassam in 1886 and it is believed to have been displayed in room M (Barnett 1976: 46). It depicts a sequence of events concentrating on the capture of Humban-haltaš III from the city of *Muru(-)bisi*, a town in the Zagros mountains. The Elamite king is represented twice in the same register: being dragged by the hand and loaded into a chariot (Barnett 1976: 46, plate XXXIV). These events may have happened in or before 644 BC (Waters 2000: 79, n. 58)¹⁶.

(2.II) Slab British Museum 124946 was displayed in room M. According to Barnett, it depicts Humban-Haltaš III and the posthumous surrender of the Babylonian king Šamaš-šum-ukin to Ashurbanipal in his war chariot (Barnett 1976, plate XXXV)¹⁷. This relief presents a complex timeline; Babylon fell and Šamaš-šum-ukin died in the conflagration in 648 BC but Humban-Haltaš III was captured in ca. 645 BC, which suggests that this relief was carved sometime soon thereafter. The timeline and pairing of these two events is enigmatic. Why would Ashurbanipal wait at least three years after the capture of Babylon to depict the surrender of Šamaš-šum-ukin's royal insignia? And, more importantly, why is Humban-Haltaš III paired in the same slab relief with the royal insignia of Šamaš-šum-ukin? According to M. Waters (2000: 66) Humban-Haltaš III may have taken over the Elamite throne in 648 BC which reveals that, together with Humban-nikaš II (653-652), his brother Tammaritu (II? 652?-649?), and Indabibi (649?-648?), they participated in supporting Ashurbanipal's half-brother Šamaš-šum-ukin in the rebellion of 652-648 BC (Luckenbill 1927: No. 867)¹⁸.

¹⁶ For details of the discovery of this relief by Rassam see Barnett (1976: 23).

¹⁷ Barnett (1976: 46-7) labels the relief "The King in his Chariot Receiving the Surrender of Shamash-shum-ukin" yet the epigraph states "*I, Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of the land of Ashur, who, at the command of the great gods has attained the desire of his heart: the garments and ornaments — the royal insignia of Shamash-sum-ukin, the faithless brother — his harem, his officials, his battle troops, his (battle) chariot, his processional chariot-his state vehicle- (tablet adds: 'the horses of his yoked team'), all the provisions which were in his palace, the people, male and female, great and small — they made to pass before me.*" There is no evidence that Šamaš-šum-ukin himself was present (see Brinkman 1984: 100, n. 503).

¹⁸ The last was overthrown and died during an internal revolt; Tammaritu sought refuge in Assyria and was reinstalled as king of Elam by Ashurbanipal after the defeat of Humban-haltaš III.

(2.III) Slab Louvre Museum AO 19905 displayed in room S¹. It depicts another version of the surrender of Humban-haltaš III, shown on his knees and kissing the ground, with an added depiction of the capture of an Elamite city whose name is now lost (Barnett 1976: plates LX and LXI).

(2.IV) Slab British Museum 124794 was displayed in room S¹ (See Pl. 6). A drawing by Boucher includes this fragment as part of a much larger composition in three registers. It depicts Humban-haltaš III twice: carrying a vase and standing with his right hand pointing to the neck (Barnett 1976: plate LXIII). These two representations are not identical. The second figure appears to have a shorter beard (or it has been damaged), smaller nose, larger eyes, and is making a gesture with his right hand towards his neck.

In all four series of reliefs from rooms M and S¹, Humban-haltaš III (or perhaps different Elamite kings wearing a similar headdress and garment) is distinctively identified by a bulbous headdress with a ribbon band around the border and a long band attached to the back of the headdress, extending to the middle of the back; his long, pointy beard reaches to just below the shoulders (Pl. 6). At cheek level, and covering the ear, is a pair of long locks ending in a spiral. This distinctive hairstyle has significant analogies in traditional Elamite figural representations from the Middle Elamite period onwards¹⁹.

(3) The presence of an Elamite-style bow lying atop a table (Albenda 1977: 36). The topic of the Elamite bow enjoyed multiple connotations. At the practical level, Elamite bowmen were reputed for their excellence in archery²⁰. Symbolically, Ashurbanipal participated in an offering ceremony at Arbela where he placed his (Elamite style?) bow over the head of

¹⁹ See, for instance: Old Elamite period (Amiet 1966: 385, fig. 295); Middle Elamite period (Amiet 1966: 282-3; 397, fig. 299 A, 404, fig. 305, 553, fig. 421); for the neo-Elamite period, see Plaque Sb 147 (discussed and illustrated in Álvarez-Mon, forthcoming b).

²⁰ Slab BM 124878 from Room S exhibit at least three Elamites depositing (five) duck-headed bows at the feet of Ashurbanipal who, splendid in his royal garment, is depicted as the ultimate protector of the Elamite nobles, ready to unleash an arrow from an Elamite duck-headed bow (Barnett 1976, Pl. LI). This unflattering commentary on the cowardly behavior of the Elamite princes (most likely sons of Urtak and Ummanaldaš) also accentuates past events, calling to mind their humiliation at the hands of the rebel Te'umman and their final status as refugees at the Assyrian court. The visual semantic range is further extended by the linkage of Te'umman's fate with that of the lions (Reade 2005: 21). For closely related topics of the lion hunt and military triumph, see E. Weissert (1997).

Te'umman. He later dedicated this bow to Ištar of Arbela (Weissert 1997: 350); Metaphorically, the goddess Ištar was known as the bow-breaker of Assyria's enemies but also, in her celestial aspect, she was known as *Elamitu*, 'the Elamite one' (Dalley 2007: 78). In the Hebrew Bible, the Prophet Jeremiah (49: 34) predicts the breaking of the bow of Elam and the scattering of its people: *Thus says the Lord of hosts: "Behold, I will break the bow of Elam, the mainstay of their might...."* According to H.A. Hoffner (1966: 331-333) breaking the bow of Elam, in the Biblical context, had a sexual overtone where the bow was seen as the symbol of military prowess and masculinity; for further discussion on the multiple significances of the Elamite bow see D.T. Potts (1999: 291) and M.C. Root (forthcoming).

(4) The grapevine background forming a canopy over the heads of the king and queen can be considered a reference to specific Elamite imagery known from the Old Elamite period (Pls. 9-10)²¹. The presence of this imagery in the relief exhibits keen similarities with what D. Stronach (1995: 190) has fittingly labeled a "traditional Elamite formula for prosperity and well being." Incidentally, the large garden setting of this scene can also be conceived to be a possible reference to Elam. Although this needs confirmation, D. Wiseman (1983: 138) has questioned the purportedly western origin of the Assyrian garden based on the continuing tradition of similar palace-gardens and parkland arrangements in Persia at Pasargadae, Persepolis, and possibly, Susa (Stronach 1990).

(5) The flamboyant depiction of Ashurbanipal reclining on a couch is without precedent in the artistic Assyrian record. While the iconography is certainly unprecedented, we should not necessarily assume that this ornamental couch and its associated function (or functions) were foreign to Assyrian custom. In fact, abundant slab-reliefs from the Southwest palace of Sennacherib exhibit couches of similar characteristics sometimes depicted as beds inside the Assyrian military camp and sometimes being taken as plunder from conquered cities²². The fact, however, that a similar type of

²¹ Persistence of this imagery in Elamite art of the Middle and Neo-Elamite periods is not documented.

²² For couches represented in military settings inside a tent see Barnett et al. 1998, Pls. 35, 138, 346, 402, etc; for couches as plunder see Pls. 195 (277b), 208, 210, 213 (283b), 246, 251, 252, 254, etc.

furnishing is attested as plunder from one of Humban-Haltaš III's royal cities puts, once again, the focus on the Elamites. In essence, a line-drawing made by W. Boutcher (Pl. 8) depicting the capture of Din-Šarri—one of the fourteen royal cities of Humban-Haltaš III plundered by Ashurbanipal in the seventh and eighth Elamite campaigns (Luckenbill 1989, Nos. 804, 806, and 807)—comprises a visual roster of booty taken from the city. Included amongst the collection of chariots, carts, horses, mules, and captured prisoners there is a couch being carried by three individuals: one Assyrian soldier, an Elamite, and a Chaldean (Barnett 1976: 59, Plate LXVII). Of further interest to our discussion is the fact that the three slabs depicting this scene seem to have originally been located in either Room V¹ or T¹ that is, next to Room S¹ with the banquet of Ashurbanipal relief.

The line-drawing by Boutcher does not supply any detail concerning the decoration of the Elamite couch. Its style differs from the couch of Ashurbanipal in that the curved back of the latter ends in a flat angular profile while that of the former ends in a circular one. Trying to explain the presence of this couch in the banquet relief has lead many scholars to promote associations with ritualistic sexual overtures enacted during the *Akitu* festival (Moortgat 1949: 139–40). J.-M. Dentzer (1971: 230) suggests that reclining on a couch was a custom adapted from Iranian nomads; and P. Albenda (1976: 65) justified its presence by referring to an apparent illness of a bedridden Ashurbanipal²³.

In my view, the depiction of a plundered Elamite couch from the royal city of Humban-Haltaš III in a slab relief associated, by close proximity, with Room S¹ can hardly be considered accidental but provides a direct allusion to Ashurbanipal reclining on a similar couch; incidentally, presumably made by Assyrian-based workshops and not necessarily looted (Curtis and Reade 1995: 123). Whatever the implications of these correspondences might be, these royal furnishings ought to be considered symbols of status and courtly civility, in this particular instance, shared by both Elamite and Assyrian elites. No doubt, both status and civility that Humban-Haltaš III, once stripped of all his possessions and in his newly demoted condition as servant to Ashurbanipal, would no longer enjoy.

²³ For further discussion of the probable origins of the couch see A.-K. Thomason (2005: 148). In note 69, Thomason indicates: "It is possible that the couch was acquired from booty from the *Iranian* Elamites (my italics), as the banquet may be a celebration of that victory."

(6) The selective defacing of the relief. A study by C. Nylander (1999) of mutilated parts of the garden celebration relief suggests that its ultimate defacing and disfigurement may have been at the hands of Elamite seeking retribution. The face of Ashurbanipal, his cup, the nose and mouth of the queen, and the upper face of the servant behind the queen, were disfigured. It is worth noting that of all the slabs believed to have been exhibited on the second floor, this is the only one known to have suffered disfiguration. This implies that those responsible for the defacement of the reliefs took conscious aim at the formula king/queen-cup-wine, as if their actual disengagement and extrication from each other put an end to their sacred communion with the gods. Little or no iconoclasm has been documented at Nimrud or Khorsabad (Nylander 1999: 76).

At Nineveh, in addition to the disfigurations already noted, targeted mutilation extended to the Southwest palace of Sennacherib. Here we find clear evidence for the disfiguration of the face of Sennacherib at Lachish (Room of XXXV, BM 124904-15), and for the defacement of key individuals exhibited in the Ulai river battle (Room XXXIII) in particular, the head of Ashurbanipal in his chariot; the faces of the two Assyrian soldiers beheading the Elamite king Te'umman; and the faces of his successor Humban-nikaš II²⁴. Reade (1976: 105) and Nylander (1980: 331) have suggested that the perpetrators of these mutilations might have been the conquerors of Nineveh. It is also possible that these mutilations were perpetrated by individuals familiar with the settings and decoration of the reliefs; that is, an "insider's job" perhaps with the intention, as J. Reade and C. Nylander propose, of enacting Elamite retribution.

Finally, behind Ashurbanipal reclining on the couch and the two attendants holding fly-whisks there is a palm tree laden with dates (see Pl. 7). Next to the hanging dates there is a severed hand holding a long stick, which extends beyond the top of the adjacent pine tree. The end of the "stick" closest to the hand is slightly bent; the opposite end appears to be somewhat flattened. R. Barnett (1976: 20) identified the severed hand as that of Te'umman "holding a wand"²⁵. We ought to go back to the drawings of this relief made by W. Boutcher (see Pl. 7) to notice that, at the time of its dis-

²⁴ There is evidence of additional, although minor, disfigurations in this relief. See comments by J. Reade (1976: 105).

²⁵ Curiously, the right hand of Te'umman at the time of his capture appears to be holding something that could be interpreted as a small stick (see Pl. 5). But this must be a false impression since nothing like it occurs in corresponding illustrations.

covery, this part of the relief included a large break just below the hand and extending to the bow, the quiver, and the table²⁶. In short, the restoration of this break appears to be erroneous and the restored section below the “severed” hand most likely does not belong here. Instead, as noted by P. Albenda (1976: 65) the lower arm is missing. This arm holding a long stick most likely belonged to a servant, acting as a bird-chaser, depicted in the, now lost, adjoining slab²⁷. This is certainly *not* a reference to Elam.

§2.1. *Ashurbanipal's Queen*

One additional Elamite (?) overtone that I would like to consider here is the striking depiction of a queen which, similarly to the king reclining on the couch, is unprecedented in the Assyrian artistic record yet is prevalent in Elamite artistic production. The prospect that the enthroned female depicted in this relief is not, as usually believed, the Assyrian queen Libbali-šarrat (formerly Assur-šarrat) but a female member of the royal Elamite house captured by Ashurbanipal during his conquest of Elam was raised years ago by E. Herzfeld (1968: 266)²⁸. Alone among scholars Herzfeld offered an alternative to this presumption suggesting that she was to be identified as *the amma haštuk* (gracious or reverend mother) of *Elam* and, further, that her turreted crown headdress was a symbolic representation of the “*Eternal City*” (here implying Susa). Yet, these assertions (regarding the lady and her crown) seem to have been largely disregarded by most scholars. Most recently, M.C. Root has revisited the first topic and recognized the possibility that the lady in question could have been an Elamite with the added symbolic role of a “divine” queen (Root forthcoming).

My particular concern here is not to necessarily argue in favor of an Elamite identification for the queen but, instead — influenced by, and considering the weighty “Elamitization” of the relief discussed so far — determine cultural references through the study of her distinctive headdress and garment styles. In other words, as attested by the carefully choreographed

²⁶ I have difficulty understanding R. Barnett's comments given that he, himself (1976: 57), noted that “the bottom left-hand and right-hand corners, parts of table and trees above” were subject to restorations.

²⁷ For another example in the same relief where the restorations are inaccurate see P. Albenda (1977: 225).

²⁸ To be sure, it should be emphasized that Ashurbanipal is keen to remind us that he captured and carried the Elamite queen and sons of Te'umman to Assyria (Luckenbill 1989: No. 801).

display of elements pointing to the presence and possible co-option of Elamite imagery, I begin this analysis with the assumption that the cultural and symbolic dimensions of her “fashion” style (as determined by head-dress and garments) must have reflected her privileged status as an Assyrian queen or, instead, her alien status as a member of the Elamite royal family. Yet, it could very well be that, as suggested by M. C. Root, a look into elements of style may not necessarily help to determine the cultural identity of the presumed Elamite lady which may have been Assyrianized that is, *incorporated into the Assyrian royal household of women so that she can breed “Assyrian” princes*²⁹.

§2.1.1. The Headdress

The enthroned queen exhibited on the banquet relief wears a small crown exhibiting, on the visible side, a defensive city-wall marked by six fortification towers (Pl. 20a). This small mural turreted or castellated crown ought to be distinguished from the tall mural crown (*corona muralis*) also intended to resemble a city wall but clearly different in that it extends upward to conceal the hair, while the small crown slides down over the crown of the head, revealing the hair³⁰. These two crown styles are related in their ornamentation and symbolism (a defensive city-wall) but are patently different in conception. Both crown styles find close parallels in Assyrian and Elamite sculptural art of the first millennium BC.

Small Mural Crown

(1) Plate 11. A fragmentary bronze relief purchased by the Louvre Museum around 1956 (AO 20.185) and dated to the beginning of the 7th century BC depicts a scene of adoration by Esarhaddon (705-681 BC) and his mother Zakutu/Naqi’a (wife of Sennacherib and grandmother of Ashurbanipal)³¹. According to A. Parrot (Parrot and Nougayrol 1956: 197) this

²⁹ One may interpret here the presence of strong sexual innuendos: an Elamite female now subjected to the desires of her new master, who is portrayed lying on a couch, the legs of which are decorated with representations of the goddess Kililu ‘she who looks out of the window’ (Barnett 1976: 20).

³⁰ Amongst these castellated crowns one ought to differentiate between the mural or turreted crown discussed here and the merlon (crenellated) crown commonly exhibited in Persian-Achaemenid art. See also comments by Unger (1938).

³¹ Nougayrol (in: Parrot and Nougayrol 1956: 158, nt. 1) credits Naqi’a with having influenced her son Esarhaddon’s policy towards Babylon; his reconstruction of the holy

relief was fixed to the base of a divine throne or an altar located in the *Ekarzagina* chapel of Ea, inside the temple of Marduk (*Esagil*) in Babylon. Naqi'a wears a small mural crown, holding a mirror in her left hand, and a cone-shaped object which she holds up to her nose in her right hand (Parrot and Nougayrol 1956)³².

Tall Mural Crowns

(2) Plate 12. A fragment of a glazed painted tile from the Ištar temple at Nineveh exhibits an enthroned figure wearing a tall mural crown with three distinctive towers and two gates (Thompson and Hutchinson 1931, fig. 2(B), plate xxxi). This fragment was associated with a comparable tile found in the same location (under the N.E. wall of Chamber I). The line-drawing of this second fragment depicts the remains of an arm holding a beaker (?), a garment embellished with rosettes, and a beard. J. Reade (1987: 139) has questioned the accuracy of the reconstruction provided by Thompson and Hutchinson and suggested that these two tiles may not belong together. Accordingly, the gender of the crowned figure remains undetermined. Its dating to the time of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) seems to be uncontested.

(3) Plate 13. A second representation of a tall mural crown also including three towers and no visible gates is found in an Assyrian stele from Assur atop the head of Libbali-šarrat (former Aššur-šarrat), wife of Ashurbanipal (preserved at the Berlin Vorderasiatisches Museum as VA. 8847). This stele is the only one of the series of stone stelae excavated from the Assur *Stelenreihen* that shows a visual representation of one of the royal wives commemorated in text (Börker-Klähn 1982: 217, no. 227).

(4) Plates 14-15, 17. A third representation of a tall mural crown also including three towers is exhibited on a head carved in the open air Elamite sanctuary of Naqš-e Rostam, near Persepolis. This head, together with a standing male and the remains of a foot, are the sole vestiges left from a Neo-Elamite addition to a ca. 17th century BC Old Elamite relief³³. On the

city being perhaps the result of her authority. For the identity and political role of Naqi'a see Melville (1999); for discussion of the dating of the bronze relief to Esarhaddon, see Melville (1999: 25-6; 47-8).

³² For commentary and possible identification of this strange "ice-cream" cone-shaped object see Reade (1977: 34).

³³ The Elamite reliefs suffered almost complete annihilation during the time of the Sasanian king Bahram II (276-293 AD). Their destruction may have been orchestrated by

left side of the central panel stand the remains of a crowned head with a hairless face sometimes identified as the image of a “lady” or a “queen”³⁴. The head retains few discernable internal features. The general contour indicates the remains of an eye and nose and the outline of a distinctive hairstyle which seems to cover the ears and curve pronouncedly at the cheeks, before being gathered in a bun at the back of the head. The gender of this beardless head is assumed to be female given its correspondence with the Assyrian crown-wearing queens just mentioned. It should be noted however that a similarly figure wearing a crenellated crown found at Persepolis and dated to the 5th or 4th centuries is often described as that of a “prince” (Pl. 19 a-b; Porada 1965: 161)³⁵.

The specific date of the Neo-Elamite queen from Naqš-e Rostam is not without disagreement. E. Porada suggested the 9th–7th centuries BC (Porada 1965: 66), P. Amiet (1966: 560–2) and L. Vanden Berghe (1984: 103) suggested the 8th–7th centuries BC, U. Seidl (1986) places the figures in the 9th century BC, and P. de Miroschedji maintains a 7th century BC date, precisely around the time of Ashurbanipal (1985: 280; 1990: 74, nt. 27). Nothing is known about who was behind the carving of this relief, yet, regardless of its precise date, its presence in a main Elamite sanctuary, at a key location of Fārs, indicates both a strong link with past Elamite religious traditions and a manifestation of a political presence in a territory linked to the erstwhile Elamite capital of Anšan.

In addition, within the Elamite context two small terracotta heads should be included in this discussion.

(1) Plate 16. A small glazed terracotta head found at Susa (preserved at the Louvre Museum as Sb 3582) has a distinctive hairstyle that protrudes above the ears, around the sides of the head, and seems to be flattened at the sides and top of the crown of the head (Amiet 1966: 488, fig. 366; Martinez-Sève 2002: 46, fig. 10)³⁶. This head is part of a series of glazed

the religious fervor of Kartir, the high Zoroastrian priest who raised Bahram II to the Sassanian throne and who was known as a zealot persecutor of competing religious beliefs (Lukonin 1967: 118).

³⁴ For the identification of queen and king see Porada (1965: 66), Amiet (1966: 560–2), Vanden Berghe (1984: 103), and Miroschedji (1985: 279; 1990: 74).

³⁵ For identification of a “queen” (instead of a “prince”) see Amiet (1967: 43).

³⁶ Amiet (1966: 488) speaks of this and related glazed terracotta heads (figs. 367 and 369) as reflecting a new spirit emerging out of the fusion of Iranians and Elamites.

terracotta heads (Amiet 1966, figs. 367, 369), one of which represents a goddess with a hairstyle covering the ears (Amiet 1966: 498, fig. 375; see also Martinez-Sève 2002: 41, fig. 1)³⁷. These heads are dated to the 7th-6th centuries BC (Amiet 1966: 488–92).

(2) Plate 18 a-b. A largely damaged, glazed, terracotta head from Susa (preserved at the Louvre Museum as Sb 3081; h. 5.4 cm, l. 5.6 cm) reveals a hairstyle very similar to the one displayed by the Achaemenid lapis lazuli head (Pl. 19 a-b) with an elevated hairstyle atop the head, which could indicate the space for a diadem band or a crown (Amiet 1967: 43). The date of this head has been placed “just before the Achaemenids”, in direct connection with the Naqš-e Rostam head (Amiet 1967: 43), and in the period of transition between the Neo-Elamite and the Achaemenid periods (Martinez-Sève 2002: 79, fig. 76).

The presence at Naqš-e Rostam of a crowned queen is a novelty within the Elamite artistic record and brings into consideration the possibility of a period of close cultural interaction between Assyrian and Elamite arts. As I have articulated elsewhere (Álvarez-Mon forthcoming b) an Elamo-Assyrian artistic period can be conceived to have existed between ca. 653 and ca. 630/626 BC. Internal correspondences between the Elamite glazed terracotta heads and the Persian lapis lazuli figure strongly suggest a date in the 7th or early 6th century BC for the Elamite crowned head from Naqš-e Rostam. Furthermore, analogies with the Assyrian queens confirm the female gender and royal status of this representation and imply continuity of religious cultic practices together with a political claim to this central region of Fārs³⁸.

The evidence reviewed so far has discussed five crowns of two different styles: three conspicuous, tall turreted crowns each characterized by three tall towers, with the oldest Assyrian prototype dating to the 9th century BC and two probably contemporaneous 7th century BC examples exhibited atop the heads of an Elamite queen from Naqš-e Rostam and the Assyrian queen Liballi-šarrat. In addition, we find two examples of small mural

³⁷ Amiet (1966: 498) reflects on the stylistic similarities between this head and that exhibited in a faience container which he dates to the 8th-7th centuries BC (but dated to the ca. 9th-8th BC by Heim 1992: 207, fig. 145)

³⁸ Calmeyer (1992) suggests the possibility that these crowns may have represented actual cities. The symbolic significance of the mural crown within the context of the late neo-Elamite period at Naqš-e Rostam may reveal a similar concern; yet, it is hard to determine what urban center this queen would have been patronizing.

crowns, displaying at least six towers, on the heads of the queen mother Naqi'a and the enthroned lady with Ashurbanipal in the banquet scene.

The symbolic dimension of a headdress in the shape of a city wall over the head of male or female ruler has been discussed by Barnett (1976: 56), who suggested that, in the context of the banquet relief “queen Ashur-shar-rat here deputizes in the *akītu* festival for Ištar of the city of Arbela”. As mentioned before, Herzfeld thought that it represented the Eternal City of Susa. The subject was revisited by P. Calmeyer (1992) who traced the iconographic, ideological and symbolic roots of the representation of a walled city (gate) back to Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian contexts. Recently, S. Dalley (2007: 172) has pointed out the possible existence of a pun between the words *kilīlu* (mural or battlement crown) and *kilīli* (a name for Ishtar as a harlot who leans out of the window to attract men as they pass by). This word play certainly makes an interesting link between the crown worn by the enthroned lady and the couch of Ashurbanipal, which appears to have had (ivory?) plaques on each leg depicting paired “ladies at the window”.

§2.1.2. The Garment

The enthroned queen is wearing two pieces of clothing: a long tunic and a wrapped shawl (Pl. 20a). The fringed, high-neck, tunic includes three-quarter length sleeves (rather than short sleeves found in men's tunics). The shawl is wrapped around her body with a fringe falling diagonally from the right shoulder, and another fringe curving from the knee to the back of the calves. The borders and fringes of both tunic and shawl combine rows of parallel bands ornamented with dots alternating with crenellations and circles. According to K. S. Brown (1980: 359), the crenellation band is a novelty of the 7th century BC, reserved for royal clothing. The most conspicuous ornamental feature of the queen's garment is the distribution throughout its surface of plain disks.

Despite the richness of Assyrian art historical, sculptural, evidence, analysis and commentary on elite Assyrian female garments is impaired by an almost total absence from the artistic record. Fortunately, however, material and textual evidence come to the rescue. Archaeologically, the remarkable material evidence found in 1989 at Kalhu (Nimrud) associated with the Assyrian queens Yabâ, wife of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC), Banîti, wife of Shalmaneser V (727-722 BC), and queen Atalia, wife of

Sargon II (721-705 BC) included fragments of seven linen textiles and, according to the most recent analysis, one cotton textile (George 1989: 29-31; Toray 1996: 199)³⁹. Along with the linen and cotton textiles were the remains of embroidered tassels, some 700 tiny gold bracteates in the shape of rosettes, stars, circles and triangles, and gold and carnelian beads. Most likely, these bracteates and precious stones were originally sewn onto the royal garments (Oates 2001: 83). The presence of a cotton textile inside a royal Assyrian burial substantiates textual evidence which indicates that Sennacherib (705-681 BC) pioneer the introduction of the “tree bearing wool” into the royal botanical garden. Material and textual evidence, together with the presence of cotton textiles found in the Arjan tomb, introduce a novel aspect into the characteristics of elite Assyrian and Elamite garments during the 8th and 7th centuries BC⁴⁰.

Neo-Babylonian textual substantiation of this evidence comes from temple records at the time of Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus. These documents provide a good indication of the sumptuous nature of elite female garments. In particular, the garments are said to belong to the luxurious wardrobes of Mesopotamian female divinities (Oppenheim 1949: 173-4, 176-7). Thus, as a few examples, the Lady of Uruk wore a *kusîtu* garment ornamented with golden stars and bracteates; the Lady of Sippar wore a *pišanu* garment ornamented with golden rosettes and *tenšia* (squares?); the *pišannu* garment of Nanā included golden *qudāšu* and *anšabtu* disks; Nanā's wardrobe also includes a *mušîptu* garment ornamented with golden rosettes and a *kusîtu* garment decorated with 706 rosettes of gold and 706 *tenšia*. These examples, while not exhaustive, present a variety of ceremonial pieces of apparel from the wardrobes of female deities during the 7th century BC. These garments are characterized by having their field surface totally or partially decorated with golden bracteates in the shape of disks, rosettes, *tenšia* (squares?), and precious stones. In short, it is reasonable to assert that key characteristic of 7th century BC ornamentation of garments belonging to Assyrian queens and Babylonian female divinities was to have their field surface partially or totally decorated with an assortment of golden bracteates in the shape of rings, circles, rosettes, stars, *tenšia* (squares?), triangles, and precious stones.

³⁹ A previous analysis of (the same?) textile samples from the sarcophagus had failed to identify the presence of any cotton fabrics (Crowfoot 1995: 113-118; Oates 2001: 83).

⁴⁰ On the cotton textiles from the Arjan tomb, see Álvarez-Mon (forthcoming a).

This evidence strongly suggests that the robe of the enthroned lady depicted in the banquet scene was most certainly decorated with needle work (concentrated on the sleeves and borders) while the remaining field surface of the garment included an evenly distribution of golden bracteates in the shape of plain disks. The field motifs decorating the wardrobes of the time of Ashurbanipal have been studied by K. S. Brown (1980: 362-80). At the time, the decorative styles of (male) garments exhibit rosettes either alone or in combination with the double (nested) discs. The type of ornamentation found in the garment of the queen, however, has no extant parallels in the Assyrian record. Instead, the most direct references are found in depictions of Middle-Elamite royal garments. Before discussing these examples, it is worthwhile to recall one Assyrian example that may have influenced, if not the choice of dress, then at least the general iconography of the enthroned queen.

A most memorable scene of Assyrian sculpture concerns the enthroned presence of Sennacherib overlooking the surrendering of the Judeans during the siege of Lachish (Pl. 20b; Room XXXV of the Southwest palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, preserved as BM 124904-15). Sennacherib is represented in full royal regalia wearing a garment whose field surface is embellished with a pattern of double disks. If we compare this type of decoration style with that of the queen while similar, they are certainly not indistinguishable (in that Sennacherib's costume features double discs rather than single discs). However, these similarities can be further extended by emphasizing close analogies in iconography, that is, in the stereotypical depiction of the enthroned queen which can be said to be a simplified emulation of that of Sennacherib.

Moving to Elam, we find five striking prototypes and artistic precedents for this type of ornamental garment. These examples emerge from the Middle Elamite period and are directly related to a golden age of Elamite art: the royal wardrobe of queen Napir-Asu and king Untaş-Napiriša (c. 1340-1300 BC). Here I will concentrate on describing the field motif ornamentation of the garments⁴¹.

(1) Plate 21. Stele of king Untaş-Napiriša found in the Acropole at Susa (Louvre Museum preserved as Sb 12; measurements: h. 2.62 m and w. 0.8 m). References: P. Amiet (1966: 374, figs. 281-5). The stele is reconstructed after four fragments depicting a division in four registers (Pézard 1916; Miroshedji 1981, plate 8). The stele bears a dedication to

⁴¹ For an in-depth study of these garments see Álvarez-Mon (forthcoming d).

Inšušinak, god of the *siyan kuk* (the “temple complex” at Čoḡā Zambīl). Register two, from the top, includes the remains of three individuals identified by the cuneiform inscription in their arms as Untaš-Napiriša, framed on the left by his wife Napir-Asu and, on the right, by U-tik, perhaps his mother. The visible remains of the long skirt worn by the three individuals combine a field pattern decorated with perfectly distributed disks with a central mark (a dotted disk) and a band with a wide fringe (a smaller fringe for the king). The garments worn by the queen and queen mother appear to be nearly identical. They include a short sleeved, tightly fitted shirt with, most likely, a long fringe extending over the shirt.

(2) Plate 22. Bronze and copper statue of queen Napir-Asu found in the temple of Ninhursag at Susa (Louvre Museum, preserved as Sb 2731). References: G. Lampre (1905: 245-250), P. Amiet (1966: 372, fig. 280, with refs.), A. Benoit (1992: 127-130), for the casting process see P. Meyers (2000). This metal sculpture is sumptuously ornamented with embroidered panels and a long fringe at the hem of the skirt. Both the shirt and the skirt are decorated with an overall field pattern of small double disks.

(3) Plate 23. Lower half of a statue dedicated to Untaš-Napiriša found at Susa (Louvre Museum, preserved as Sb 61). References: A. Spycket (1981: pl. 199). The fragmentary remains of this sculpture combines a long wrap skirt with a diagonal border band of zigzag embroidery alternating with dots and a small fringe. The skirt is embellished with an evenly-spaced field pattern of dotted disks.

(4) Plate 24. Small statuette in faience found in the temple of the goddess Pinikir at Čoḡā Zambīl (Louvre Museum, preserved as Sb 5089). References: P. Amiet (1966: 361, fig. 268), R. Ghirshman (1968: 12, vol. II, plate VII, figs. 1-3). The skirt of the garment exhibits broad perpendicular and horizontal border bands. The garment surface is decorated with a field motif of plain disks.

These four examples of late 14th century BC garments belonging to the Elamite royal wardrobe present a distinctive and unified view of field surface garment ornamentation, consisting of combining bands of embroidery, broad fringes, and a field pattern of perfectly aligned disks, either plain, with central dots, or with a small central ring. These discs may represent some of the earliest evidence for garments decorated with bracteates⁴².

⁴² The presence of a central dot or ring may indicate holes necessary to fasten the bracteates to the fabric. Equally possible, the double (or nested) disks may represent

Two key aspects of the previous analysis regarding the headdress and the garment of the queen ought to be further pursued here: (1) Contrary to the tall mural crown headdress worn by Libbali-šarrat (wife of Ashurbanipal) and the Elamite queen from Naqš-e Rostam, the small mural crown worn by the enthroned queen in the banquet relief of Ashurbanipal finds a counterpart in the crown worn by the Assyrian queen Naqi'a; and (2) The royal garment recalls the one worn by Sennacherb during the battle of Lachish which is decorated with a field pattern of double discs; yet, in my view closer stylistic correspondences are to be found in late 14th century BC royal Elamite garments. These correspondences can be interpreted in a variety of ways. Given the substantial gaps in the Elamite and Assyrian artistic records they may be considered pure coincidence. Conversely, they could also be seen to be the result of actual artistic influence (indeed, the idea of decorating the field surface of a garment with bracteates may have originated in Elam); and, further, they can be interpreted as an intentional representation of an Elamite style royal garment. At any rate, the artistic references just discussed introduce some intriguing artistic possibilities. It is reasonable to admit that these associations draw our attention again to the assumptions formerly expressed, namely: that the clothing and headdress styles worn by the queen must have reflected her privileged status as an Assyrian queen or, instead, her alien status as an Elamite member of the royal family.

On first view, any evaluation of this evidence seems to be contradictory. On the one hand we have encountered references directed to royal Elamite garment styles and, on the other hand, we have a direct reference to the headdress of Naqi'a. Oddly enough, the possibility that Ashurbanipal was depicted feasting with the Queen Mother (that is, his grandmother) and not, as it is usually believed, with his wife, has been recently raised by S. Dalley (2007: 107). This view is now strengthened by what appears to have been the pivotal personal and political roles of Naqi'a in fostering and cementing the elevation of Ashurbanipal to power; further suggesting that this formidable lady occupied a privileged place in Ashurbanipal's heart and interests (see Reade 1987 and Melville 1999, 2004)⁴³.

bracteates with a raised central element. Incidentally, the ca. 600 BC golden bracteates found in the Arjan tomb include small loops at the back (See Álvarez-Mon forthcoming b).

⁴³ After Ašur-nadin-šumi (the elder son of Sennacherib and anticipated successor to the Assyrian throne) was captured and, most likely, assassinated by the Elamites in 694 BC, Naqi'a appears to have been promoted to first lady. In 689 BC Sennacherib was murdered

This said, I remain cautious to suggest that the evidence reviewed necessarily disproves the general assumption that we have a representation of Ashurbanipal's wife, Libbali-Sarrat. At the same time, this evidence has unveiled a new set of fundamental questions, possibly with far-reaching implications. Given the extraordinary overplay of cultural references converging in this most unique sculptural masterpiece, these questions may have to remain, for the time being, purely theoretical.

§3. Commentary and Conclusion: Explaining Elam

In the ensuing commentary I will further explore the theoretical boundaries of the banquet relief and attempt to articulate an understanding of Ashurbanipal's feast from an Elamite perspective. At the outset, the full significance of the associations between the sculptural enterprise of Ashurbanipal and the late history of Elam has yet to be thoroughly analyzed⁴⁴. For about ten years (ca. 650-640 BC), and perhaps even after the time of Ashurbanipal's abdication in 630 BC, there existed, in the Assyrian heartland, a monumental artistic program dedicated to illustrating the demise of Elam⁴⁵. What influence, if any, this concentrated, creative effort may have had on the artistic character of neighboring polities remains to be determined⁴⁶.

in a plot, according to Parpola, orchestrated by Arda-Mulissi, the second eldest-son (Parpola 1980) and according to Dalley (2007) orchestrated by Naqi'a, since none other than her son, Esarhaddon, was proclaimed king. When Esarhaddon died, Naqi'a played a critical role in securing the ascension of her grandson Ashurbanipal to the throne in 668 BC. I have suggested above that the banquet relief may have been carved sometime after 645 BC (the date of the capture of Humban-Haltāš III). If Naqi'a was alive she must have been well into her sixties, if not older.

⁴⁴ J. Reade's (1976) commendable and insightful analysis of Assyrian reliefs depicting Elamites provides stimulating guidance in this regard.

⁴⁵ While the majority of the carvings may have been commissioned within a range of approximately ten years (from ca. 650 to 641 BC), there is additional, sculptural evidence to suggest that military struggles between the Assyrian and the Elamites continued. According to Reade (1979: 109), some reliefs from Sennacherib's Southwest palace were chiseled away and replaced with cavalry battle scenes against the Elamites. These episodes may represent additional armed conflicts between Assyrians and Elamites that took place after the abdication of Ashurbanipal ca. 630 BC. Replacement of older sculptures dealing with the Elamites could have been done by either of his two sons, Ashur-etil-ilani (ca. 630-623BC) or Sin-Šar-Iškun (ca. 623-612 BC); see Reade (1976: 105)

⁴⁶ From a purely practical standpoint, the existence of a corpus of imagery dedicated to depicting battle scenes, horsemen, victory and celebration narratives, royal protocols, customs, etc., must have relied on the preservation of sketches, prototypes, perhaps "master

As previously observed, a good part of the political and military history of the 7th century BC was highlighted by the hostilities between Elam and Assyria. Yet, and despite our reliance on Assyrian sources, this conflict extended beyond antagonistic patterns and incorporated moments of close personal interaction between Elamite and Assyrian elites. In the case of Ashurbanipal, these relations may have been established at the time of the peace treaty between Esarhaddon and Urtak in 674 BC and, soon after his arrival to power, with the exile of the Elamite nobles from the Urtak and Ummanaldaš houses (from 664 to 653 BC). As we have seen, closely edited episodes of these interactions are documented in the palace reliefs of Nineveh and in the Assyrian Annals. It is within the sociopolitical background provided by these sources that I have endeavored to frame the Elamite presence in the banquet relief of Ashurbanipal. Accordingly, it may be useful to recall the nature of the sources concerned⁴⁷.

(1) The presence of an Elamite style bow, a key symbol of Elamite military power and insignia (and perhaps masculinity); (2) the representation of a banquet scene under a grapevine canopy together with a reference made to the Elamite couch captured from one of the royal cities of Humban Haltaš III and perhaps (but not certainly) a reference to the Elamite royal garment. These are symbols of (Elamite?) royal protocol, status, and wellbeing, associated with the culture of the palace and prosperity of the kingdom; and (3) the punishment and humiliation of specific Elamite kings, primarily Te'umman and Humban-Haltaš III, and perhaps (but not certainly) a reference made to the presence of an Elamite queen or princess (the enthroned lady). These are undeniable symbols of Assyrian supremacy in the battlefield and, just perhaps, an affirmation of Ashurbanipal's virility.

copy-books" and/or, more certainly, scroll drawings supplemented by models in unbaked clay (Reade 1979: 26). For further exploration on the influence of Assyrian artistic production on the art of latter-day Elam, see Álvarez-Mon (forthcoming b and c); for the art of Anšan, see M.B. Garrison (forthcoming).

⁴⁷ Given space constraints, I left out of this discussion references to the dagger, horse gear, and the necklace represented in the relief. P. Albenda (1976–7) commented on the Elamite and Iranian references for the dagger and horse gear but, in an attempt to diversify the origin of the trophies exhibited in the relief, stressed a Babylonian identity for these objects (thereby symbolizing the defeat of Šamaš-šum-ukin). I remain cautious about the purported Egyptian identity for the necklace, in great part because of our poor knowledge of 1st millennium BC Elamite jewelry.

These references closely echo statements made in the royal inscriptions regarding the devastation of western Elam by Ashurbanipal and the subsequent deportation, to Assyria, of Elamite social elites, including the royal *harem*. From the point of view of military and political history, the appropriation of Elamite military and political elites, insignia, elite goods, and the royal *harem* cannot be considered exclusive to the demise of Elam. Indeed, within the ideology of supremacy granted by the endorsement of divine providence, the transferring of royal possessions (including the *harem*) from the conquered to the conqueror follows a familiar pattern of ancient Near Eastern domination⁴⁸. At the same time, the deliberate nature of the Elamite references exhibited in the banquet relief of Ashurbanipal, together with a shift in the language of representation — which, as observed by most scholars, combines the changing self-image of the Assyrian monarch and the presence of an enthroned lady with the innovative solution given to an otherwise traditional subject (the banquet ceremony) — suggest to me that further interrogation of the banquet of Ashurbanipal should take place beyond a standard umbrella of conquest and retribution.

In my view, we ought to reflect on the prospect that the evolving, changing status of Elam from friend to foe and the ultimate defeat of a civilization which, like that of Babylonia, could claim deep roots in the distant past, generated the stimulus to extend the boundaries of domination from the politics of material and human appropriation into cultural and artistic settings. Being familiar with aspects of Elamite customs, it is plausible that Ashurbanipal set into motion an informed and nuanced artistic act of cultural appropriation that, ultimately, asserted his new role as inheritor of Elamite culture. This artistic response would have originated within the social microcosm of the Assyrian and Elamite palace environments; out of personal interactions between Assyrian and Elamite elites; and culminated with original, interpretative, artistic experiences such as that exhibited in the banquet relief.

To conclude, this understanding of the banquet of Ashurbanipal call for an examination of a related but complex topic: namely, that of the intended audience of the relief. If we acknowledge the interpretation of the archaeological record, that is, the proposal that the banquet relief of Ashurbanipal originally embellished the walls of Room S¹, the character of this court

⁴⁸ For instance, king Zimri-Lim inherited some of his father's harem and augmented his own by incorporating the harems of conquered foes (Lafont 2001: 137).

setting becomes decisive in terms of elucidating an intended audience. More to the point, the possibility that the garden setting represented in the relief is an illustration of the queen's garden (thus Albenda 1976: 67) together with the idea that the banquet relief was located in a sector of the palace inhabited by the ladies of the *harem* (and, most certainly, their progeny), bears intriguing implications. Could this relief (and associated reliefs from Rooms S¹ and adjacent Rooms T¹, and V¹) have been essentially crafted for the internal and private consumption of the *harem*? The relevance of this setting forces a new set of lenses through which to evaluate the heavy Elamite emphasis and presence in these reliefs. Is it possible that the imagery of this slab relief was in fact primed to broadcast Ashurbanipal's virility versus the obvious unmanliness of the Elamites? Is it also possible, as Herzfeld proposed, that the enthroned lady was a captured Elamite princess whose presence served to symbolize the recently devastated "Eternal City" of Susa?⁴⁹

Equally intriguing (and hypothetical) is the prospect that the humiliation of the Elamite nobles went beyond any validation of Ashurbanipal's kinglyness and targeted elements of an audience that was familiar with the specific events, individual characters, and allusions exhibited in the relief⁵⁰. For an Elamite audience, if there ever was one (and the evidence reviewed here alert us to consider this possibility), this display would have resonated with dreadful familiarity (no wonder, perhaps then, that this relief was singled out for mutilation among the hundreds lining the walls of Assyrian palaces). For all we know, however, the imagery of this masterpiece might have just been a salute to Ashurbanipal's glorious deeds for the particular edification of the ladies and children of the *harem*. Certainly, they didn't need to be aware of recent history to understand the obvious points of the relief: the battle was long over, the wicked Elamites had been put down; the past belonged to the *King of the Universe* and the future to his progeny; or so they thought...

⁴⁹ From a modern perspective on gender roles these questions are, to say the least, thought provoking. For an Assyrian perspective, see Melville (2004). For the composition of an Old Babylonian harem at the palace of Mari, see Lafont (2001: 134-140).

⁵⁰ Melville (2004: 56) suggests: "when the Assyrian king takes possession of an enemy king's women and children, he not only validates his own masculinity, but also essentially cuckolds his enemy, whose manhood and reputation are thereby dealt a terrible blow."

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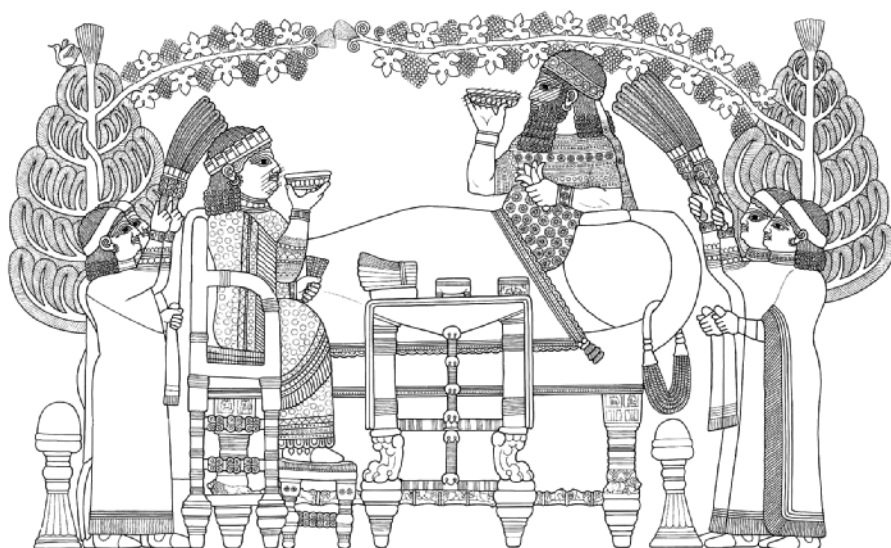
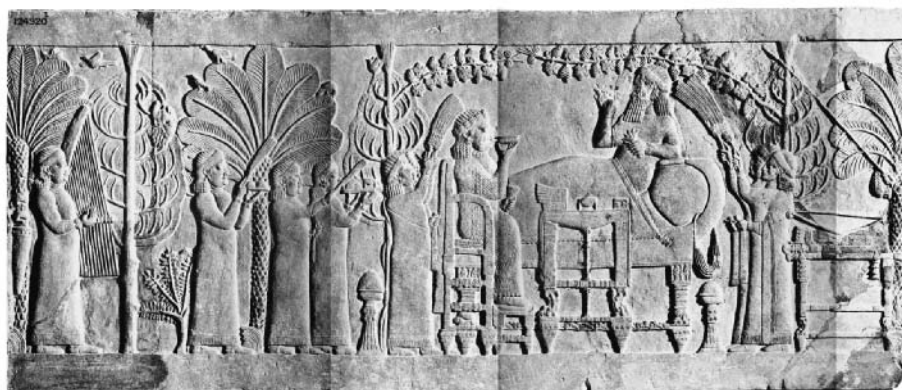
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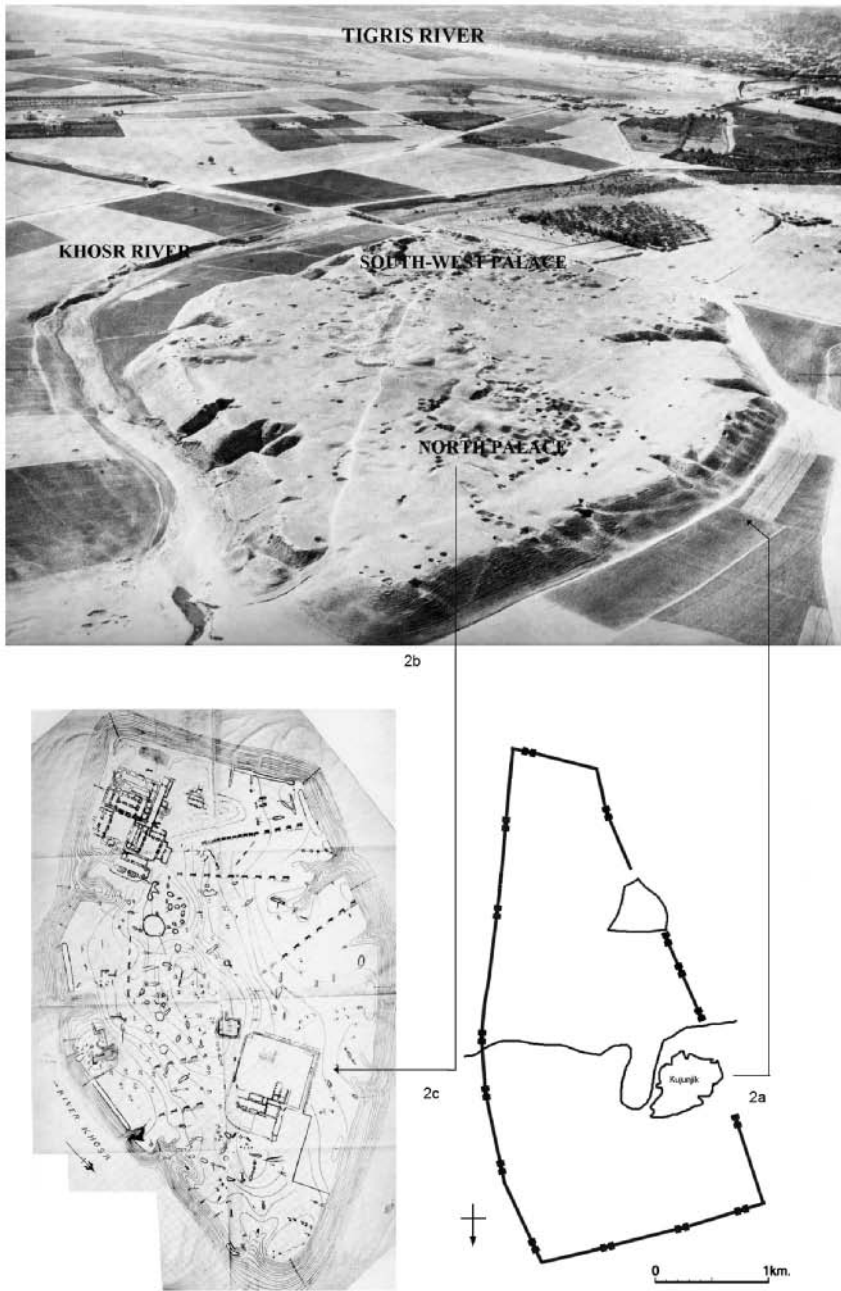
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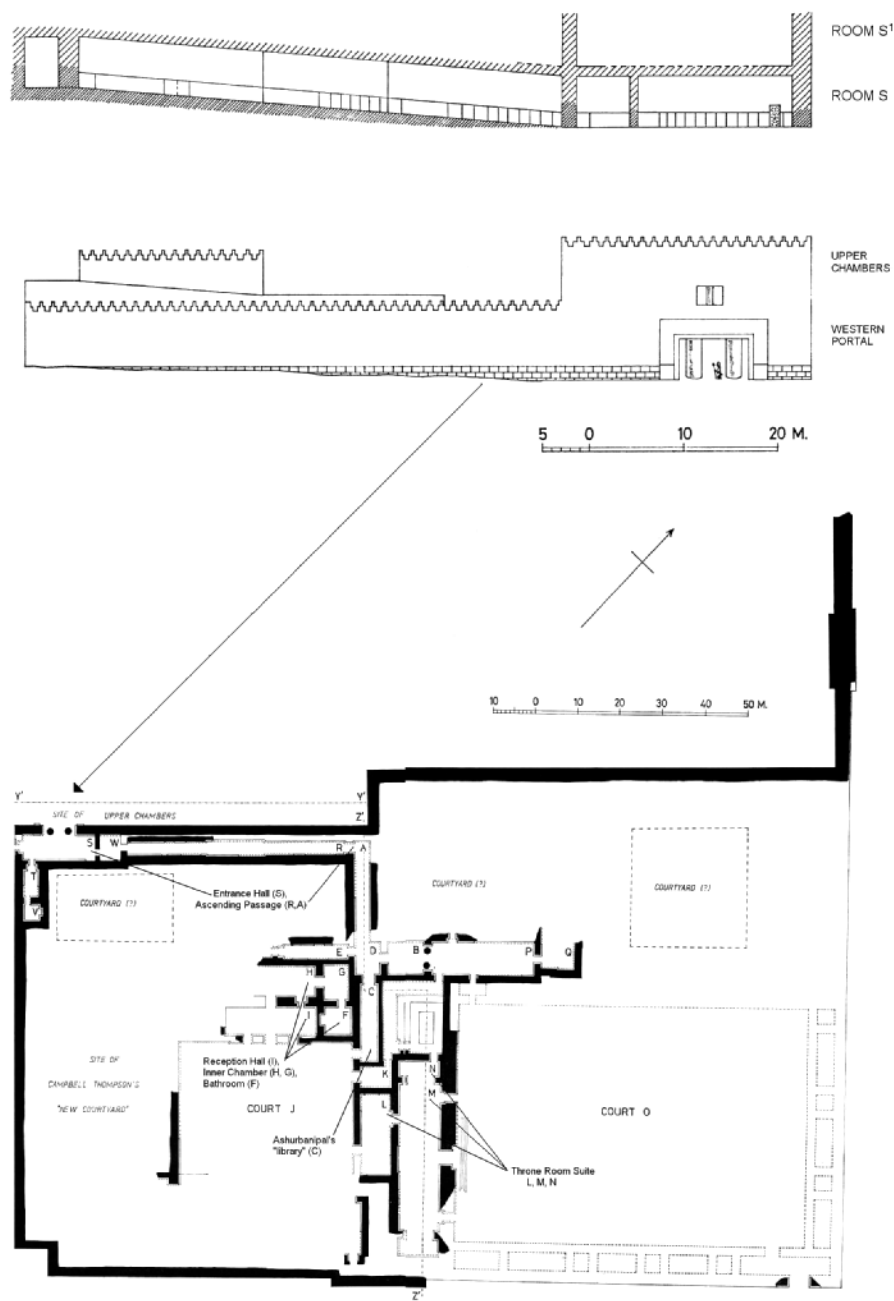
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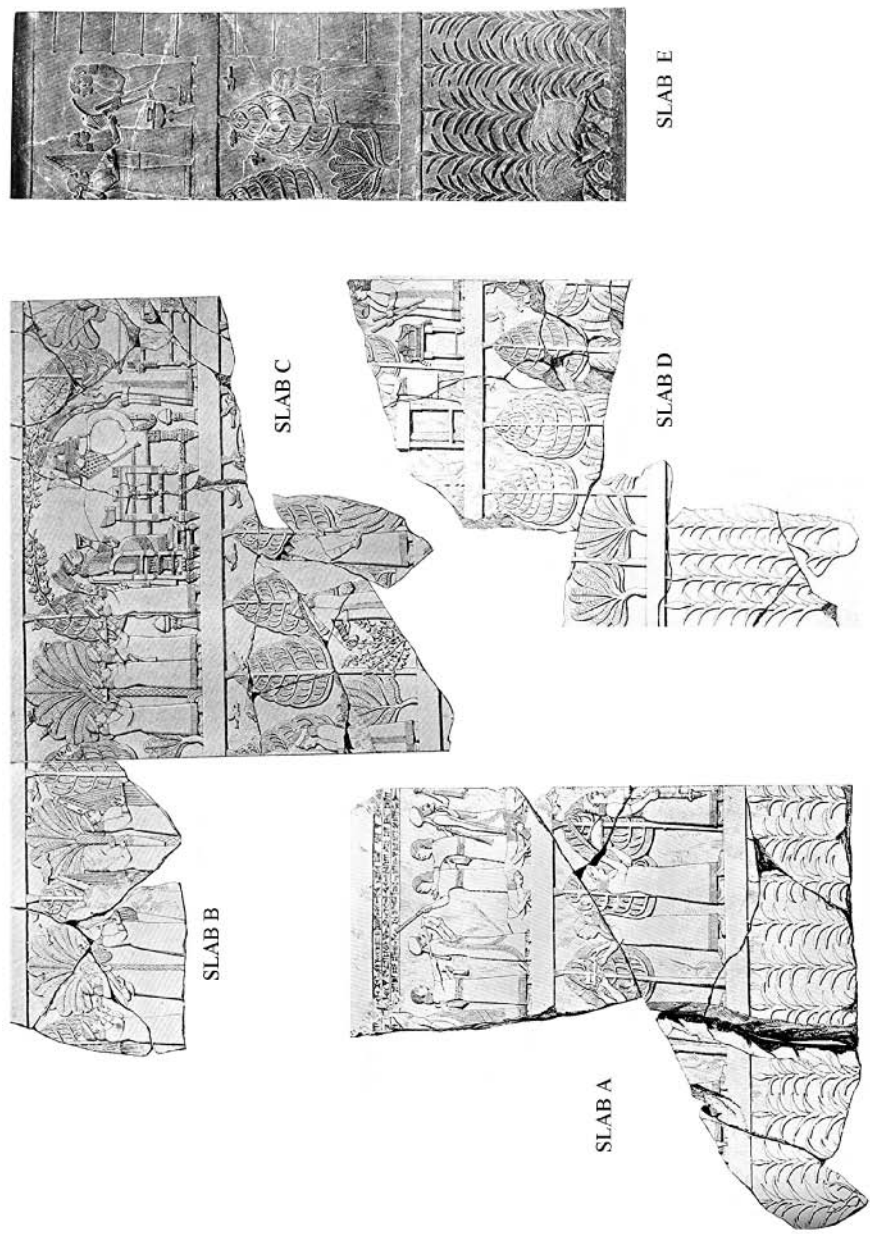
Pl.1. The royal banquet of Ashurbanipal in public exhibit at the British Museum (photograph after Barnett 1976, line drawing after H. Hajjar, with modifications by the author).



Pl. 2 a-c. (2a) The Kuyunjik mound at Nineveh; (2b-c) placement of the North palace in the Kuyunjik mound at Nimrud (photograph taken in 1933 and plan by L.W. King with additions by R.C. Thompson (after Barnett 1976, text-plate 1 and 3);



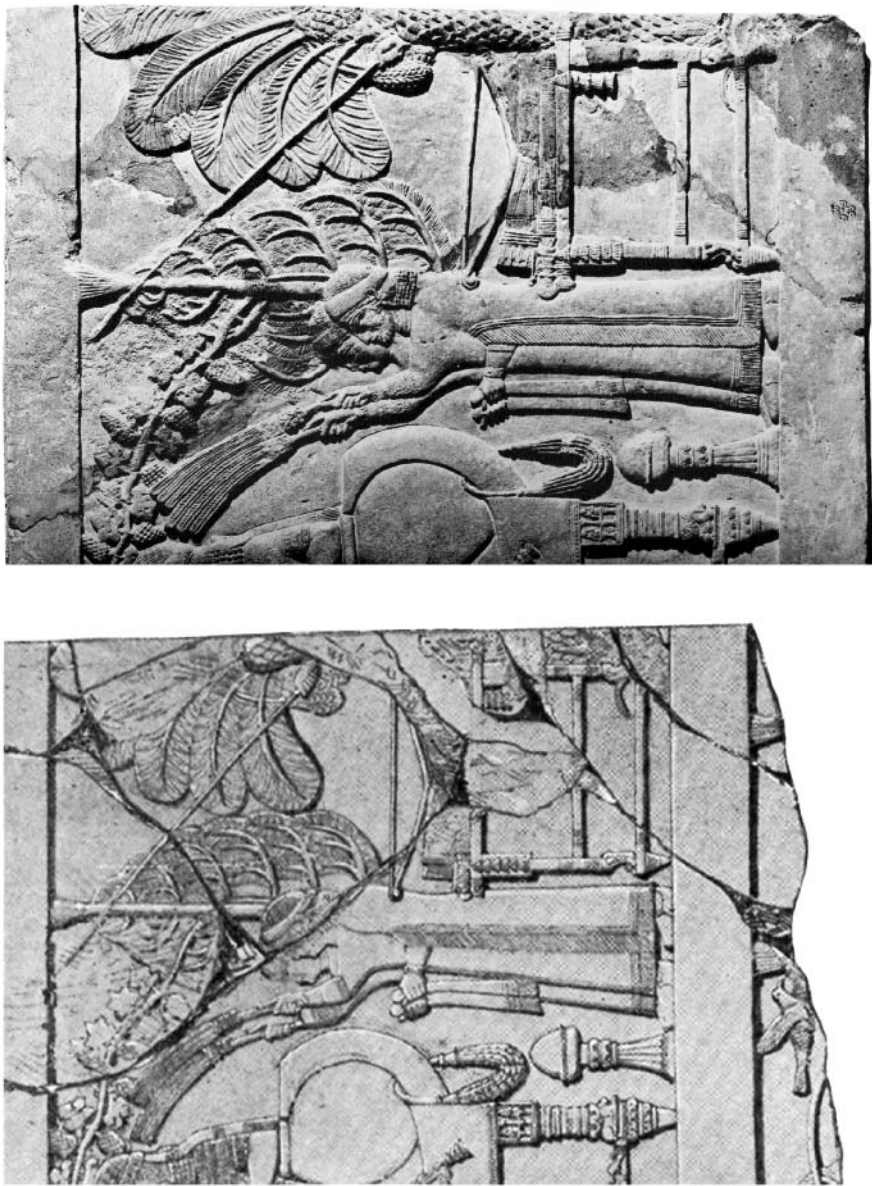
Pl. 3. Reconstructed plan of the North palace with section and exterior elevation of rooms S and S¹ (after Barnett 1976, figs. 7 and 12).



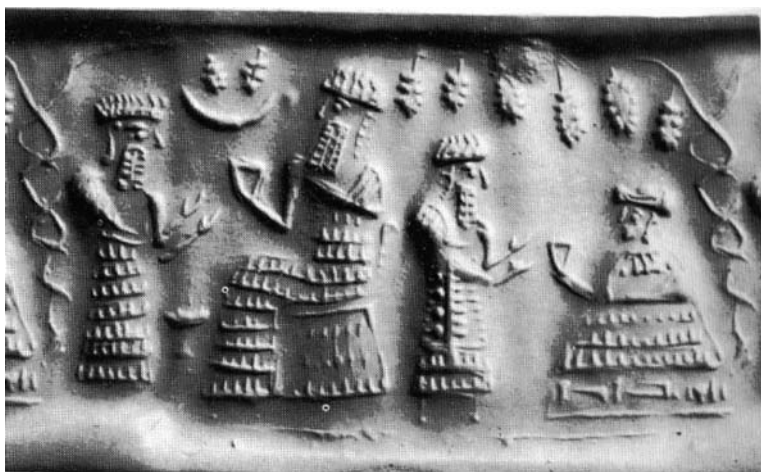
Pl. 4. Reliefs from Room S¹ exhibiting the the feast of Ashurbanipal (after C. J. Gadd 1936).



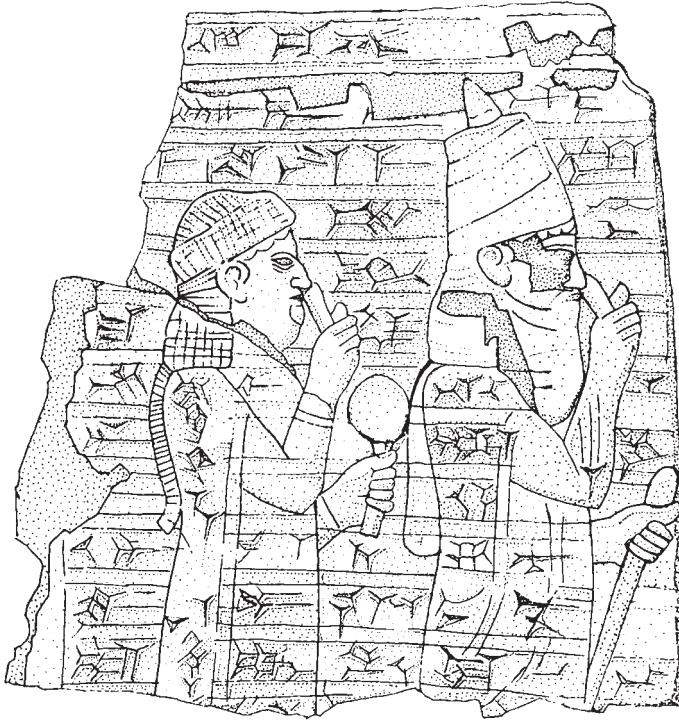
Pls. 5-6. (5) Depictions of Te-Umma in the Battle of the Ûla(-)ya River at Tell Tuba (photographs after Barnett et al. 1998); (6) Depictions of Humban-Haltaš III (photograph after Barnett et al. 1998).



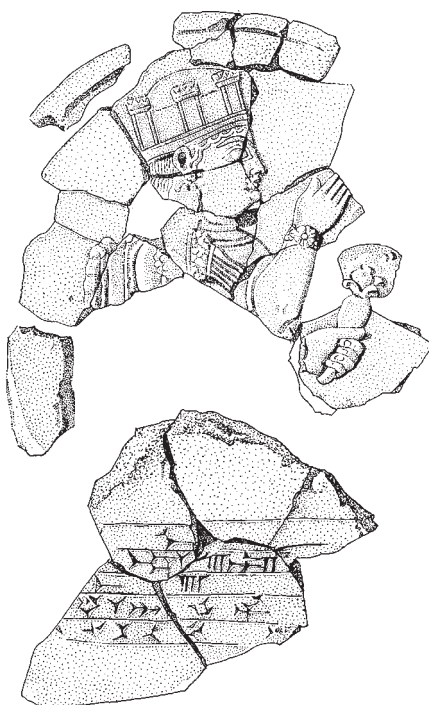
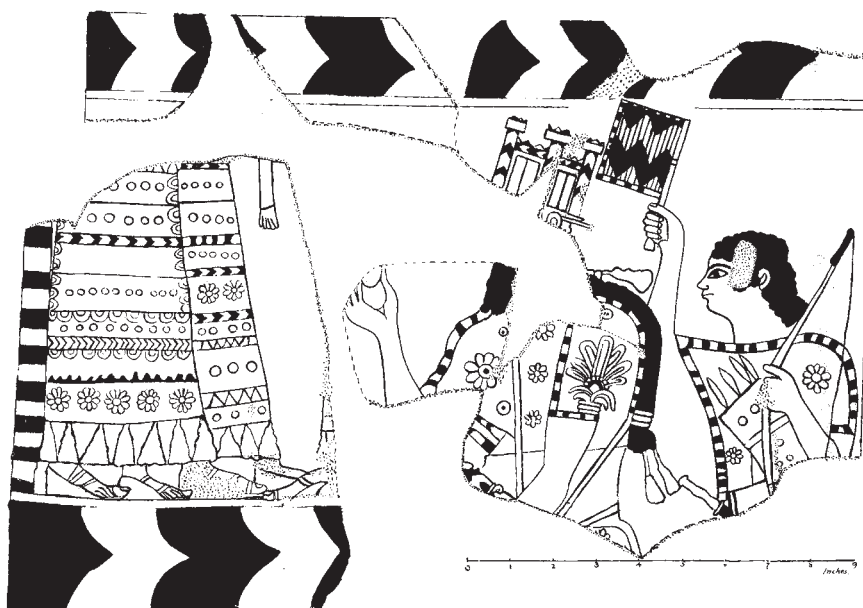
Pl. 7. Detail comparison of slab C showing line drawing and photograph (after Gadd 1936 and Barnett 1976).



Pls. 8-10. (Pl. 8) Slab C representing the of the captured prisoners and booty taken from the Elamite city of Din-Šarri (Drawing by W. Boucher; after Barnett 1976: 59, Plate LXVII). (Pls. 9-10) Elamite seal cylinders from Anshan (Tall-e Malyan), after P. Amiet 1986: 290, ill. 5 and 2.



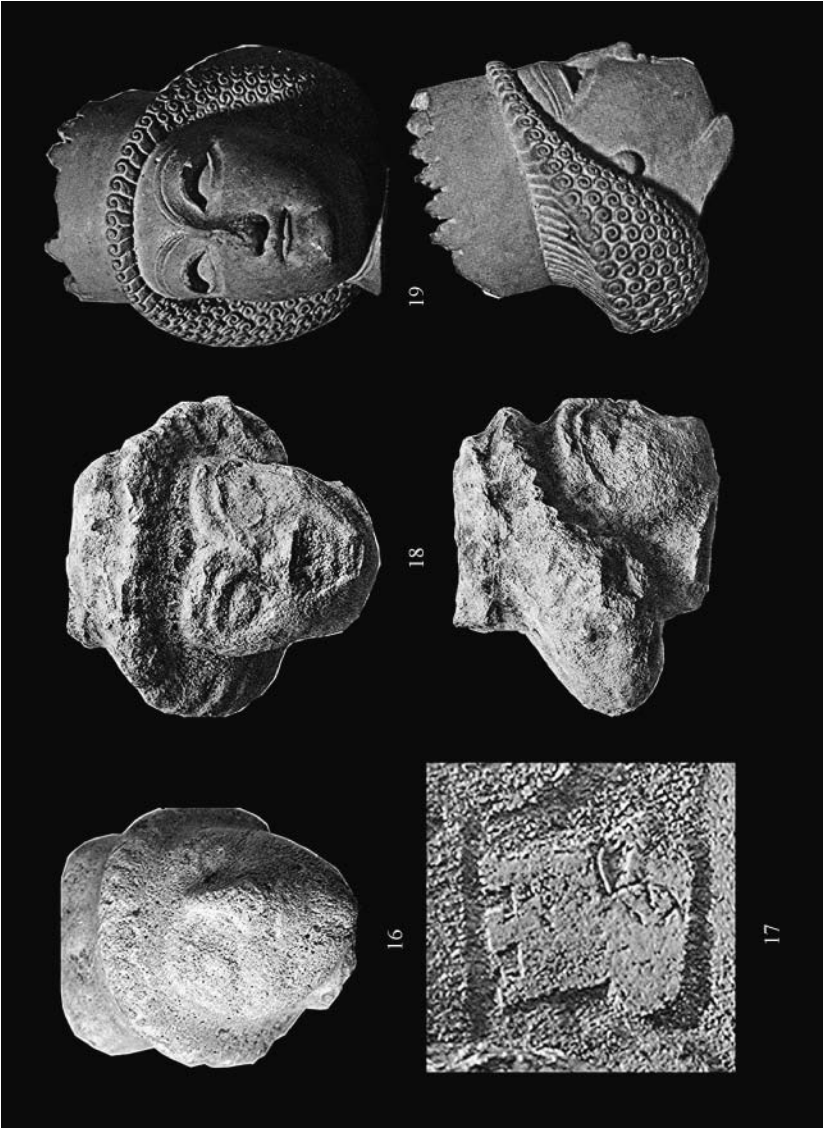
Pl. 11. Assyrian bronze relief representing Naqi'a and Esarhaddon (?)
(Photograph by the author, line drawing after Börker-Klähn 1982, no. 220)



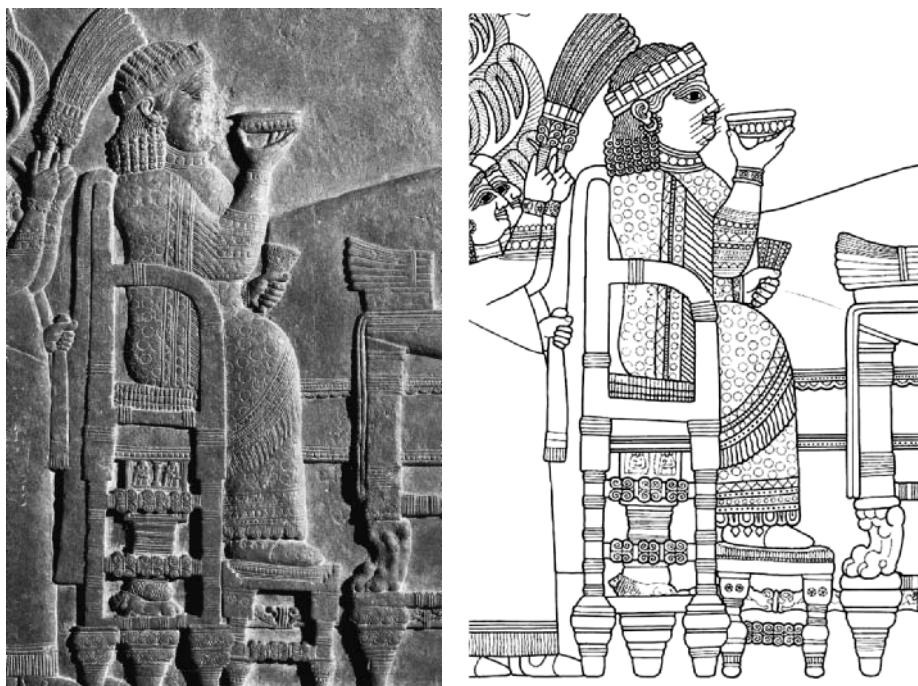
Pls. 12-13. (Pl. 12) Painted glazed tile from the Istar temple at Nineveh (after Thompson and Hutchinson 1931, fig. 2(B), plate xxxi); (Pl. 13) Stele representing Libbali-šarrat (after Börker-Klähn 1982, no. 227)



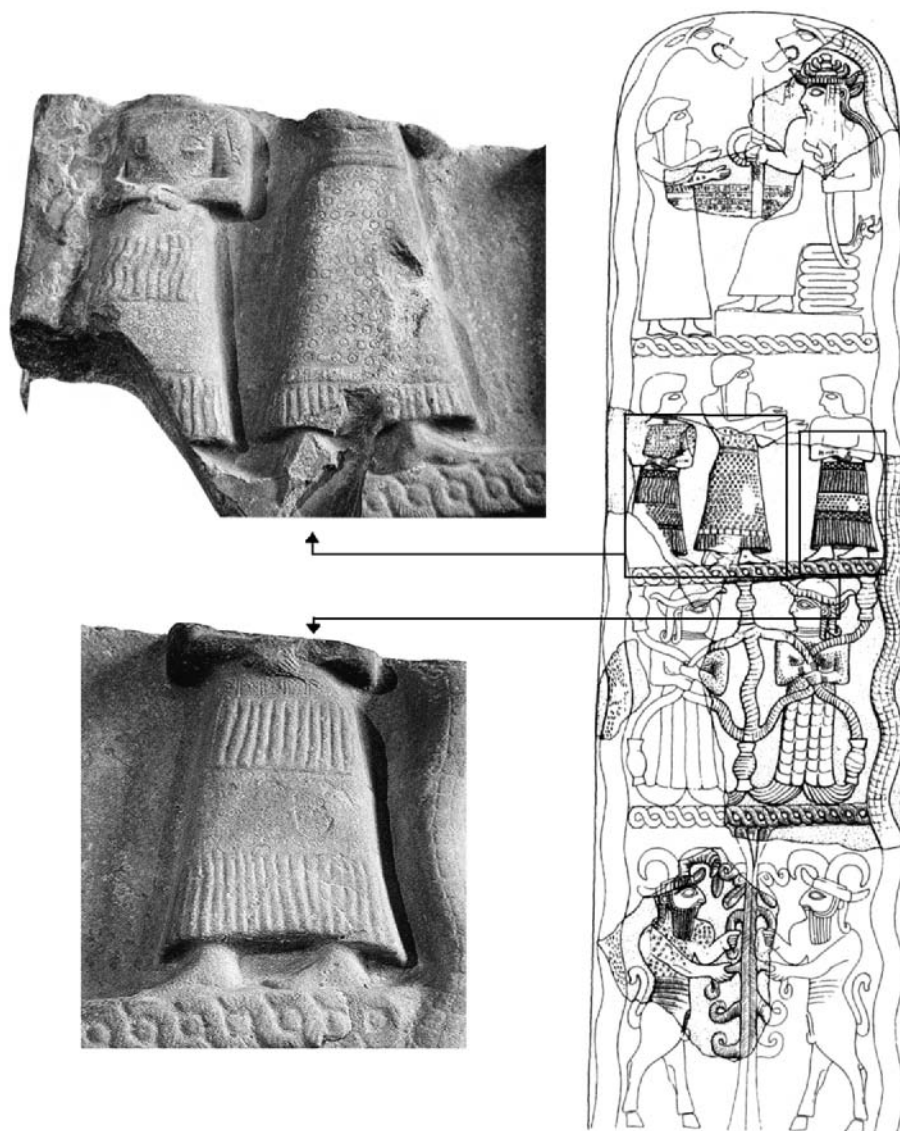
Pls. 14-15. [Pl. 14] Remains of Elamite relief at Naqš-e Rostam (photographs after U. Seidl 1986); [Pl 15] Remains of Elamite relief at Naqš-e Rostam (photograph by the author).



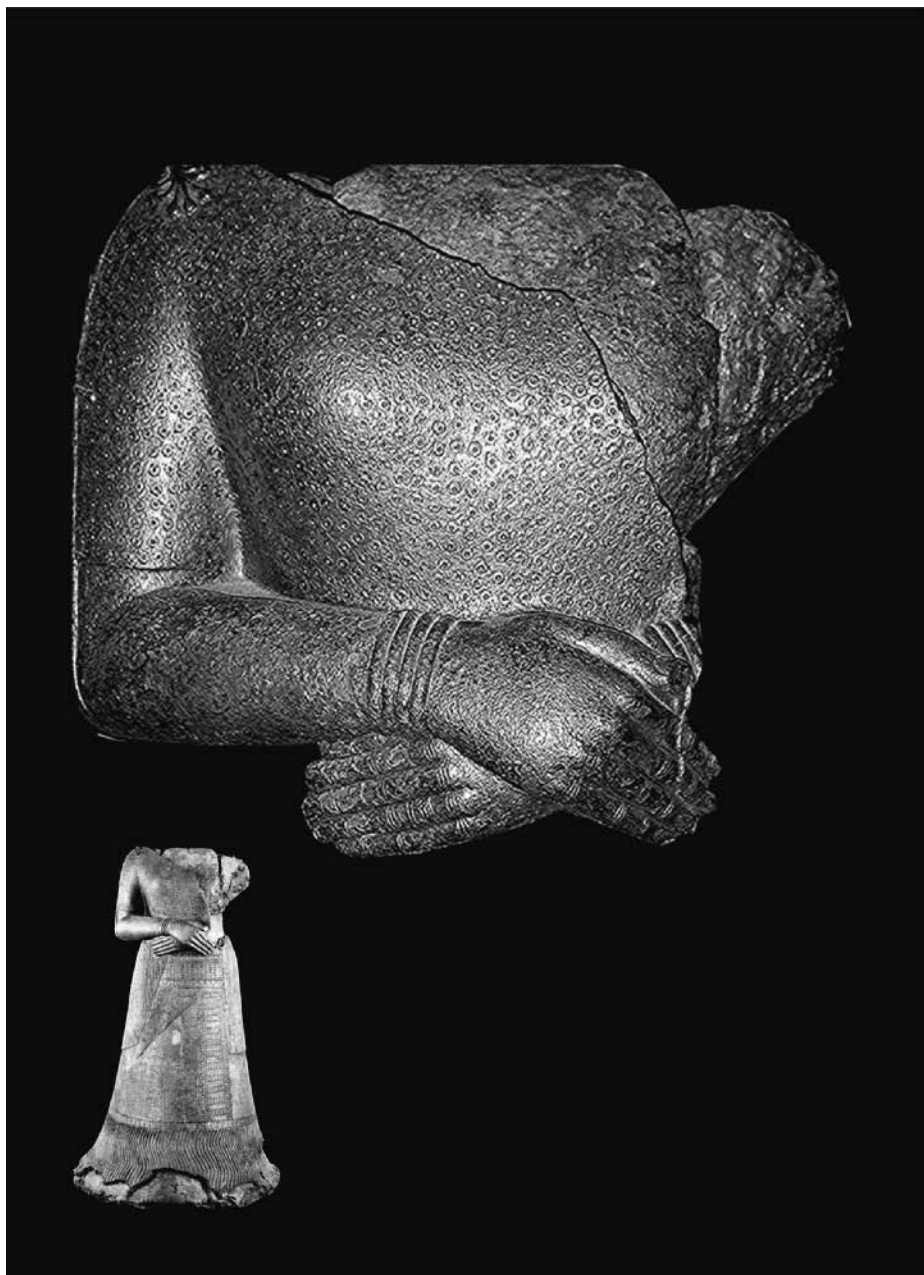
Pls. 16-19. (Pl. 16) Elamite glazed terracotta head Sb 3582 (photo by the author); (Pl. 17) Elamite queen from Naqš-e Rostam (photo by U. Seidl 1986); (Pl. 18 a-b) Elamite glazed terracotta head Sb 3081 (photo after Amiet 1966: 488, fig. 366;); (Pl. 19 a-b) Lapis lazuli Persian royal head (photo after Porada 1962, Plate 45)



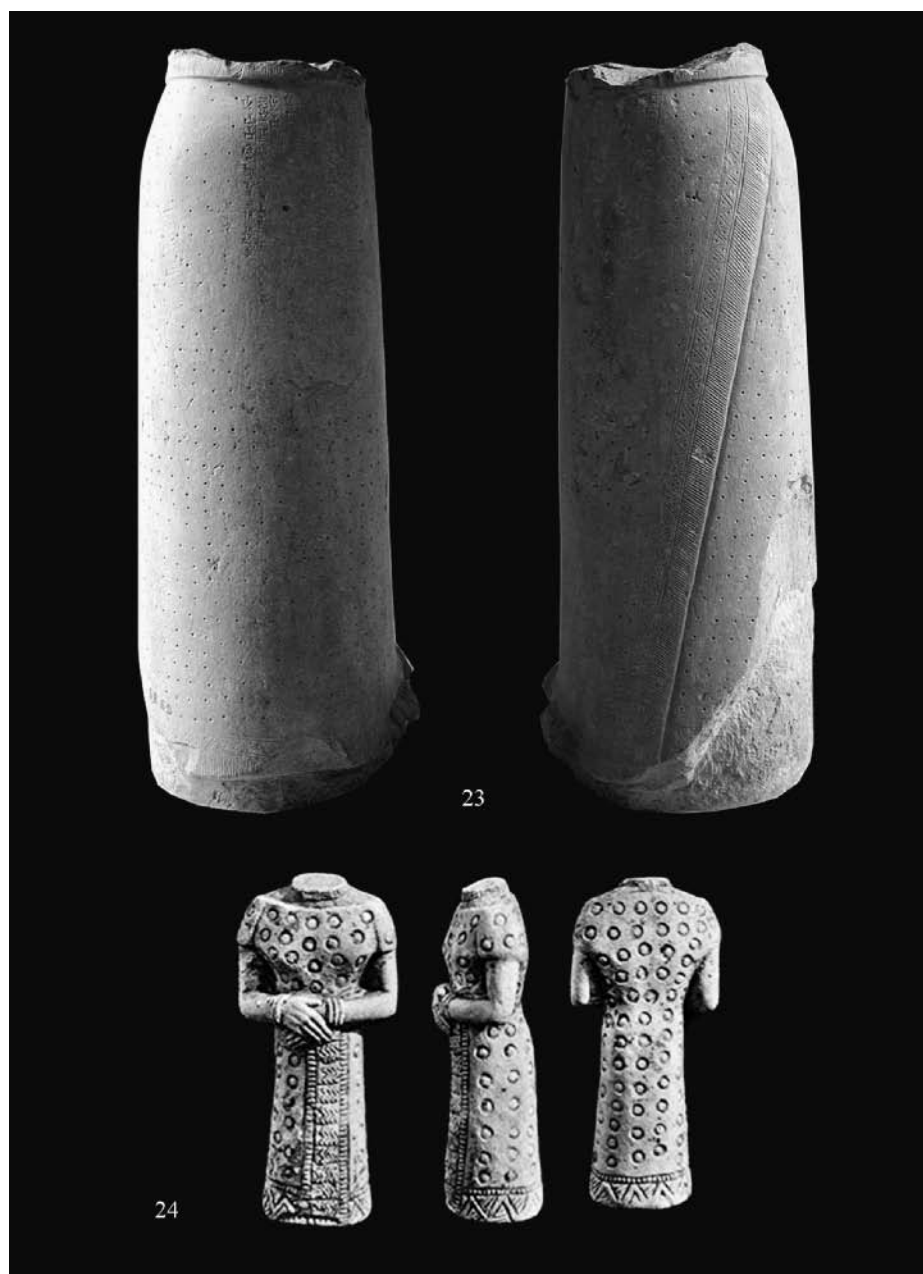
Pl. 20 a-b. (Pl. 20a) Detail of the enthroned queen (photograph after Reade 1983, fig. 107; line-drawing after H. Hajjar, see Pl 1). (Pl. 20b) Detail of slab relief from the time of Tiglath Pileser III exhibited at the British Museum, BM 124904-15 (photograph by the author, line-drawing after D. Ussishkin 1982).



Pl. 21. Stele of Untaş-Napiriša in public exhibit at the Louvre Museum
 (photos by the author, line drawing after Pezard 1916, fig. 1 and D. Ladiray
 (in P. de Miroschedji 1981, Plate 8).



Pl. 22. Neo-Elamite royal garments from the time of Untaš-Napiriša: queen Napir-Asu (photographs by the author).



Pls. 23-24. Neo-Elamite royal garments from the time of Untaş-Napiriša;
(Pl. 23) Remains of sculpture exhibiting long skirt (photograph by the author);
(Pl. 24) female statuette
(photograph after Ghirshman 1968: 12, vol. II, plate VII, figs. 1-3)

EREBUNI 2007

BY

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Abstract: New excavations on the Southeast Hill at Erebuni, at the east end of the fertile Ararat valley in Armenia, were designed to re-explore the still understudied Urartian settlement that occupies this prominent extramural location. Contrary to an earlier supposition that the site was broadly contemporary with the eighth to seventh century Urartian occupation in the adjacent Citadel, it emerges that this short-lived settlement may throw valuable light on a notably late phase of Urartian material culture.

Keywords: Urartu, excavations, architecture, column base, stamp seal, pottery.

The joint excavations of the University of California at Berkeley and Yerevan State University took place at Erebuni (modern Arin-berd), on the southern outskirts of modern Yerevan, from late May to early July 2007. The Project was directed by D. Stronach and F. Ter-Martirosov. Other members of the staff included A. Ayvazian, Assistant Director, W.F. Collins, C. Demos, S. Ghanimati, M. Karim, and N. Teratsy'an. For the provision of laboratory facilities or other logistical help we are indebted to Professor Pavel Avetisyan, Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences, to Professor Hayk Avetisyan, Dean of History, Archaeology and Anthropology at Yerevan State University, and to the staff of the Erebuni Museum. Funding for the Project came from research funds provided by the University of California at Berkeley, including funds from the Stahl Endowment, and from The Flora Family Foundation (Palo Alto, California). The participation of some twenty-five students from Yerevan State University, drawn mainly from the Departments of Archaeology and Architecture, was also of great assistance to the Project.

The Site

The excavations of the 2007 season took place on the Southeast Hill, an eminence located approximately 150 m to the southeast of the steep-sided principal hill at Erebuni, where the vigorous Urartian monarch, Argišti I, elected to found a new royal fortress (hereinafter the Citadel) in or near 782 BC. The Southeast Hill, which is only some 15 meters lower than the hill on which the Citadel stands, is characterized by a relatively flat, rounded summit and a long, gently sloping ridge oriented to the northeast at about 36 degrees from true north (fig. 1). The direction of the slope of the north ridge was the basis for the orientation of the units (or trenches) in Operation 1, located on the summit of the hill (fig. 2), as well as for that of the units in Operations 2 and 3, located on the mid-slope of the same ridge (fig. 3). Looking in the opposite direction, to the south, the summit of the Southeast Hill affords a clear view of the snow-capped peak of Mount Ararat (Pl. 1a).

Prior Excavations

The original excavations at Erebuni were conducted by the Academy of Sciences, Armenian SSR, in collaboration with the A.S. Pushkin State Museum in Moscow. When the work began in 1950, the initial focus of the excavations was very naturally on the major Urartian and somewhat later Achaemenid monuments located within the limits of the Citadel. But in the course of almost two decades of fieldwork, from 1950 to 1968, the presence of a more modest, extramural Urartian settlement on the long north slope of the Southeast Hill did not escape notice. In 1966, for example, excavations conducted in the northern part of this outlying settlement uncovered a faience amulet of the god Bes. As Dr. Svetlana Chodžaš has noted, this distinctive, imported object is quite close in appearance to Bes amulets of Saite date from Egypt¹. S. Chodžaš's own last full season of work in this extramural location took place in 1968². Finally, in terms of prior work on the Southeast Hill, Professor Felix Ter-Martirosov opened a small test trench in 1999 in the mid-slope area that came to be included, as did the southern limit of Chodžaš's excavation, in Operation 2 (fig. 3).

¹ Chodžaš 1975: 156.

² For a brief account of this work, illustrated with 8 photographs, see Hodjasch [Chodžaš]1982.

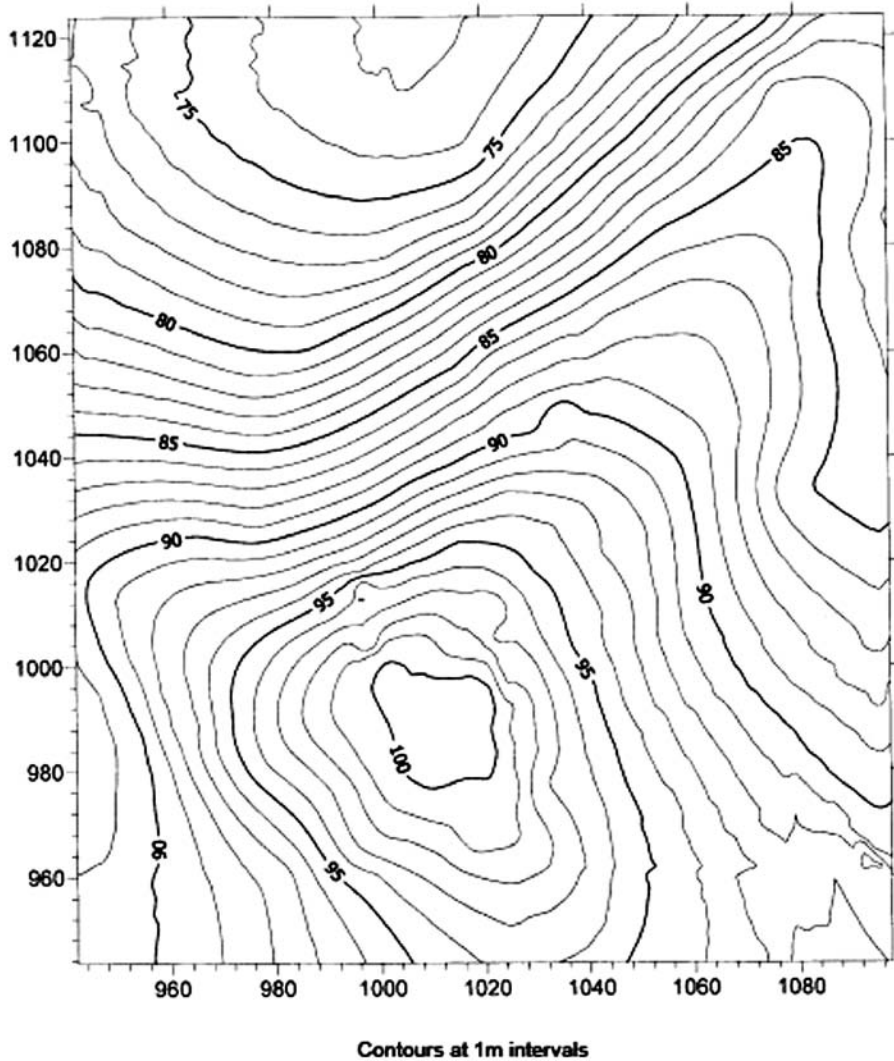


Fig. 1. Contour plan of the Southeast Hill, a prominent feature located approximately 150 m to the southeast of the adjacent Citadel at Erebuni. Operation 1 was introduced on the summit of the hill, where the stone foundations of the Rectangular Building eventually came to light. Operations 2 and 3 were located on the gentle, mid-slope area of the long north ridge of the hill. (Plan by W.F. Collins.)

Operation 1: Subsurface Geology

At the summit of the Southeast Hill the surface materials consist of loose pebbles, sand, and dense, packed red clay. These materials lie above virgin, cemented ancient alluvial gravel deposits. The surface materials were all highly disturbed by the use of heavy equipment during Soviet times. These damaging, earth-moving activities imported nearby soils and graded the hilltop to a near level condition. Much of the native and cultural stone material was scraped and tumbled to the north and east edges of the crown of the hill. In particular, none of the irregularly formed stone blocks that were randomly distributed on or near the surface would appear to have been connected with any ancient occupation. The imported or native materials lying over the virgin rock base varied from as little as 10 centimeters of red clay at the center of the hill to a depth of about one meter towards the northern and eastern edges of the summit. All surface materials were generally found to lie over a layer of burned debris (including modern cloth, rubber, glass, and wire).

Operation 1: Cultural Materials

A single layer of stones, marked by larger stones along the outer edges and smaller ones in the middle, appears to represent all that is left of the wall foundations of an ancient rectangular structure (Pl. 1b and fig. 2) that lay directly below the layer of modern burned debris — a layer that was most noticeable in Units 1.25 and 1.26. Hard-packed clay surfaces were discernible between the exposed wall foundations. No artifacts were found within the foundation stones or on the associated clay surfaces. Scattered potsherds were found only in disturbed deposits clearly associated with modern materials. This evidence suggests that, during the arbitrary earth-moving activities of the 1970s, virtually all the cultural materials once associated with the original building were cut away above the level of the still extant stone foundations.

Operation 1: Architectural Features

The first foundation stones were encountered in 2007 in Unit 1.13 (at what later proved to be the southwest corner of the construction) lying directly on the native, compacted gravels. The stones in question formed part of a

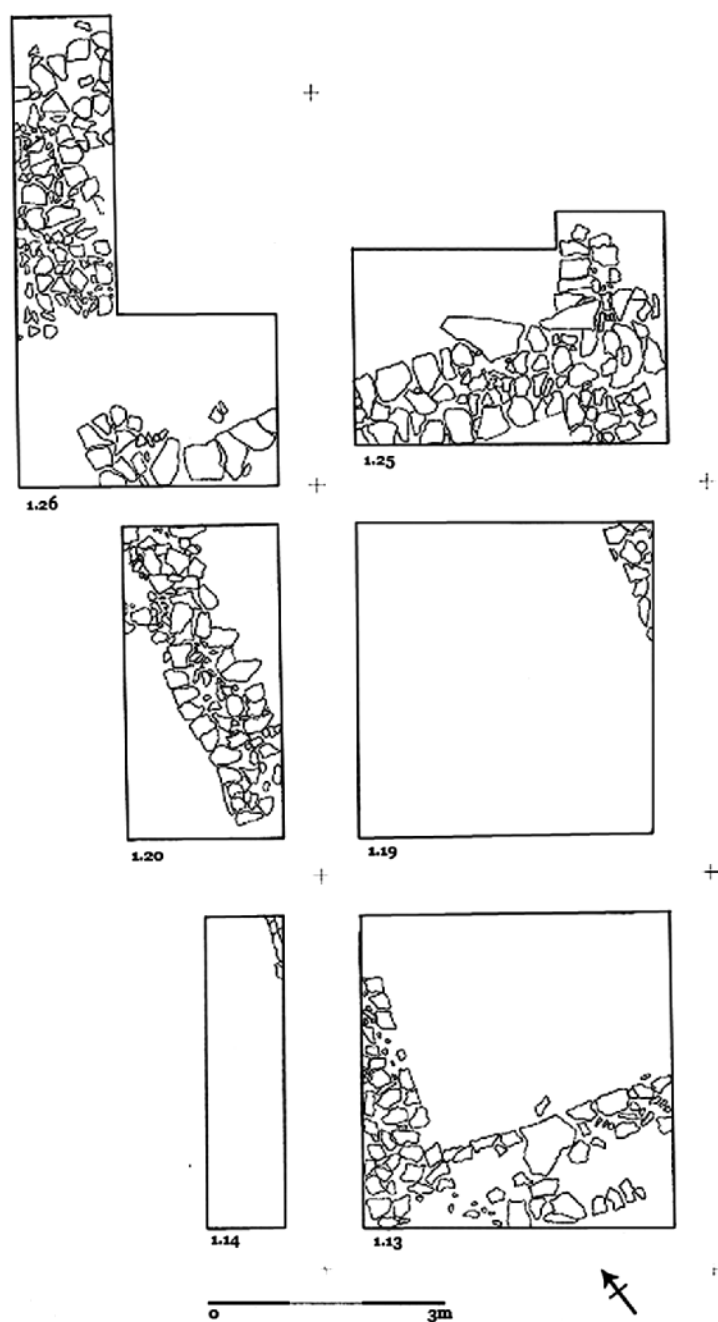


Fig. 2. Operation 1. Plan of the recovered portion of the Rectangular Building and adjacent stone elements, also of probable Urartian date, on the summit of the Southeast Hill.

clearly discernible wall, c. 1.10 m wide, that was oriented about 15 degrees east of north. An adjoining, more denuded line of foundation stones, built up against the south end of the first wall, was found to extend at right angles towards the east (fig. 2). This second wall was slightly wider, measuring c. 1.30 m in width. The interior surface at the base of the stones was clean and proved to be composed of compacted layers of silt-clay (Pl. 2a).

To the north, in Units 1.19 and 1.20, elements of the stone foundations were also observed. Evidence for the northern limit of the building was uncovered in Units 1.25 and 1.26. Unit 1.25 proved to include the building's well-defined internal northeast corner (Pl. 2b), together with a possible external buttress projecting northwards from the northeast corner (fig. 2). The stones in the associated north wall also proved to be consistently larger than elsewhere, conceivably because it was known that the entrance to the building would stand on the line of this wall. Elsewhere, the southern part of Unit 1.26 exhibits what appears to be a complementary external buttress at the northwest corner of the structure.

A rough, seemingly paved surface, together with the possible foundations of a separate wall immediately to the east, were detected not far to the north of the northwest buttress of the Rectangular Building (fig. 2). The paved surface was also found to descend towards the north, very probably in concert with the ancient contours of the hill, in the general direction of the nearby mid-slope settlement³.

The kind of dry stone walling found in Operation 1 can be readily compared to the nature of the stone wall foundations exposed further down the slope of the hill in Operations 2 and 3; and, since the orientation of the walls in each of these locations is broadly consistent, the scanty remains of the Rectangular Building are very possibly contemporary with the mid-slope complex. Although the intended function of this probably never-completed, freestanding rectangular structure is difficult to gauge on the basis of the available evidence, it is not without interest that it was erected on the summit of the Southeast Hill and that its internal dimensions are markedly close, at c. 8×5 m, to those of the cella of the temple of Iubša, which stands near the west edge of the adjoining Citadel⁴.

³ The foregoing text, describing the nature of the work undertaken in Operation 1, is owed to the excavator, William F. Collins.

⁴ K.L. Oganessian (1980: 50) records that the interior of the rectangular cella of the latter building measured 8.08×5.05 m. Also, for a readily available plan of the Citadel, see Piotrovskij 1967: fig. 64.

Operations 2 and 3

It was towards the end of May 2007 that the Joint Expedition laid out the first 4×4 m units (or trenches) on the intermediate slope of the Southeast Hill (Pl. 3a). Operations 2 and 3 included 15 excavated units covering an area that approaches 30×15 m in size. Although the surviving remains lie close to the modern surface, it proved possible to trace at least part of the plan of a number of related walls, all of which conform to a single, more or less uniform orientation (fig. 3). Whereas the wall foundations in the middle of the excavated area and towards the eastern limit of the work are relatively well preserved (even if nothing of any mudbrick superstructure survives), the walls, and even the floors, on the west side of the excavation can no longer be detected because of the effects of surface erosion. Nevertheless, the results obtained so far suggest that we have revealed a sizeable part of a long, relatively narrow building that was characterized by both roofed and unroofed spaces.

If reference is made to the plan (fig. 3), it will be seen that the north end of the excavated mid-slope area (Pl. 3b) is marked by a rectangular court that was at least 8×5.50 m in size. While the west wall of the court appears to be missing, the east side of a north-south stretch of paving with sometimes quite large and even colorful flagstones (Pl. 4a) may mark the line of a missing wall or internal partition. To-date the only known doorway to the court appears to be represented by a narrow paved opening in the east wall (fig. 3). Directly to the south of the court are the remains of what would appear to have been a storage magazine, the excavated portion of which has already yielded the remains of several medium-sized, buff to grey storage vessels, each of which may once have been at least 70 cm in height. Although these vessels do not compare in height with the standard type of Urtian pithos, the lower portion of each jar was still sunk quite deeply, in the manner of a full-sized pithos, into the surrounding compacted earth floor (Pl. 4b).

South of the storage magazine was a further, partly stone-paved area. But here a number of projecting, internal walls suggest that at least certain parts of the enclosed space were partitioned, if not roofed. Finally, at the south end of the excavated area, a spacious room with one surviving cylindrical stone column base for a wooden column (located in the east baulk of Unit 2.2), and a monolithic stone threshold in the west wall (fig. 3), was conceivably of some importance. Not only did this room, which falls at

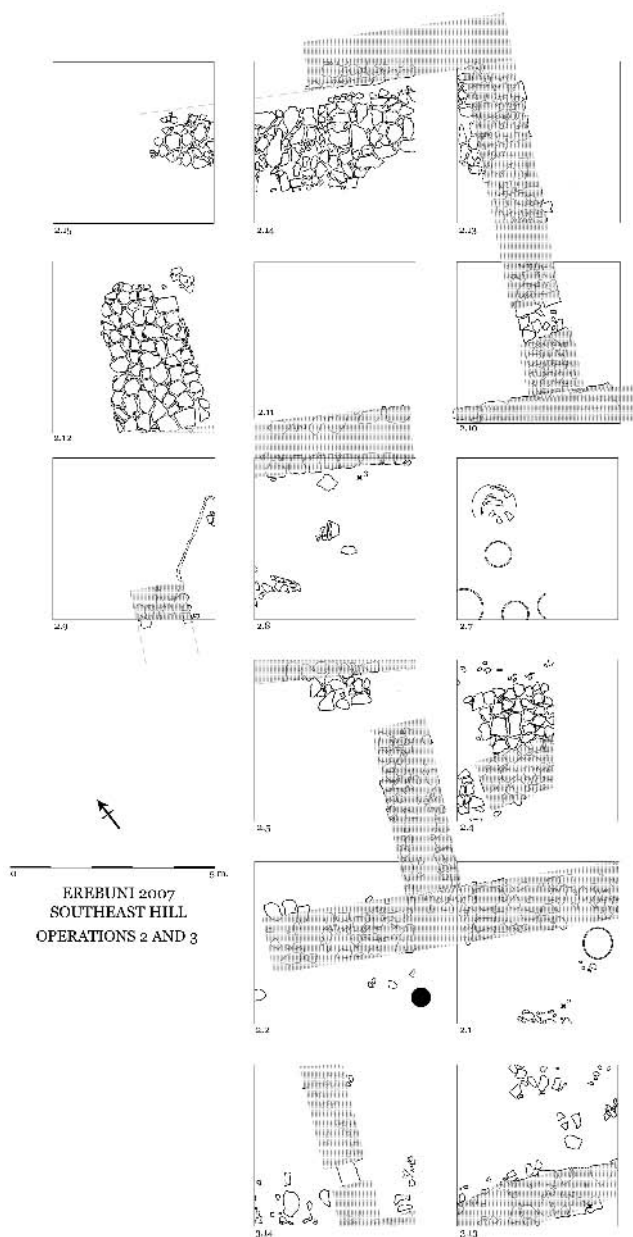


Fig. 3. Plan of the mid-slope, Urartian settlement revealed to-date in Operations 2 and 3. Shaded areas denote approximate wall lines; paved areas are not shaded. The top of the column base in Unit 2.2 is marked in black. Unfilled circles show where parts of storage jars were encountered in Units 2.1 and 2.7. The small 'x' signs, numbered 1-3, indicate, respectively, where the seal, the arrowhead, and the bracelet were found.

least partly within Units 1 and 2 in Operation 2 and within Units 13 and 14 in Operation 3, possess the remains of a single, sunken storage vessel near the northeast corner of the room, but two objects of decided interest were retrieved from locations in or near the limits of the room (see below). It is a matter of particular note that the aforementioned column base is made from tufa and that its once buried, lower half tapers towards the bottom (Pl. 5). In other words it accords with the distinctive type of conical column base, always made from tufa, that is otherwise attested, for example, at Oshakan — a site of chiefly post-Urartian date located at no great distance from Ereuni near the north edge of the Ararat valley. Furthermore, this type of base offers a visible contrast to the standard form of Urartian column base, which is very often carved from basalt and which is usually distinguished by a carefully worked cylindrical top (up to c. 40 cm in height) as well as by a larger, always buried, untreated block of stone at the bottom⁵.

Small objects from Operations 2 and 3

Much the most interesting object found during the 2007 season consists of a stamp seal of white-veined black stone, 24.21 mm in height (fig.4), that was found near the southeastern corner of Unit 13 in Operation 2, at a depth of 5 cm below surface, soon after work in the trench began. The impression of the seal, here illustrated in Plate 6 as well as in a drawing prepared by Catherine Demos (fig. 5), shows a hybrid, winged creature with a leonine body and the tail of a scorpion facing right. The creature is probably horned and the muzzle appears to be shown in profile. The large eye and the jaw are indicated by drill-holes. The one visible wing springs from the front of the chest and extends backwards at a very slightly rising angle. The presence of feathers on the creature's chest is probably also indicated by a separate group of horizontal lines.

The two near legs each show a sharp forward bend. The feet may have been those of a bird, with three drill-holes indicating the forepaw of the hind leg. Two stars, one placed in front of chest and the other behind the rump, place the depicted action in the “heavenly” realm. Since both stars show signs of damage, the number of rays is not entirely clear in either case.

⁵ Cf. Ter-Martirosov 2001: 156.

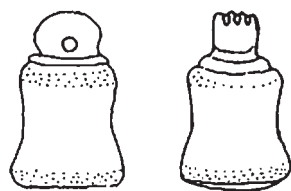


Fig. 4. A bell-shaped stone stamp seal, 24.21 mm in height, found not far below the surface in Unit 3.13. The seal is furnished (as many Urartian seals are) with a suspension loop and, as can be seen in the right-hand illustration, the top of the loop is marked by three deep, parallel indentations. (Drawing by C. Demos.)



Fig. 5. Drawing of an impression taken from the bell-shaped stone stamp seal found during the 2007 season on the Southeast Hill. Scale 3:1 (Drawing by C. Demos.)

A curious and not very readable element appears to hover above the wing, in the upper part of the impression. It could be a platform or “altar” (composed of addorsed animal protomes) which is in turn surmounted by an item of uncertain identity. Related examples in Urartian glyptic can depict a platform (often composed of addorsed horse protomes), which on occasion supports a tree or a branch⁶. The supported object could also represent a tree with fruit-laden branches, a motif that is known from seal impressions from Bastam⁷.

The seal is likely to date from the end of the 7th century or even just possibly from the very beginning of the 6th century BC. That is to say that, while the detailed rendering of the features of the muzzle is unusual for “standard” examples of this motif, it is doubtful that a motif of such an expressly Urartian character could have been produced at any date too long after the effective demise of Urartu’s compelling iconographic traditions⁸.

⁶ Compare, for example, a discoid seal impression from Karmir Blur (KB 41 in Ayvazian no date).

⁷ Cf. the seal impression, BA 01 in Ayvazian no date. Also of possible relevance is an impression from a stamp-cylinder from Bastam (BA 09 in Ayvazian no date) in which the muzzle and the paws of a leonine creature are indicated by drill-holes.

⁸ The preceding text, describing the properties of the stamp seal, was supplied by Alina Ayvazian.

A second object that was more certainly associated with the southernmost excavated room in the mid-slope complex was a socketed bronze arrowhead with a leaf-shaped (bilobed) blade as well as a prominent midrib and long barb (Pl. 7a and fig. 6). The only sign of possible ancient damage consists of a small nick on one side of the blade. Its overall length, at 45.85 mm, only slightly exceeds the norm. Otherwise, its appearance in a late 7th century context is not in any way surprising⁹. Finally, the floor of the storage magazine, at a point close to the foot of the north wall, yielded a small bronze bracelet with snakehead finials (Pl. 7b and fig. 7)¹⁰.

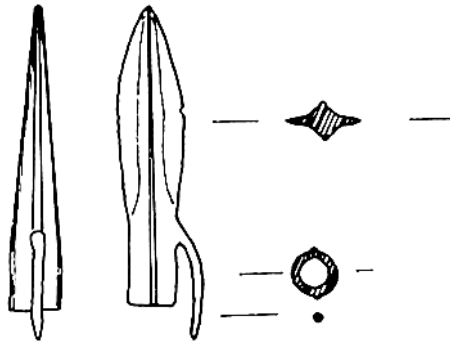


Fig. 6. A socketed bronze bilobed arrowhead with a conspicuous midrib and a long barb. Found near the floor in Unit 2.1. Intact save for a small nick on the edge of one lobe. (Drawing by C. Demos and D. Stronach.)

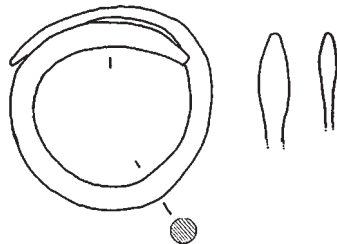


Fig. 7. A child's bronze bracelet with snakehead terminals. The opposed ends of the bracelet are also shown in plan at right. The maximum internal diameter of the bracelet is 3.5 cm. Found on the floor in Unit 2.8. (Drawing by C. Demos.)

⁹ For a recent survey of this and other types of socketed bronze arrowheads that were in use in Urartu and in related contexts in or near the 7th century BC, see Derin and Muscarella 2001: 189ff.

¹⁰ For further excavated bracelets of Urartian date, see those recovered, for example, from the chamber tombs of the Karagündüz cemetery, located 35 km northeast of Van (Sevin & Kavaklı 1996). Also, for the date of the materials from Karagündüz, see, most recently, Muscarella 2006: 171.

Pottery from Operations 2 and 3.

Within the limited span of a short season, the largely shallow deposits that were excavated produced only a somewhat restricted range of pottery. It is noteworthy that the bowls and small jars from the settlement — represented by potsherds alone — include a small but nonetheless significant number of examples with a red-slipped surface, either with or without a low burnish (Pl. 8a)¹¹. From among the red-slipped vessels particular note may be taken of the surviving part of a shallow ring-based bowl with a long, narrow sign on its base (Pl. 8b). The sign was impressed before firing while the clay was still damp. It appears to show at least two rows of six dots¹².

In all, the bowls and small jars from the settlement range from those that are red-slipped, and sometimes slightly burnished, to others of medium fine quality that are grey, brown or buff in surface color (figs. 8 and 9). The bowl illustrated in figure 8,2 may indeed underscore Kroll's observation — made with reference to Bastam — that bowls from an occupation level that lies above the local Urartian horizon “show a general tendency for a wider lip” compared to the bead rims that are especially characteristic of bowls of Urartian date¹³. From the character of the excavated ceramics from the mid-slope complex on the Southeast Hill it may also be possible (at least with reference to materials dating, in all probability, from the end of the 7th or the very beginning of the 6th century BC) to affirm Kroll's view that brown and buff pottery becomes increasingly prevalent at the expense of still persisting red-slipped wares that continue the “ongoing Urartian pottery tradition” in the “Urartian area”¹⁴.

¹¹ But rarely, if ever, with the vivid polish (or high burnish) that distinguishes the highly fired Urartian “elite” red-slipped pottery (so characterized by Kohl and Kroll 1999: 256) that is best attested at major Urartian sites that did not long outlive the middle of the 6th century BC. With reference to one outstanding red-slipped vessel with just such a high gloss from the significant site of Ayanis on the east shore of Lake Van, see, for example, Çilingiroğlu 1997: pl. 82.

¹² For previously published signs on Urartian pottery from Erebuni, see especially Chodžaš 1981. Cf. also Burney 1966: pl. 16 and fig. 17; and most recently, Belli and Salvini 2006: fig. 17.

¹³ Kroll 2003: 283.

¹⁴ Kroll 2003: 282-283. Note also the parallel presence, in the mid-slope settlement, of small common ware jars (e.g. fig. 9,2 and 3) that were grey-black in surface color.

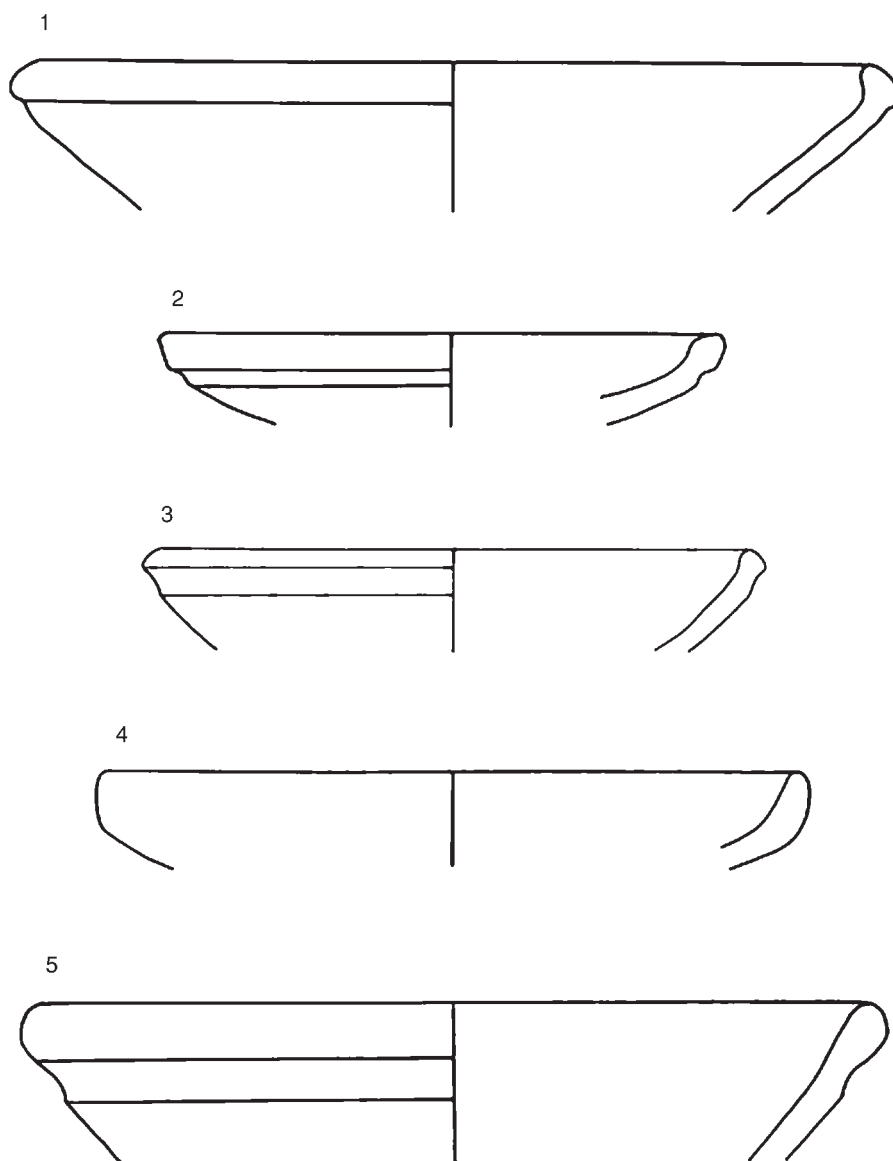


Fig. 8. Small bowls of medium-fine ware (1-3) and common ware (4-5). Scale 2:5.

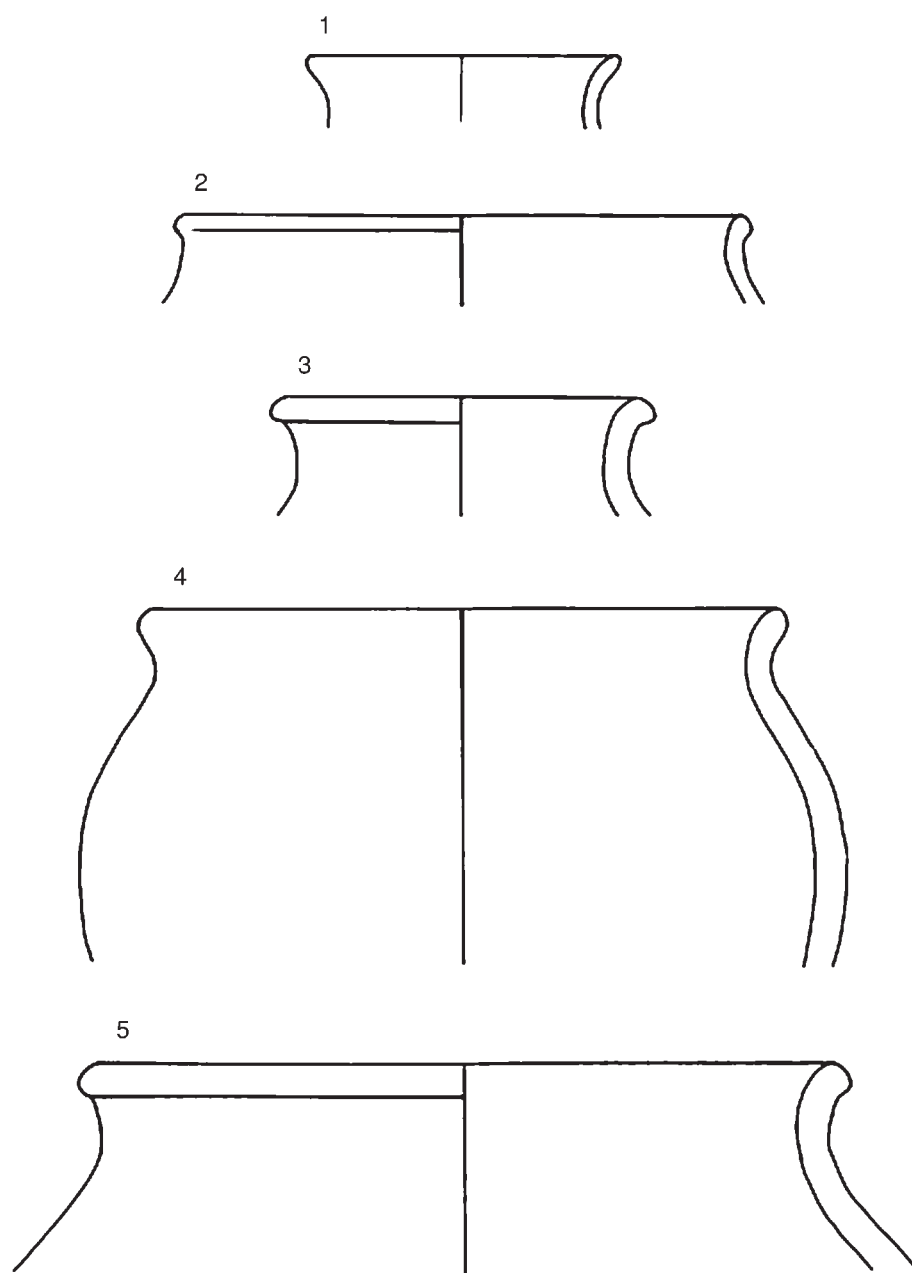


Fig. 9. Small to medium-sized common ware jars. Scale 2:5.

Conclusion

From all the indications of a single short season of excavations, the denuded archaeological remains on the Southeast Hill have begun to cast new light on one of the latest and, hence, one of the still less well documented phases of Urartian material culture. To this extent, the 2007 season may be said to revise an earlier view that, on the basis of perceived similarities in the pottery, the settlement on the Southeast Hill was coeval with the long Urartian occupation on the high citadel at Erebuni¹⁵.

In addition, even if parts of this outlying settled area were excavated in earlier years (in the 1960's especially), it should be noted that much of the distinctive, overall plan of this narrow, elongated architectural complex remains either unexplored or unpublished. Also, so far as can be ascertained, the site's architectural appointments look to be rather different from those that came to light in the lower town of Karmir Blur, located near the southwestern edge of modern Yerevan¹⁶. The discrepancies in question could be a reflection of a difference in function or, indeed, of a certain difference in date between the periods within which these two extramural settlements flourished. But however this may be, it would seem appropriate to suggest that further work on the Southeast Hill — the site of one of the relatively few Urartian *settlements* that can be ascribed to a date close to 600 BC — is likely to offer a useful complement to other lines of enquiry concerning the last years of Urartu.

POTTERY CATALOGUE

Fig. 8. Small bowls of medium-fine ware and common ware, all of which are made on a wheel. Scale 2:5.

1. Medium-fine ware bowl with a bead rim. D 24 cm. Paste: buff with barely visible black inclusions. Surface: red slipped with minimal burnish. 3.14.
2. Medium-fine ware bowl with everted rim. D 16 cm. Paste: grey-green with black and white inclusions. Surface: Traces of red-slip with minimal burnish. 2.10, Locus 0021, Bag 9.

¹⁵ Cf. Hodjasch [Chodžaš] 1982: 385.

¹⁶ For the nature of a typical, freestanding building in the lower town at Karmir Blur, with raised, still well-defined, stone wall socles, see Martirosjan 1958.

3. Medium-fine ware bowl with slight carination. D 17 cm. Paste: reddish-buff with small white inclusions. Surface: same, smoothed. 2.2, L 0080.
4. Common ware bowl with simple, upright rim. D 20 cm. Paste: brownish-buff with small black and white inclusions. Surface: same, smoothed. 3.13.
5. Common ware bowl with slight carination. D 24 cm. Paste: buff with black inclusions. Surface: same, smoothed. 2.1, L 0077.

Fig. 9. Small common ware jars, all of which are made on a wheel. Scale 2:5.

1. Jar neck with flaring rim. D 9 cm. Paste: red with minute white inclusions. Surface: same, smoothed with a low degree of burnish.
2. Jar neck with a bead rim. D 16 cm. Paste: reddish-buff with small white inclusions. Surface: grey-black with a low degree of burnish. 3.13.
3. Jar neck with a strongly everted bead rim. D 10 cm. Paste: buff with small white inclusions. Surface: grey-black, smoothed with a low degree of burnish. 3.13, Bag 120.
4. Round-bodied jar with a slightly everted rim. D 18 cm. Buff with black inclusions. Surface: same, smoothed. 2.1, L 0077.
5. Jar neck with a bead rim. D 21 cm. Paste: buff with black inclusions. Surface: same smoothed. 3.13.

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Pl. 1a. Mount Ararat (5,165 m) viewed from the north. The photograph was taken from near the summit of the Southeast Hill. (All photographs are by Maryam Karim unless otherwise indicated.)



Pl. 1b. The internal southwest corner of the Rectangular Building soon after it was first revealed in Operation 1, Unit 13, on the summit of the Southeast Hill. Viewed from the north.



Pl. 2a. Unit 1.13. The southwest corner of the Rectangular Building, here seen from the East. Nothing but a level, hard-packed clay surface was found within the limits of the exposed stone foundations.



Pl. 2b. Unit 1.25. A detail of the internal, northeast corner of the Rectangular Building, viewed from above. (The east wall is at the top of the photo, the north wall is on the left, and the edge of a baulk is visible on the right.)



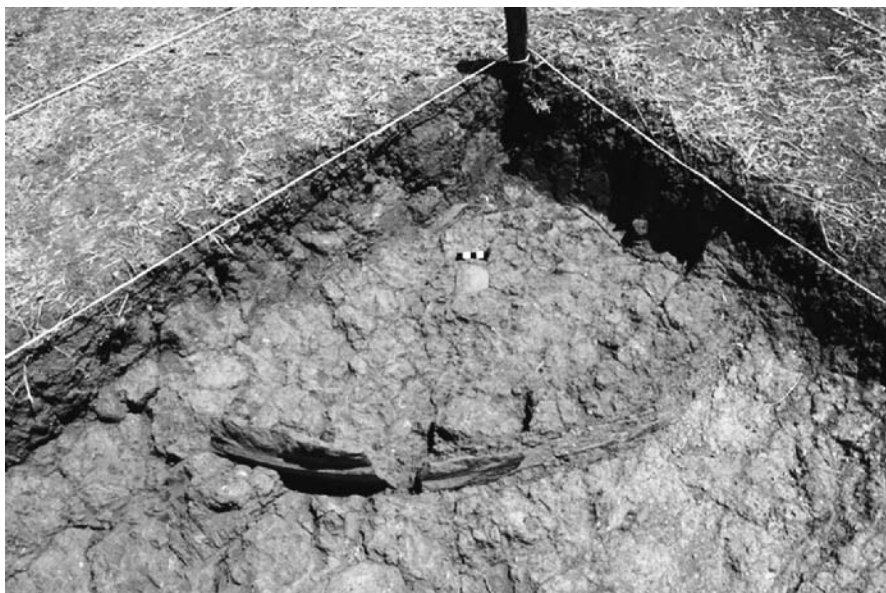
Pl. 3a. In the foreground excavations are underway in Operations 2 and 3 on the mid-slope of the Southeast Hill. Note also the location of the work in Operation 1, on the nearby summit of the hill.



Pl. 3b. Excavated features in Units 2.10, 2.13 and 2.14, seen from the south. The one-meter scale rests on two stones that mark the north side of a narrow, paved doorway in the east wall of a partly paved court. The northernmost point of the long north ridge of the Southeast Hill is practically visible near the top of the photograph.



Pl. 4a. A stretch of stone paving in Unit 2.12, viewed from the north. The paved area includes large, colorful flagstones and the orientation of the east edge of the paving may reveal the line of a now missing wall (or partition) that was robbed out in antiquity.



Pl. 4b. The outline of a storage jar, buried to a depth of at least 30 cm, emerges from the floor of the storage magazine in the southwest corner of Unit 2.7.



Pl. 5. A view of a stone column base, discovered *in situ*, in Unit 2.2. After part of the associated floor was cut away, it was found that the lower half of the base tapered towards the bottom. This distinctive type of conoid base, made from *tufa*, is known to be a characteristic marker of either a terminal Urartian or post-Urartian date, particularly in the vicinity of the Ararat valley.



Pl. 6. The impression of a stone stamp seal found near the southeast corner of Unit 3.13. The center of the design shows a hybrid, winged creature with a leonine body and the tail of a scorpion facing right. The maximum diameter of the sealing surface is 14.90 mm. (Photo C. Demos.)



Pl. 7a. A socketed bronze bilobed arrowhead with a prominent midrib and a long barb. It was encountered slightly above floor level near the southeast corner of Unit 2.1. Length 45.85 mm. (Photo C. Demos.)



Pl. 7b. A small bronze bracelet with snakehead finials. The bracelet was recovered from the north edge of the floor of the storage magazine in Unit 2.8. The maximum external diameter is 4.5 cm. (Photo C. Demos.)



Pl. 8a. A rim fragment of a red-slipped bowl with a bead rim. Slightly burnished.
Unit 2.8, Bag 109. (Photo C. Demos.)



Pl. 8b. Part of a red-slipped, lightly burnished, ring-based bowl with an impressed sign
on its base. The sign appears to consist of two rows of at least six dots.
Unit 3.13, Bag 101. (Photo C. Demos.)

**FURTHER EXCAVATIONS AT QALEH KALI (MS 46)
BY THE JOINT ICAR-UNIVERSITY
OF SYDNEY MAMASANI EXPEDITION:
RESULTS OF THE 2008 SEASON**

BY

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Abstract: A second season of excavations was undertaken at Qaleh Kali during the winter of 2007/8. Initially, work was concentrated around one of the trenches opened in 2007 (E0978/N1055) in order to ascertain the extent of the Achaemenid pavement and portico exposed there. Later work focused on identifying mudbrick structures on stone foundations to the north of the portico. It is not yet certain whether these date to the Achaemenid or post-Achaemenid period.

Keywords: Achaemenid, post-Achaemenid, Persian architecture, Fars, Mamasani

Introduction

In continuation of the successful excavations undertaken at Qaleh Kali in 2007 (Potts et al. 2007), the Joint Mamasani Expedition (fig. 1) undertook further work at the site between 27 December, 2007, and 25 February, 2008. The aim of this second season was to expand our exposure of the columned portico and to begin to expose those structures that must have been associated with it. Whereas 110 sq.m. were excavated in 2007 with a small labour force, this season's excavations exposed an additional 452 sq.m. (fig. 2) with a team of 19 workmen from the village of Jinjun. Although what follows must be considered preliminary, we now have a much better understanding of the stratigraphic development of the site over time, from the Achaemenid period to the modern era, thanks to a large series of well-stratified deposits. Furthermore, although excavations this year yielded little in the way of small finds (Pl. 24), we have an excellent sample of ceramics from all phases. Here we shall present only the ceramics from the pre-Islamic phases at the

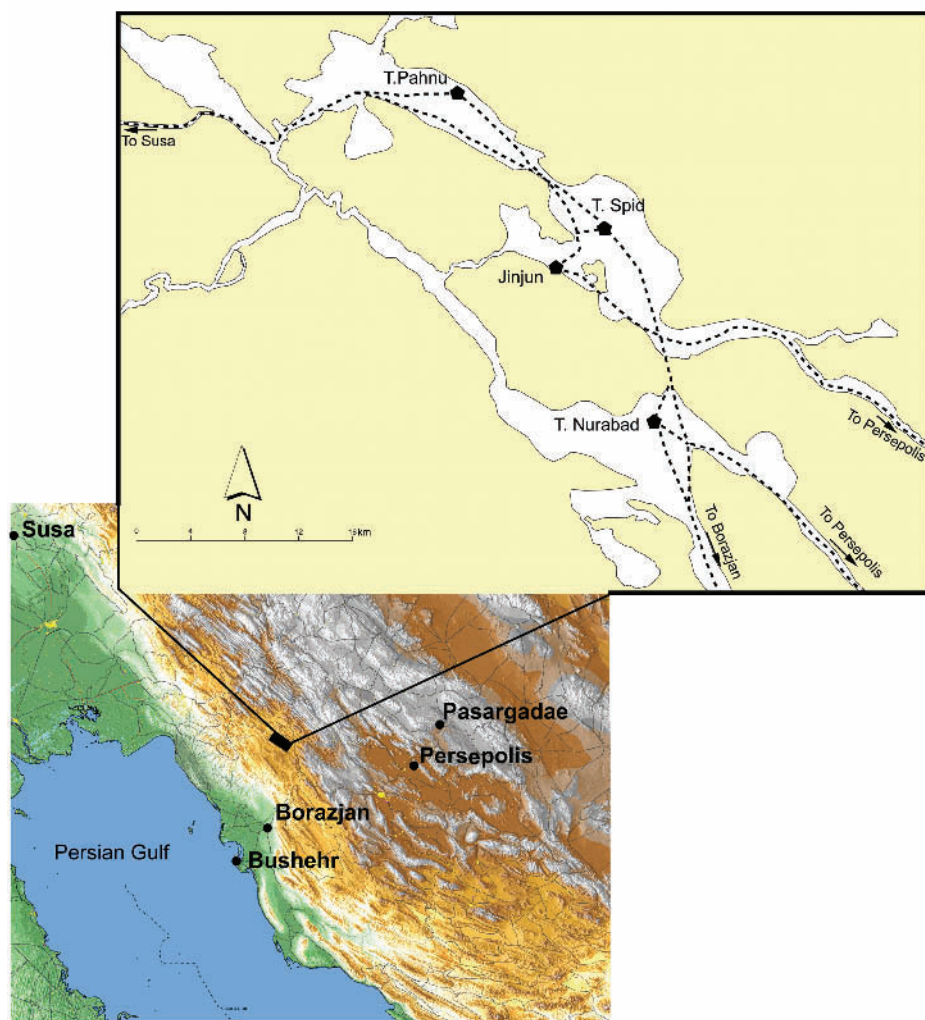


Fig. 1. Map showing the location of the study area.

site. Further work on the ceramics, architecture and stratigraphy will be undertaken by I.K. McRae (ceramics) and A. Dusting (architecture and stratigraphy) in the course of their PhD research at the University of Sydney.

Some deposits, post-dating the destruction of the Islamic village (s.v. Phase III), have not been ascribed to one of the phases detailed below. Also excluded from consideration is the general clearance of topsoil across the site and those deposits relating to the Japanese excavations (Atarashi &

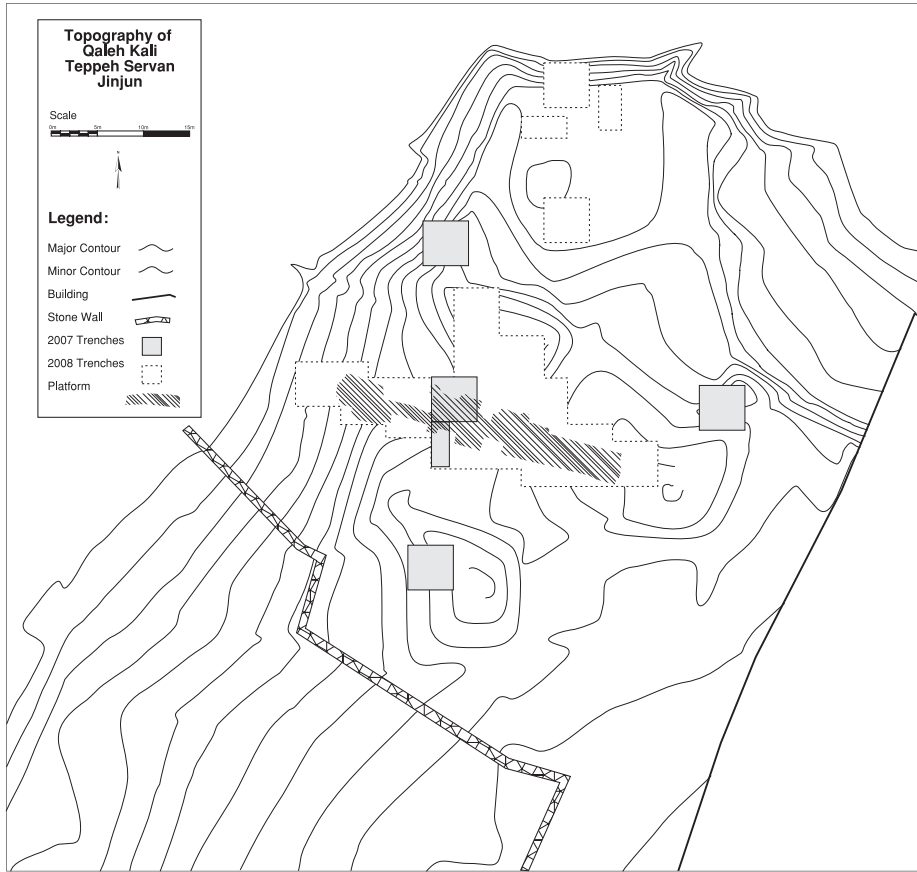


Fig. 2. Plan of Qaleh Kali showing areas excavated in 2007 and 2008.

Horiuchi 1963). Many of the 2008 trenches incorporated areas previously cut through in 1959 by the Japanese slit trenches which caused a high degree of contamination and disturbance in the upper occupation layers.

The excavated deposits from both seasons of fieldwork have now been grouped into stratigraphic/structural phases (Pl. 2). Thus far, three phases (with a possible fourth) have been identified, each of which has been further sub-divided into a number of sub-phases. Although the earliest deposits discussed here date to the Achaemenid occupation of Qaleh Kali it is interesting to note that over 20 chaff-tempered, low-sided trays of Banesh/late 4th millennium BC date were found in one area of the site (see below). There are, however, no associated architectural remains and the sherds

appear to be residual. Nor is there any indication of occupation in the long period between the 4th millennium BC and the Achaemenid period. Nevertheless, as it seems unlikely that so many low-sided tray fragments would have been brought in from another site, we assume that, somewhere beneath the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid strata, lie the remains of a late 4th millennium BC settlement.

Phase I (Achaemenid portico)

The earliest, structural occupation phase is represented by the Achaemenid stone portico¹ (Pl. 1, fig. 3) and related mudbrick structural remains. This phase can be sub-divided into eight sub-phases. The portico itself is characterised by a line of three standing column bases. A fourth (fig. 4) was removed in antiquity and may be the one incorporated into the Islamic tower photographed originally by Herzfeld (Potts et al. 2007: fig. 3). These columns mark the northern extent of the portico, more specifically of the stone pavers. The southern extent of the pavement is bordered by a multi-section parapet² (most of which has collapsed) and three staircases, including two smaller ones at the eastern and western ends of the portico, and a third larger one approximately in the middle, opposite the standing column bases. In its entirety the columned portico measures c. 31 m from east to west, and is 2.5-3.5 m wide. Sometime before the collapse of the mudbrick walls of the buildings associated with the portico, stone robbing occurred, particularly of the pavers towards its western end. To the north of the portico and roughly parallel to the line of column bases, the base of a large mudbrick structure was exposed. Further stone and mudbrick structures were identified further north but whether these relate to the archaeological occupation of the site is unclear.

Phase II (Constructional fill)

The Japanese team excavated a deep sondage (Trench A, Pit 1) at the base of the column base which they called A-I, identifying a packed, stony fill on which the column base and pavement were constructed (Atarashi &

¹ The stone pavement and associated column bases are referred to here as a portico (a porch or walkway with a roof supported by columns).

² A line of solid standing blocks acting as a barrier along the southern edge of the pavement, defined here as the 'parapet'.



Fig. 3. General view of the portico at the end of the 2008 excavations.



Fig. 4. Displaced column base in the pre-modern tower of Qaleh Kali.

Horiuchi 1963: 8-9)³. Two areas were exposed during the 2007-2008 season in order to clarify the nature of this deposit. The first of these areas, alongside two standing parapet stones, where the pavers had been removed in antiquity (see below), was excavated to a depth of approximately 44 cm below the level of the pavement (fig. 5). The second area, at the base of (Japanese) column base A-IV and the adjacent pavement, was excavated to a much shallower depth. Both areas demonstrate that the pavers, column bases and parapet were constructed upon a thickly packed, stony fill, with a shallow layer of medium, sub-angular stones directly below the level of the pavers, and a thicker, stony fill composed of small stones underlying it. This suggests that, despite the relatively poor craftsmanship employed in manufacturing the pavers and parapet, as compared to that of the column bases, all three elements — pavers, parapet and column bases — are contemporary and belong to the same constructional phase.

Phase Iii (The portico)

The portico is composed of a number of stone architectural elements: a line of three column bases (and a fourth that was removed in antiquity), the stone pavers, a line of parapet sections along the southern edge of the pavement, and three staircases. The large column bases are made of fine, dark grey limestone (fig. 6). All are bell-shaped with decoration in the form of sixteen, upward-oriented, seven-petalled palmettes (Atarshi & Horiuchi 1963: 6;). With a height of 75.8 cm, a basal diameter of 1.24-1.254 m, and an upper surface diameter of 79.4 cm, these column bases are only slightly smaller than those used in the Hall of 100 Columns at Persepolis (see Potts et al 2007: 295). Although comparable palmette designs have not been found on the terrace at Persepolis, A. Tajvidi discovered column bases with down-turned palmettes (fig. 7) in the palace at Barzan/Persepolis South (Tajvidi n.d.), and others with down-turned palmettes are known from Tol-e Gachgaran (fig. 8), south of Nurabad. Tajvidi also discovered two column tori with dedicatory inscriptions in the name of Xerxes (Tajvidi n.d.: 106). This is of obvious relevance to the

³ The Japanese excavators assumed that this stony fill did not extend west of column base A-I. Excavations during the 2007-2008 season, however, demonstrated extensive paver robbing in this area, which presumably disturbed the stony construction fill here and misled the Japanese excavator. See the description of Phase Ivi below.



Fig. 5. Section showing gravel foundation beneath a paver, adjacent to the inside face of a parapet section.



Fig. 6. Column base A-I.

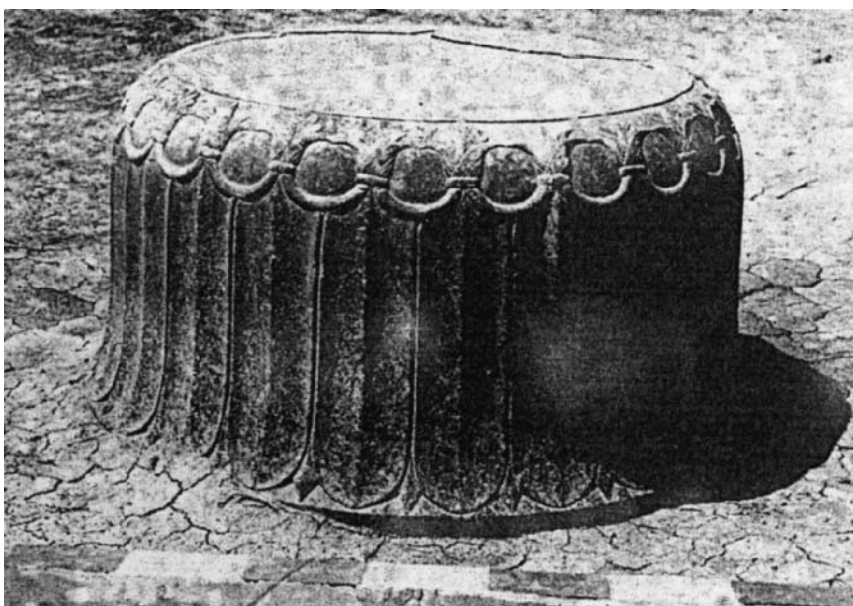


Fig. 7. Column base at Persepolis South/Barzan (after Tajvidi n.d.: 179).



Fig. 8. Column base found at Tol-e Gachgaran and now in the custody of the local government in Nurabad-e Mamasani.

chronology of similar monuments with palmette decoration, such as those of Qaleh Kali and Tol-e Gachgaran.

Considering its length, it is likely that the portico originally had more columns. However, extensive robbing of the site prevents any secure determination on this point. One possibility is that the four large, central columns were flanked by smaller ones, as reconstructed for the southwest façade of Palace S at Pasargadae (Stronach 1978: Fold-out 4a). One small, squared

column base (figs. 9-10), found re-used in one of the Islamic walls on the site, may have supported the type of smaller column used on the eastern and western sections of the portico. On the other hand, such smaller column bases are not dissimilar to those employed in the so-called '*frataraka* temple' at Persepolis which is definitely post-Achaemenid in date (Callieri 2007: 49-93 and figs. 57-60). Thus, the small column base from Qaleh Kali may have belonged to an entirely different structure.

Although several torus fragments were discovered lying within the mudbrick collapse (see below) above the portico pavement at Qaleh Kali, not a single column drum was found. While it is possible that all of the site's stone column drums were robbed in antiquity, it is equally possible that the columns at Qaleh Kali were not built of stone. Once again, Tajvidi's excavations at Barzan/Persepolis South are instructive. At least two of the column bases (figs. 11-12) discovered there had an intact torus *in situ*, on which fragments of plaster-coated, wooden columns, still stood (Tajvidi n.d.: 85-86). If the columns at Qaleh Kali were made of wood, this could explain the complete absence of stone column drums in our excavations.

Apart from the column bases, which were made of exceptionally fine, dark grey limestone, the other architectural elements in the portico were all fashioned from coarser-grained, white limestone. The pavement itself is made of semi-worked, irregularly shaped stone slabs, c. 30-40 cm thick (fig. 13). The upper surface of the stones was worked, the sides having been roughly rounded on their upper edge except on the southern side of the portico where a smoother face was needed where the edge of the portico met the back of the parapet. In general, the pavers used around the central stairs and column bases are more regular in both size and shape than those found elsewhere in the pavement. Smaller stone slabs between the larger pavers suggest possible repairs to the original configuration (fig. 14).

The stones are not particularly well worked and there is no evidence of smoothing. At Pasargadae, e.g. in Palace P, a course of finely masoned pavers sits atop the more coarsely cut and worked, lower pavement (Stronach 1978: Pl. 79a-b). Visually, the lower pavement at Pasargadae resembles the Qaleh Kali pavement, yet the fact that the flutes of the Qaleh Kali column bases (fig. 15) come almost to the surface of the pavement suggests that there was never meant to be yet another layer of finer pavers or even a relatively thin layer of floor plaster above the present pavement,

for these would have obscured the lower part of the fluting⁴. The relatively poor craftsmanship exhibited by these pavers, especially in comparison to the column bases and the level of workmanship exhibited at Persepolis and Pasargadae, might be explained by the fact that Qaleh Kali was a provincial site on the Royal Road, not a palace at one of the Achaemenid metropolitan centres. Further, it is certainly possible that, whereas the column bases and tori may have been carved by master craftsmen at or near Persepolis, using the typical blue-grey, fine-grained limestone from Kuh-e Rahmat (Nylander 1970: 28-29), the pavers and other elements made of the coarser, white limestone at the site may have been carved locally by less competent stone masons. Certainly the discovery of at least one unfinished merlon (fig. 16) suggests that elements of architectural masonry were being prepared at Qaleh Kali.

Along the southern edge of the pavement a parapet was exposed (fig. 17). The parapet is composed of a number of large individual blocks, ranging in size from c. 1-2 m in length, 20-35 cm in breadth and .75-1 m in height. The stones have been worked on all sides, but the lowest 20-40 cms of the back surface, i.e. that part which abutted the underlying gravel fill and vertical edges of the southernmost line of pavers, was only roughed out and protruded from the vertical line of the stone. This surface was positioned at a depth of 60 cm below the surface of the pavement, and thus would not have been visible. In one case, where a fallen parapet stone lay on top of a merlon, it is clear that the merlon fell first, and was then partially covered by the parapet (fig. 18).

There are no visible clamp holes anywhere on the parapet stones, but a small, concave divot can be seen on the upper surface of many of them (fig. 19), suggesting that something was meant to be attached. Although

⁴ In Palace P at Pasargadae, where Nylander 1970: 113-114 observed, 'The long, southern portico *in antis* has a beautiful pavement, while the opposite portico has none.... Their finely polished plinth sides demonstrate, contrary to the only partly finished plinths of the portico *in antis*, that they were never intended to be partly hidden by a pavement'. At Qaleh Kali, the pavers have been carefully placed at a height which never obscures the flutes of the bell-shaped body of the column base. While we might have expected the lower side band of the column bases to stand above the pavers, it could be that the decision was made to set this part of the column because by so doing the line of the flutes appears to flow directly into the portico surface. Alternatively, it could be that the builders at Qaleh Kali set the pavement higher than they were meant to have done. In any case, there can be no question, judging by the fill beneath the pavement and column bases, that the two were constructed as one event.



Fig. 9. QKF 166 after its removal from the pre-modern wall. Dimensions: 58×58 (bottom square), 45×45 (top surface), 22 cm high. Lowest, unworked area is 8 cm high, sides of lower and upper squares both 6 cm high.

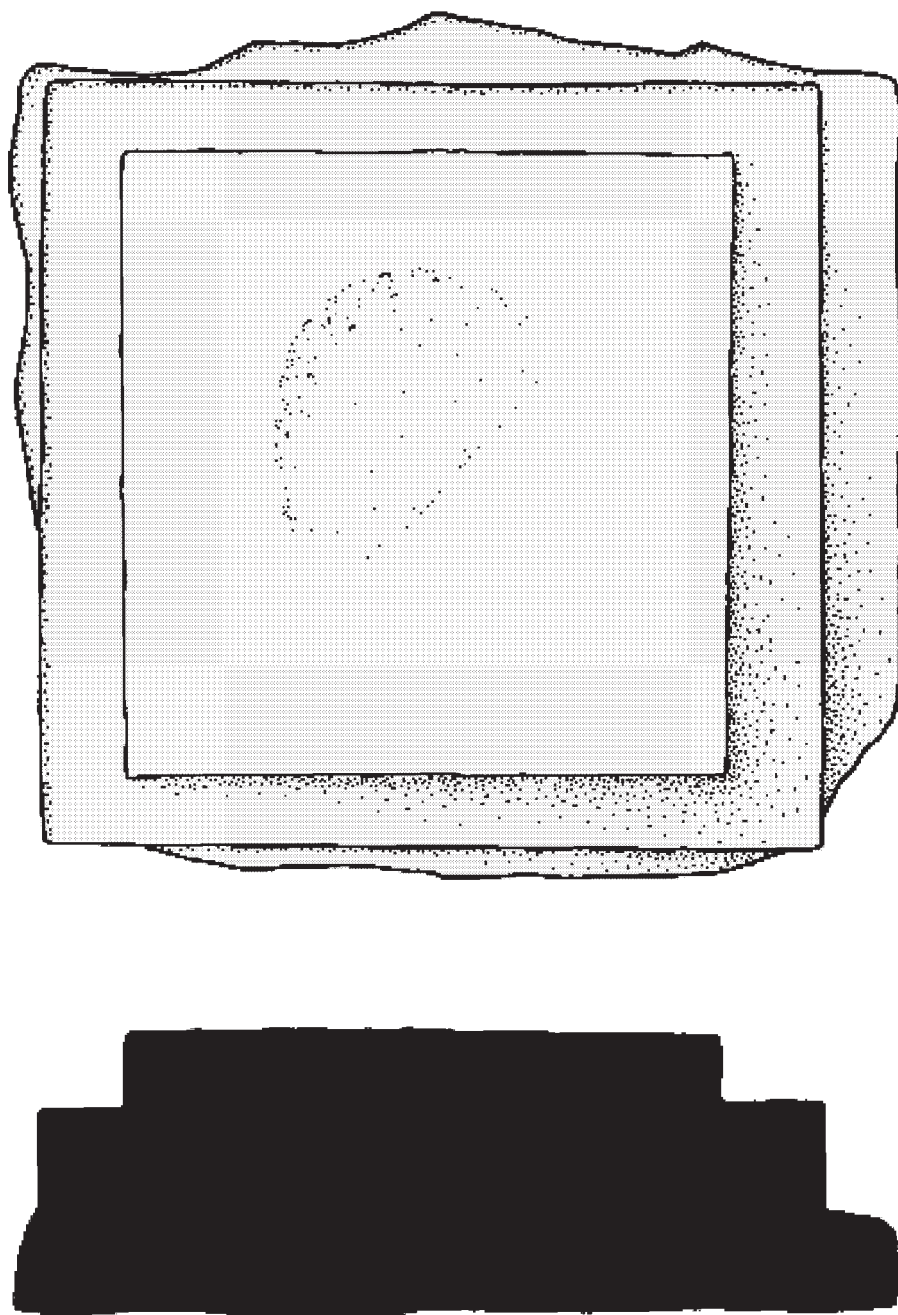


Fig. 10. QKF 166.



Fig. 11. Column base with plastered, wooden column shaft at Persepolis South/Barzan (after Tajvidi n.d.: 185).



Fig. 12. Column base with burnt stub of a wooden column shaft at Persepolis South/Barzan (after Tajvidi n.d.: 186).



Fig. 13. Detail of the intersection of the eastern side of the central staircase and the portico pavers, showing gravel bed underneath.



Fig. 14. Example of a probable repair where a small, rectangular paver has been inserted at the junction of four larger stones.

many of the parapet stones had fallen during the large-scale structural collapse of the portico (fig. 20), a few remain standing in their original positions, though slumped towards the south (interestingly in an area where many of the pavers had been removed).

The original disposition of the merlons is unclear. The most complete example (QKF 158, Fig. 39), was 19 cm thick from front to back⁵ and thus could have stood on the surface of a parapet stone, though there is no indication on the underside of any of the merlons that they could have been fixed in place in some way that made use of the divots on the upperside of the parapet stones noted above. Alternatively, it is possible that the merlons were mounted along the top of the mudbrick walls of the structure entered via the portico, and that these fell southward as the mudbrick collapsed beneath them, and were eventually covered by the fallen parapet.

⁵ QKF 158 was 44 cm wide (across the front) at the base, and 50 cm tall with a series of steps of unequal height (from the top: 15, 9, 11, and 16 cm).



Fig. 15. Detail of the westernmost column base showing the finely masoned base and the intersection with the pavers. Note also the crack midway up the side of the column base. Burning suggests this was caused by fire.



Fig. 16. An unfinished merlon (right) and a finished example (left) found within the collapsed mudbrick on top of the portico.



Fig. 17. A view of the standing parapet stones.



Fig. 18. A fallen parapet stone, seen from behind, which had collapsed on a merlon when it was dislodged.



Fig. 19. Detail showing the divots in the upper surface of the parapet stones.



Fig. 20. View of the collapsed parapet stones and other architectural elements to the west of the eastern staircase, looking south.

Three staircases were identified along the southern edge of the portico (Figs. 21-25). In each case, the steps are quite shallow, and are not particularly symmetrical in design. The two smaller staircases, at the eastern and western ends of the portico, were abutted on their outer edge by a large, free-standing, stone block. This stood approximately 50 cm above the groundline, directly adjacent to the western and eastern sides of the top part of the staircase parapet⁶. Neither is well-dressed, and without some means of support would not have been freestanding. Presumably, therefore, these blocks were buttressed by another structure (see below, the possible mudbrick platform here).

⁶ The total height of the stone monolith by the western staircase was 77.5 cm, width 32-32.5 cm, depth 26-27 cm. Neither stone seemed to be properly 'finished' and each had some rough, irregular areas on the surface.



Fig. 21. View of the western staircase, looking towards the west.



Fig. 22. Detail of the stone block on the west side of the western staircase.

Both the eastern and the western staircase were constructed of five stone members (Figs. 26-28). In each case an eastern and a western stepped parapet (the structural element that supports the treads and risers) of variable width (c. 25-38 cm wide at the top, and 16-20 cm wide at the bottom) enclosed a single stone from which the top three steps were carved, and two separate, rectangular stones for the bottom step. In both cases, the upper tread is approximately level with the surface of the portico pavers to which it was adjacent but not actually bonded (Fig. 29).

The western staircase, including the stepped parapets, is approximately 57 cm high (from the ground surface to the top of the parapet), 1.03 m deep (from the lowest step of the parapet and bottom tread to the northern edge of the parapet) and 1.92 m wide at the level of the pavement. The tread depth of the stairs varies from 23.5 to 29 cm, while the risers vary from 8.5 to 20 cm.

The eastern staircase, including the stepped parapets, is approximately 48.5-52.5 cm high, 92 cm deep (from the lowest step of the parapet and bottom tread to the northern edge of the parapet) and 1.93 m wide at the



Fig. 23. View of the eastern staircase, looking towards the east.



Fig. 24. Detail of the stone block on the east side of the eastern staircase.



Fig. 25. View of the central staircase, looking north.



Fig. 26. View of the western staircase showing the five stone members of which it was constructed.



Fig. 27. Close-up of the eastern parapet of the western staircase. Note the variable width of the parapet from the top of the staircase (foreground) to the bottom.



Fig. 28. Detail of the massive stone of which three steps were carved in the western side of the central staircase.



Fig. 29. Detail showing the angle of the upper tread on the central staircase in relation to the adjacent pavers.



Fig. 30. Detail showing the northward, downward tilt of the pavers that lie directly north of the central staircase.

level of the pavement. The tread depth of the stairs varies from 20 to 28 cm, with the risers vary from 11 to 16.5 cm.

The central staircase is constructed from nine large stone slabs, viz. the two stepped parapets on either side; two upper steps; two massive stone elements constituting the middle (2nd, 3rd and 4th) steps, of uneven width; and three parts of the lowest step. Four treads ascend to the level of the platform, with a fifth tread abutting the portico pavers. Due to slumping towards the north (Fig. 30), the surface of the portico pavers is several centimeters higher than that of the upper treads. The staircase is 62 cm high, 3.05 m wide at the base and 2.95 m wide at the level of the pavement. The horizontal distance from the northern edge of the top tread to the southern edge of the bottom one is 1.48 m. The tread depth of the stairs varies from 22.5 cm to 27.5 cm, with the risers vary from 8 to 16 cm. At the base of the central staircase the surface was levelled with a loosely packed, gravel layer which was most likely constructed after the addition of the mudbrick platform (below). A small row of stones on the east side of the central staircase was set out as if to mark a flower bed (fig. 31).

Phase Iiii (Mudbrick structures)

Remnants of a mudbrick wall were exposed approximately 4.8 m north of the portico. The majority of the wall presumably lies outside the currently excavated area, and its exposure was hindered by the later Islamic tower in this area. Moreover, as the removal of the tower was deemed too time-consuming and arduous a task, excavation was limited to a small number of deep, narrow trenches in the area where the early mudbrick structure was first identified.

The wall in this area was first indicated by a thin strip of white plaster (fig. 32) running parallel to the *in situ* column bases on a roughly east-west orientation. It is c. 2 m. wide and was followed over a distance of c. 10 m. The plaster, which is packed against the base of the wall, is preserved to a height of approximately 20 cm. Due to the collapsed nature of this structure (see below), it was difficult to distinguish individual bricks but those that could be isolated measure 40 × 25 × 11 cm.

As indicated above, individual bricks were identified throughout the excavation of the wide-scale collapse across the portico. Interestingly a large number of disarticulated bricks were also identified beyond the parapet to the south of the portico (fig. 33) although no definite structure was



Fig. 31. View of the central staircase showing the row of pebbles just east of the eastern parapet.

identified. The presence of these mudbricks suggests that the parapet, and thus the south side of the portico, was abutted by a large mudbrick construction. It must be noted, however, that much of this area had been disturbed by later occupation at the site. A number of modern pits were identified here which cut into these mudbrick structures. Moreover, as much of the parapet itself had fallen during the collapse of the associated Achaemenid structure, any mudbrick structure directly south of the parapet would have been destroyed in the process. As bricks were not observed directly in front of the staircases, one must presume that, if a mudbrick platform did exist, it extended to the south of the portico but had a gap for the three staircases.

A further wall line with a tightly packed stone foundation and large mudbrick superstructure, running approximately east-west, was identified to the north of the portico. Whether this structure belongs to the original Achaemenid portico and associated architecture is unclear. Thus this feature will be discussed below under Phase Ia.



Fig. 32. Thin line of plaster facing on the mudbrick wall directly north of the portico.



Fig. 33. Scattered mudbricks in the section through the collapse to the south of the portico.



Fig. 34. Standing parapet to the west of the central staircase.

Phase Iiv (Dump)

This sub-phase is characterised by a single deposit, which may or may not relate to the main phase of structural collapse (Phase Ivi). This deposit was identified above the central staircase, prior to its exposure. Although the general composition of the deposit is very similar to that of the structural collapse (Phase Ivi), this deposit has been distinguished from it on account of the greater concentration of pottery within it. Considering the relative paucity of ceramics elsewhere, most notably across the pavement, as well as the location of this deposit, much of which sits to the south of a standing parapet stone just west of the central staircase (fig. 34), we suggest that this deposit does not belong to the general mudbrick collapse but rather represents an event that occurred somewhat earlier.

Phase Iv (Robbing)

This sub-phase incorporates the removal of the third column base (A-III⁷) and a number of the paving stones. The extent of the robbing is unclear, except in the west, where many pavers were missing, although it appears the pavers did not extend northward beyond the line created by the column bases. This phase must have occurred shortly before the main structural collapse, as there is no evidence of a cut into the collapse in order to remove the column base or pavers.

The effort required to remove the pavers and column base would have been considerable. A number of pavers surrounding the column base were removed during the process, and a deep pit was excavated to enable the removal of a large group of pavers to the south and west of column A-I (fig. 35). This pit was later filled with a thick layer of debris from a fire. The removal of the pavers here has caused the overlying layers to slump. It is likely that some of the pavers re-used in the construction of the Islamic village, as well as the upturned column base incorporated into the Islamic tower construction, were robbed in this phase.

⁷ This number, from the Japanese excavations (Atarashi and Horiuchi 1963), is used to denote the re-deposited column base (re-used in the Islamic tower).



Fig. 35. Area to the west and south of the westernmost column base where stone robbing and burning had occurred in antiquity.



Fig. 36. Section showing large-scale mudbrick structural collapse which rests on the portico.

Phase Ivi (Structural Collapse)

The large-scale, structural collapse of the Achaemenid structures is identifiable as a thick deposit of reddish, largely melted, mudbrick collapse exposed all across the site (figs. 33 and 36). As noted above, individual mudbricks, rather than articulated sections of walling, were found throughout this deposit. In addition, a few fired bricks were encountered as well. The nature of this deposit varied across the site, and probably represents a number of waves of structural collapse.

A number of stone architectural elements (figs. 37-41), such as merlons, the original position of which (as noted above) remains unclear, and torus fragments⁸, which sat on top of the column bases, were found lying directly on the pavement within the mudbrick collapse. Also found in the same position, and in the fill to the south of the portico, were a number of narrow, rectangular stone beams⁹ with keyhole-shaped clamp cuttings, the function of which is uncertain. The cuttings¹⁰ are likely to have had iron and/or lead clamps within them. As has been observed in the case of Greek architecture, 'The ductile properties of the iron fasteners encased in lead allowed for a fractional and organic movement of the structure during times of stress, particularly that caused by earthquakes' (Cooper 2008: 243).

Earthquakes may indeed have been a consideration at Qaleh Kali. Some of the largest parapet stones display cracks (Fig. 42), as do column bases A-I (fig. 15), and A-IV (fig. 43). An earthquake crack at nearby Tol-e Spid which split the 4th millennium BC strata there and was clearly visible in section (Petrie et al 2006: 94) confirms that earthquakes in antiquity could leave clear archaeological traces. Given that this area of the Zagros is seismically active (Berberian & Tchalenko 1976; Baker et al 1993; Engdahl et al 2006), earthquakes cannot be ruled out as one source of damage to the original Achaemenid structure.

⁸ The largest torus fragment was 15 cm thick, 80 cm in diameter on the upper surface and 89 cm in diameter on the lower surface, with a 12 × 12 × 6 cm cut in the centre.

⁹ One particularly complete example was 97-98 cm long with a maximal height of 24 cm and a variable width of 20-27 cm. These have a 'bull nose' shape and rounded top, with a cut-away c. 6-13 cm high, on one side. The specific use of these beams has not yet been ascertained.

¹⁰ The straight part of the cutting is normally 7 cm long, 4 cm wide and 1 cm deep, leading to a circular depression (as in a 'keyhole') 5 cm in diameter and 2 cm deep.



Fig. 37. View of architectural elements *in situ* on the portico.



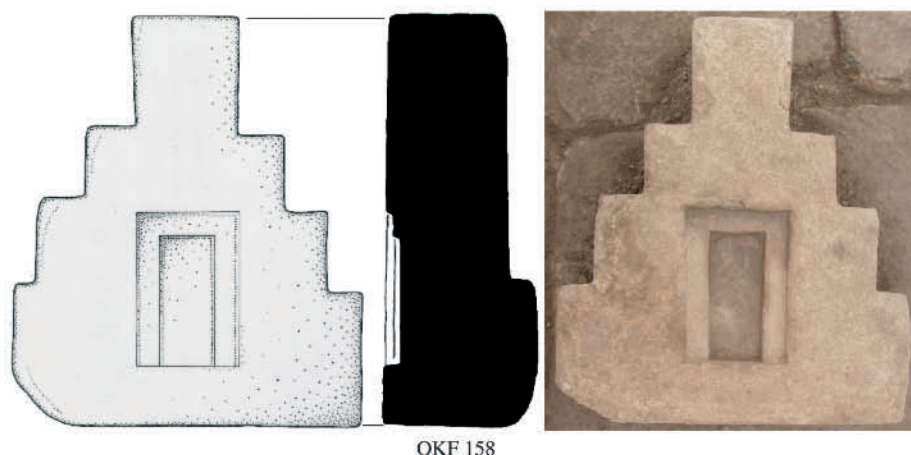
Fig. 38. A merlon *in situ* lying on the portico just beside the easternmost column base.

Phase Ivii

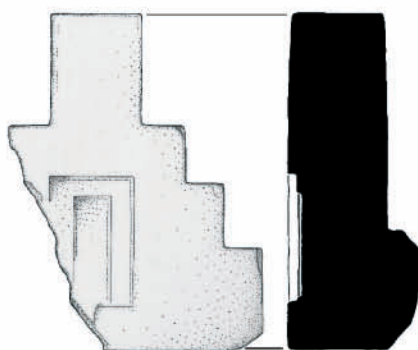
This phase represents a second wave of structural collapse, sometime after the collapse of the parapet. It is suggested that the initial collapse (including that of the assumed mudbrick platform buttressing the southern edge of the portico) caused the platform to slump on the south side, thus leading to the collapse of the parapet.

Phase Iviii

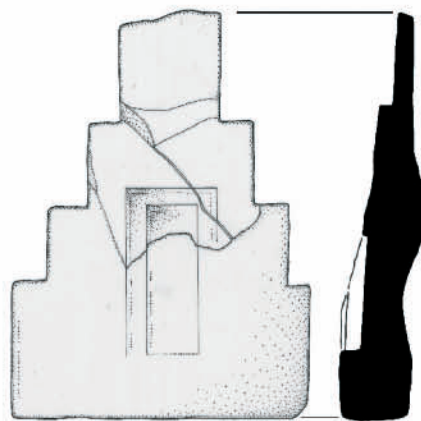
This final sub-phase represents a short-lived, ephemeral occupation sometime after the structural collapse but before the natural accumulation of the Phase II deposits. This phase is characterised by a number of small fire pits that were cut into the structural collapse, specifically in the area to the south of the portico.



QKF 158



QKF 157



QKF 159

Fig. 39. A selection of merlons from Qaleh Kali.



QKF 138



QKF 164

Fig. 40. Torus fragments from Qaleh Kali.

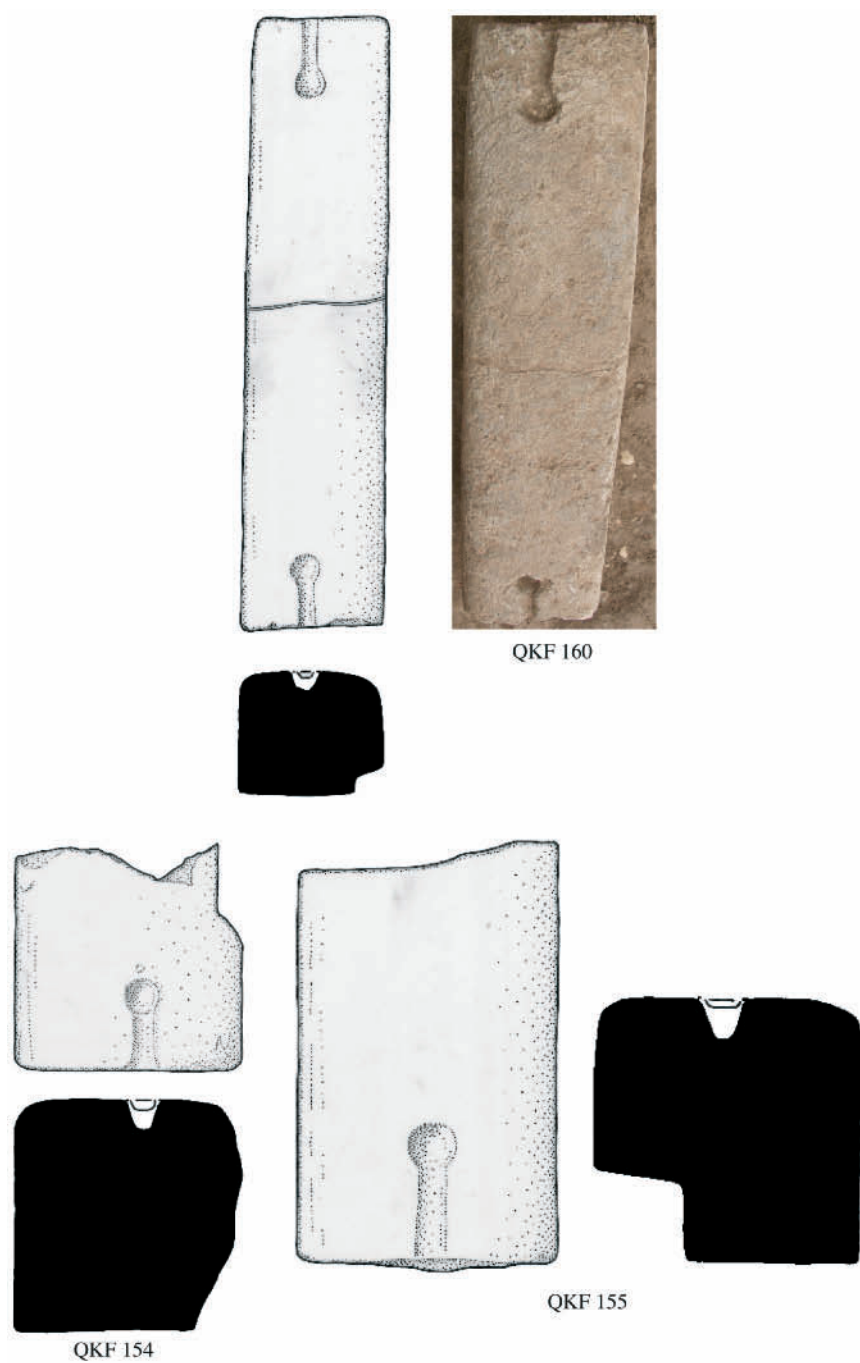


Fig. 41. Limestone beams with clamp cuttings from Qaleh Kali.



Fig. 42. Detail of a parapet stone showing large cracks.



Fig. 43. Detail of cracking at the base of the easternmost column base.

Phase Ia (Intermediate structural phase)

This intermediate phase has not been identified directly overlying the portico. The nature of the structural features and deposits associated with this phase are still under consideration and require further excavation for clarification. It is likely some of the structures assigned to this phase belong to an even later post-Achaemenid re-occupation of the site. This is suggested by the fact that these structures are apparently unrelated to the portico itself, with a different alignment. One of the stone structures assigned to this intermediate phase (identified in trench E0978/N1035 excavated in 2007) incorporates an Achaemenid architectural element (torus) suggesting that its construction post-dates the initial abandonment of the portico. Several distinct structural phases can be identified in the group of structures located to the north of the portico. Whilst some of these may be associated with the Achaemenid occupation at the site, further excavation is required before this can be confirmed or rejected and, for the moment, they will be discussed separately from the Achaemenid phases.

Approximately 30 m to the north of the portico, a large wall, running approximately east-west, with a stone foundation and mudbrick superstructure was exposed. The exterior surfaces of the wall were covered with a thin layer of packed white plaster (similar to that found on the mudbrick wall in Phase Iiii). Although the mudbrick superstructure was heavily disturbed by later activity, the tightly packed stone foundation was well-preserved (Fig. 44). As there is currently no evidence to suggest that the Achaemenid mudbrick wall of Phase Iiii had a stone foundation, we assume that this Phase Ia wall dates to a different, later phase.

In the most northerly of our trenches (Pl. 3) a number of walls were exposed representing several different structural phases. However, the limited area excavated here did not allow us to determine the stratigraphic relationships amongst these walls. The earliest walls thus far exposed underlie a large stone structure covering most of the excavated area and composed of two wall alignments abutting and bonded with one another, one oriented east-west, the other roughly north-south (fig. 45). It is likely these walls belong to the same structure, however their relationship is unclear, as they both run directly underneath the later (and unexcavated) large stone structure. A third possible wall (fig. 46) is probably a continuation of the north-south wall alignment and was exposed at the same level as a number of mudbricks. These structures clearly relate to an earlier



Fig. 44. Stone foundation of a massive mudbrick wall in trench E0990.5/1075.



Fig. 45. Stone foundation of walls in trench E0990.5/N1090.



Fig. 46. Detail of stone foundations in trench E0990.5/N1090 showing possible earlier construction on the left (looking west).

phase than any of the large-scale stone structures thus far identified. They may be associated with the 4th millennium BC sherds found here (fig. 47), but for the moment no secure conclusions can be reached.

The large structure overlying these earlier walls is actually a series of four distinct wall alignments, bonded and abutting one another. Two of these run approximately north-south and two run east-west, abutting the western edge of the first two walls. Three possible phases of construction are identifiable. The first (W. 1) is represented by a wall running roughly east-west, composed of two outer rows of medium-sized stones with a packing of loosely sorted, smaller stones in between. A north-south return of this wall was identified to the east of the large stone structure (running south). The second phase (W. 2) is identifiable as two wall lines, running east-west (abutting the northern edge of W. 1) and north-south. The final phase (W. 3) is represented by a large stone structure abutting the western and northern sides of Walls 2 and 3. W. 3 was constructed in the same



Fig. 47. Banesh/Late Uruk chaff-tempered tray fragments QKC 1780, 1781 and 1782 from trench E0990.5/N1090, locus 21037.

fashion as W. 1, and corresponds with the large wall in trench E1010/N1054 excavated in 2007 (Potts et al 2007: 9 and fig. 11).

A thin line of packed white plaster, forming a corner running east-west with a return to the south, was exposed to the south of this large stone structure and roughly parallel to it. To the north of these structures, a further two wall alignments running north-south were identified, with an area of rubble fill between them. The nature of this structure and how it relates to the large stone structure is uncertain.

Phase II ('Squatter phase')

This phase is characterised by a number of small-scale, relatively ephemeral wall lines and associated surfaces. At the time of their construction, some of the portico (specifically the fallen parapet and staircases along the southern edge) would have been obscured by the large-scale mudbrick collapse, although the column bases would have been visible and some of the wall lines were obviously constructed whilst the pavers themselves were still visible. It is possible that these structures represent a number of short-lived occupation phases between the initial collapse of the Achaemenid portico and the establishment of the Islamic village of Qaleh Kali, whilst two discrete phases can be identified, the chronological relationship between some of the structures is unclear.

Phase Iii (Natural accumulation)

This sub-phase is represented by a natural accumulation across the site. The deposit was flattened in the course of levelling after which a number of small, ephemeral structures were built on it.

Phase Iiii (Squatter occupation 1)

The majority of the stone walls in phase Iiii are clearly built over layers of natural accumulation and the large-scale Achaemenid structural collapse. These wall lines are confined to the south of the portico (fig. 48) and were constructed over the collapse covering the fallen parapet and stairs (and thus these elements would not have been visible at the time of construction), however they are positioned at roughly the same level as the pavement, suggesting that some of the portico was visible at the time of construction. It is possible these elements (of the portico) were incorporated and/or re-used in the construction of these walls.



Fig. 48. Example of squatter walls south of the Achaemenid portico.

Phase Iiii

Given the nature of the thick structural collapse and the location of some of the structures associated with Phase Iiii (which were covered by the collapse) it is suggested a further 'wave' of structural collapse occurred after the abandonment of these ephemeral wall lines. This structural collapse would have presumably covered the portico, so that it would have been completely obscured at the time of construction of the second squatter occupation.

Phase Iiiv (Squatter occupation 2)

As noted above, a number of wall fragments can be attributed to this phase. However given that many of these cannot be clearly associated with one another stratigraphically and are not contiguous, we cannot be certain that they are all contemporary. For the most part of this phase is characterised by a series of poorly-constructed, stone walls, preserved, at most, to a height of two courses. Several poorly preserved, packed surfaces are associated with some of these walls. Patches of a packed, white, plastered surface were exposed in association with a number of these walls, but later disturbance and stone robbing has been considerable. A number of small fire pits also belong to this phase. However, as many of them are cut into the occupational surfaces we cannot be absolutely certain that they relate to the occupation associated with the walls and adjacent surfaces.

Phase Iiv (Wide-scale destruction)

This final sub-phase is characterised by a large-scale fire concentrated over the portico. The burnt deposit varies in thickness and was virtually devoid of artefacts. The large crack visible near the middle of the side of column base A-I (fig. 15) was probably caused by this event.

Phase III (Pre-modern Qaleh Kali)

The latest architectural phase is represented by the pre-modern village, Qaleh Kali, which extends across a large proportion of the excavated area. The destruction of this village can be dated to somewhere between 1935, when Stein recorded the ruins of a mudbrick village here (Stein 1940: 34-36) which appear clearly in Herzfeld's photographs (Potts et al 2007:

fig. 2), and 1959 when the Japanese conducted their excavations, by which time the Islamic village had been flattened (Atarashi & Horiuchi 1963). This phase has been sub-divided into six sub-phases.

The village is characterised by a number of long rectangular rooms (with the interior dimensions of approximately 2.80 m × 7.60 m), some of which were exposed in isolated areas in 2007. The bulk of the pre-modern village is concentrated around a tower, north of the portico. As noted above, this incorporates a number of elements from the portico (e.g. a column base and a number of pavers).

Phase IIIi (Constructional fill)

Qaleh Kali was constructed upon an artificially levelled surface. The nature of this deposit varied throughout the site, with some walls constructed upon a natural accumulation (post-dating the Phase II walls) and others on thick, stony fill of anthropogenic origin. Perhaps for structural reasons, this fill was found to be concentrated underneath the tower (see below).

Phase IIIii (Stone foundation walls)

Most walls were built with a stone foundation of three courses (or in some cases a single course) supporting mudbrick superstructures (Phase IIIiii below). One of these single course foundations, at the northernmost (excavated) side of Qaleh Kali, has been identified as a boundary wall. The northernmost wall line, running east-west, of the 'tower construction' was also single coursed, as were a number of smaller walls running north off of this wall. For the most part, the stone foundations consist of two rows of unworked field stones, bound with a red clay mortar (the same as used in the mudbrick superstructures, see Pl. 3). With the exception of the three walls that form the tower, most of these are 1.20 m wide.

Phase IIIiii (Mudbrick superstructures)

Remains of mudbrick superstructure, sometimes preserved up to six courses, were identifiable overlying most of the stone foundations. The majority of the mudbrick was heavily damaged owing to its close proximity to the modern surface level which, for example, was ploughed this year. The bricks were made of grey clay, with a bright red mortar in between. In some areas this mortar was also used as a kind of plaster on the face of the wall.

Phase IIIiv (Occupational surfaces)

Packed plaster surfaces were associated with most of the Qaleh Kali walls, usually adjacent to the second course of the stone foundations. In some areas, a series of superimposed surfaces could be distinguished.

Phase IIIv (Later re-occupation)

Evidence of possible re-occupation is represented by a number of ephemeral fire pits cut into the occupational surfaces. These probably represent a fairly brief phase sometime after the abandonment of the village. A small amount of robbing of stone foundations is also evident, perhaps during the course of cultivation (i.e. removal of stones impeding the plough). This also implies that the mudbrick superstructures above had already disintegrated.

Phase IIIvi (Structural collapse)

The structural collapse of the Islamic village of Kale Qali occurred sometime between 1935, the year of Stein's visit, and 1949, when the Japanese excavated here. Mottled, collapsed mudbrick is evident across the site (even in areas with no associated Phase III architecture).

Ceramics

The ceramics recovered this season at Qaleh Kali confirm that the site was founded in the Achaemenid period and almost certainly used in the post-Achaemenid period (Parthian) as well. The absence of diagnostic Sasanian pottery suggests that the site was abandoned by the late 2nd or early 3rd century A.D. Thereafter a long gap ensued until the construction of the Qaleh Kali settlement, probably in the 19th century, the ruins of which were standing when the site was visited in 1924 by Herzfeld and later in the 1930's by Stein.

Pls. 4-23 present most of the diagnostic sherds recovered in 2008, arranged by phase. As some of our phases are structural, e.g. the portico itself, these are not represented by a corresponding assemblage of pottery. Sherds are arranged below in general by broad shape category, i.e. open and closed shapes, such as bowls and jars, and within the category of jars the particularly distinctive flaring-rimmed jars are noticeable. Also diagnostic

are the sherds from large storage jars with raised ridges, singly or in pairs, flattened, sharp or rounded, running around the body of the vessel.

Considering the relative paucity of well-excavated, published ceramic assemblages of Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid date in Fars — Pasargadae and Persepolis stand out of course — the Qaleh Kali assemblage, which is well-stratified, is a welcome addition. In general, the sherds find close parallels in the contemporary levels of both Tol-e Nurabad and Tol-e Spid (Petrie et al 2006; Weeks et al 2006) and at some of the sites recorded in the Mamasani survey (Zeidi et al 2006). As the ceramics from Qaleh Kali will be the subject of a PhD thesis in the near future, however, we simply present the material here without further detailed commentary in the hope that it may be of use and interest to other scholars working on contemporary material in the region.

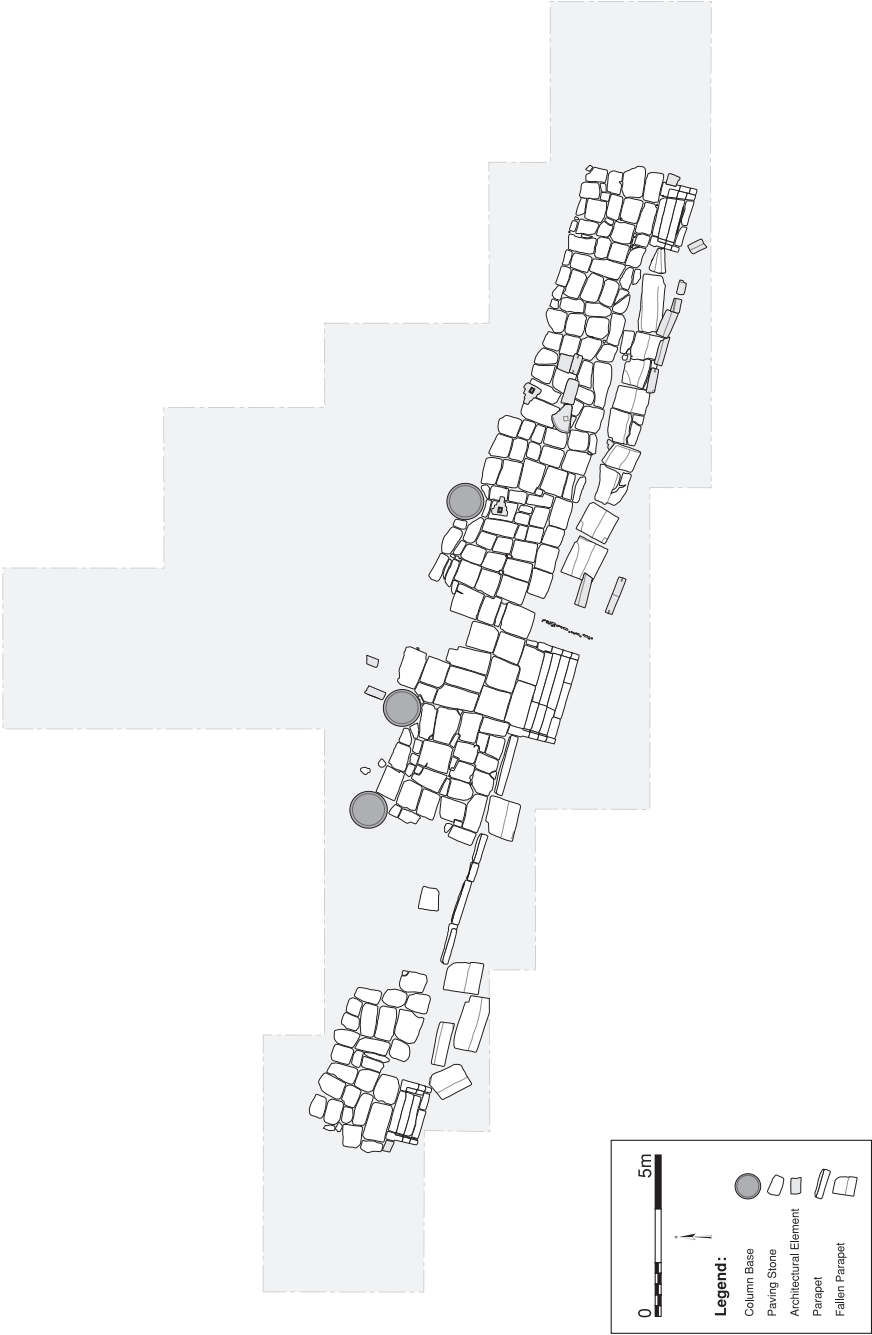
Conclusion

A great deal of work remains to be done to the north of the portico in order to expose the building with which it was associated. However, there are several indications that the building on which we have been working for the past two seasons was not the only monument at the site. South of the field in which the excavations have been undertaken, in the middle of the track that runs east towards Fahliyan and west past the village of Jinjun, a column base and pavement have been identified. The column base is visible today while the pavement was seen some years ago by an archaeologist from the Iranian Cultural Heritage & Tourism Organization in Shiraz. In addition, several residents of Jinjun have told us that when digging wells in the village, ancient pavement, like that in the portico, has been encountered.

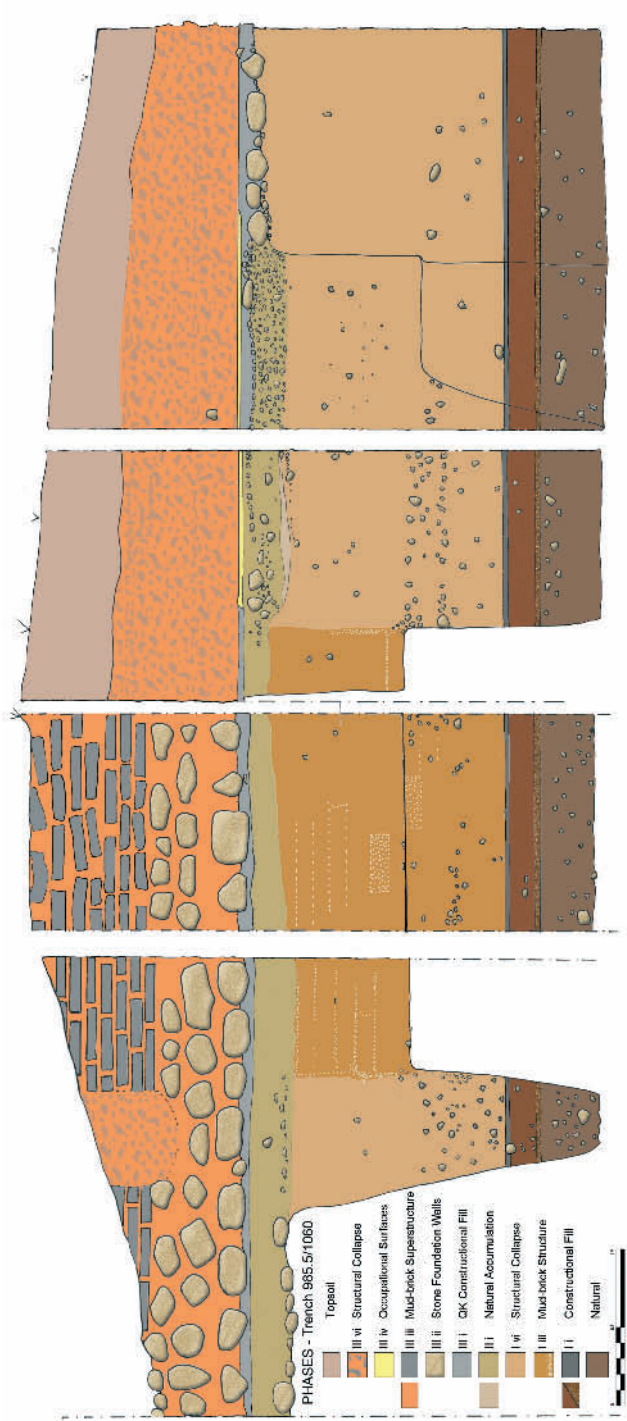
These points suggest that there may well be a building to the south of our structure, with its back to the mountainside and a portico (indicated by the column base and pavement in the track) along its north side, as well as one or more buildings to the east of Qaleh Kali, underneath the modern village of Jinjun. If this is the case, then we may be dealing with an entire complex of buildings, perhaps built around a garden or Persian *paradeisos*, rather than an isolated structure used to accomodate visitors along the Royal Road. This fascinating possibility must be investigated further in coming seasons.

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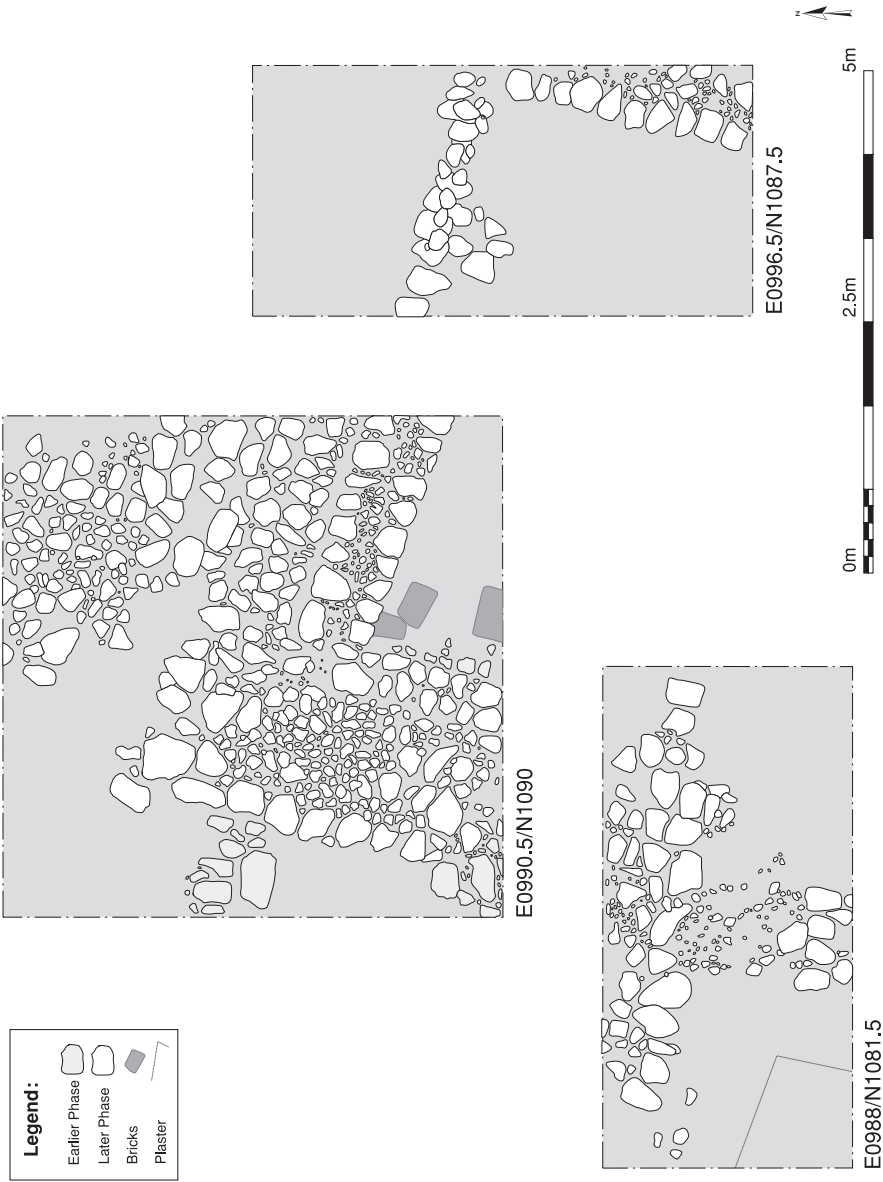
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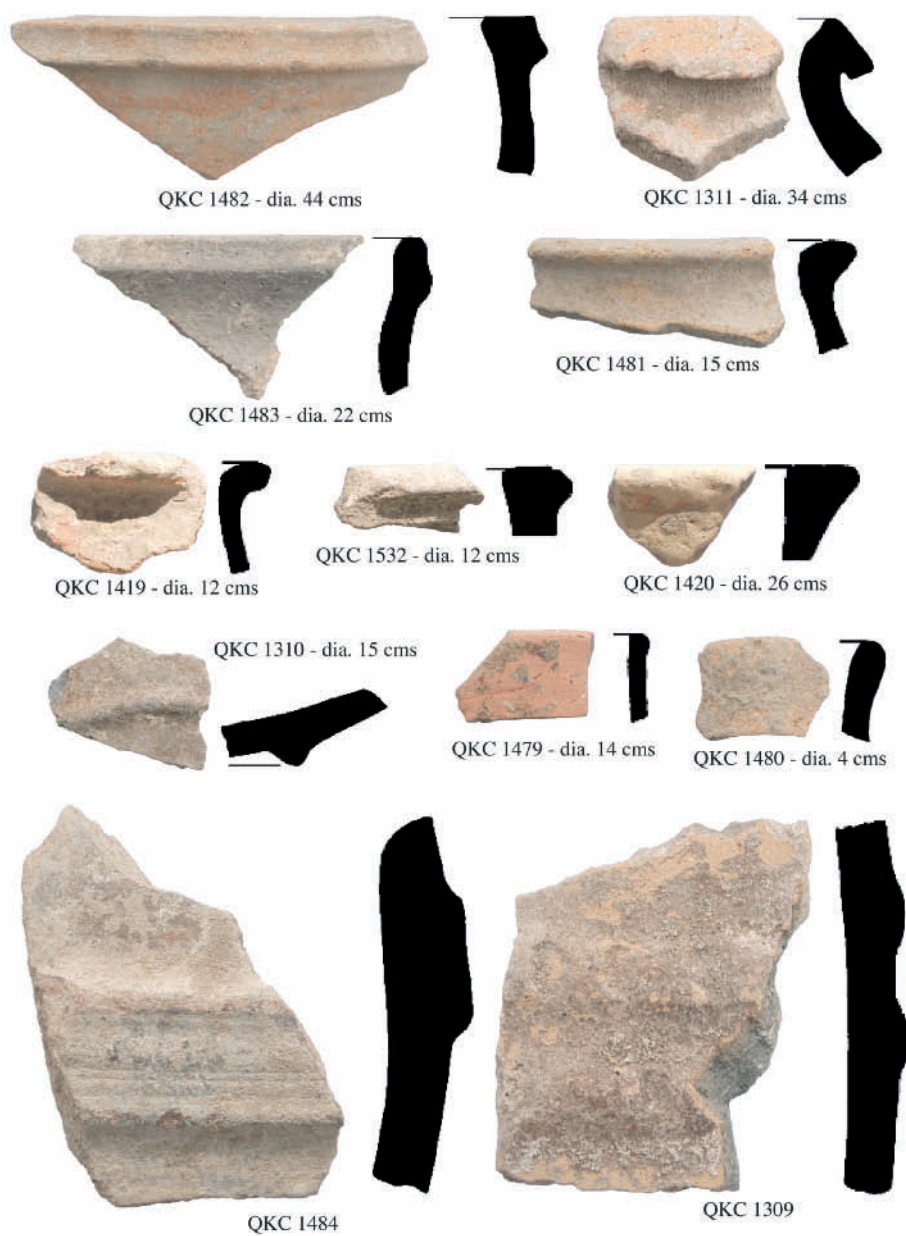
Pl. 1. Plan of the portico at Qaleh Kali.



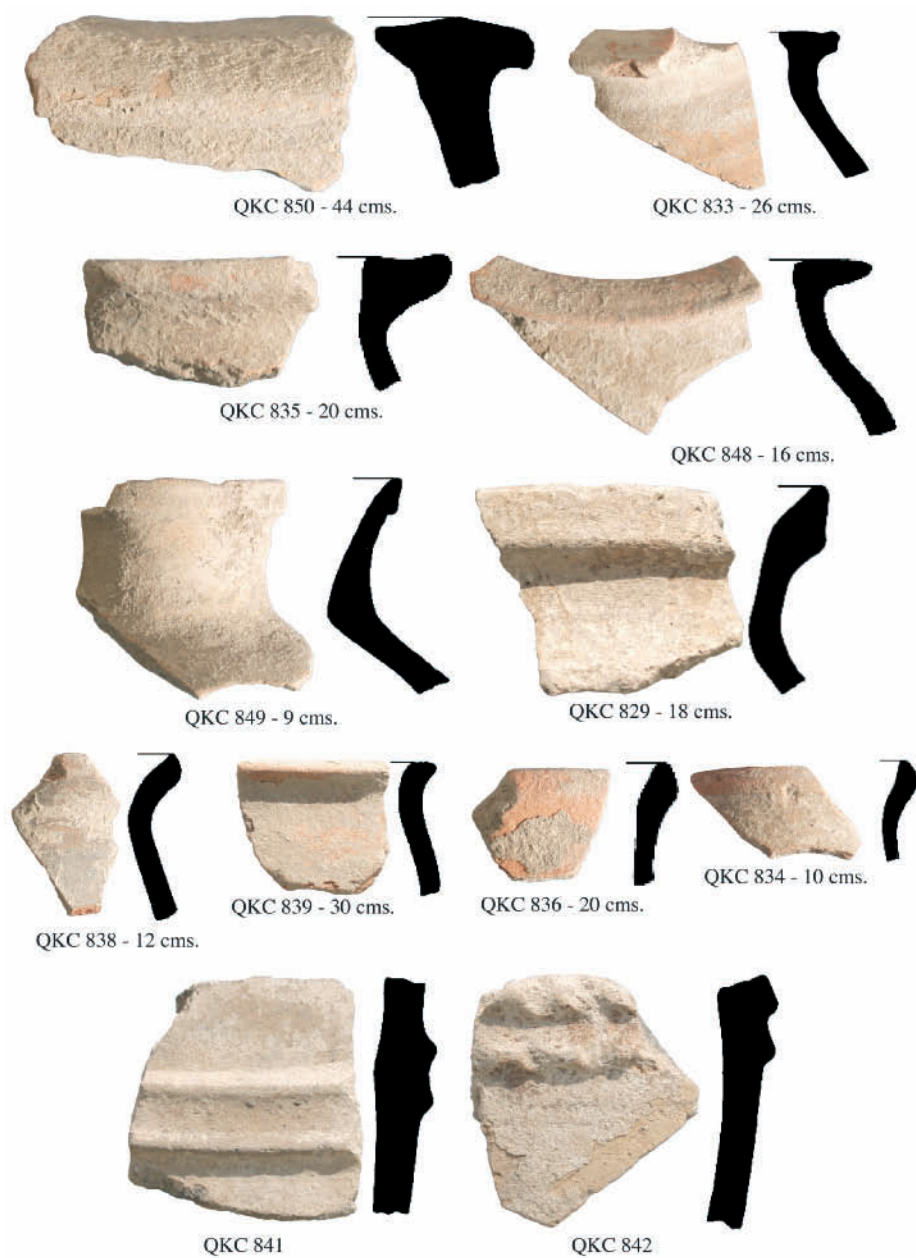
Pl. 2. Composite section of trench E0985.5/N1060.



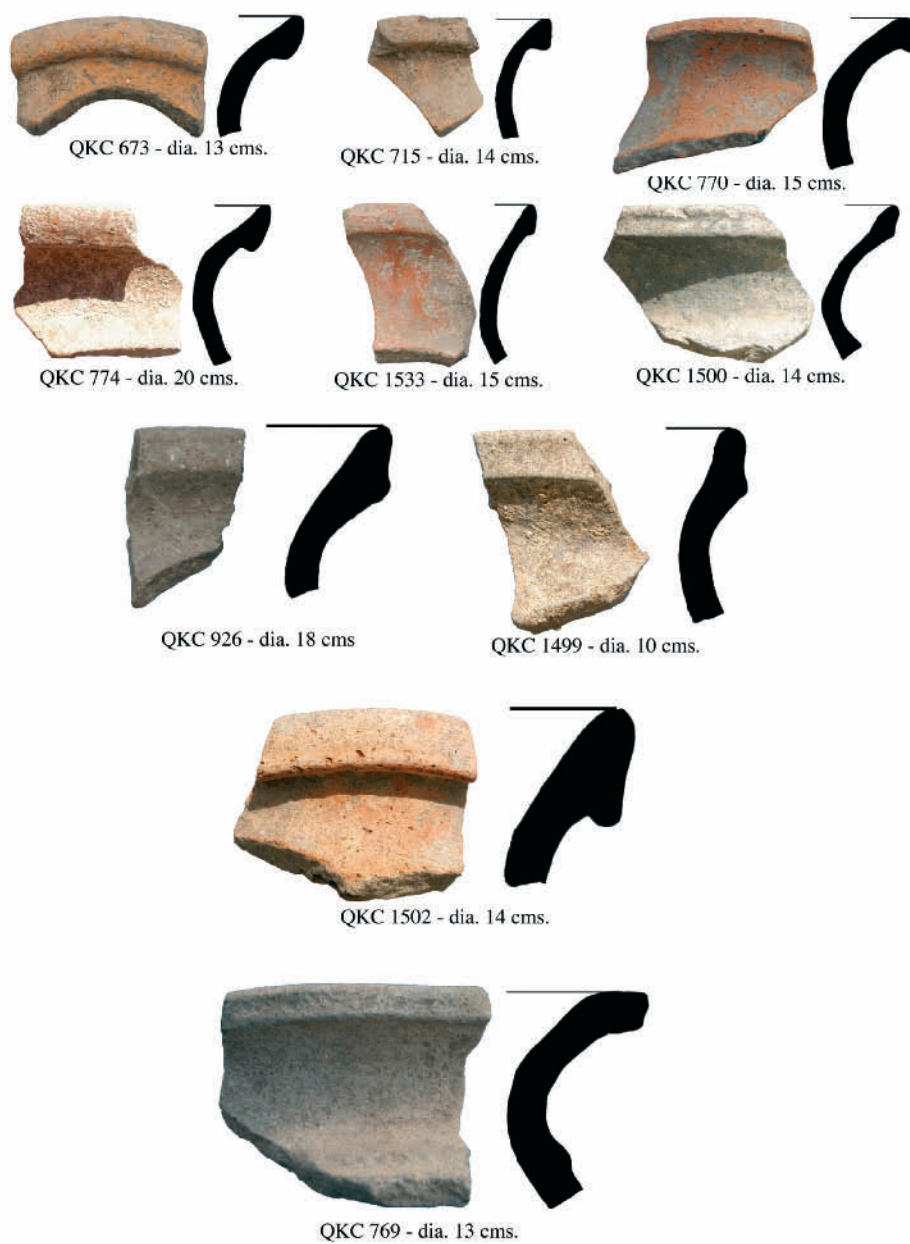
Pl. 3. Plan of the northern trenches (E0988/1081.5, E0990.5/1090 and E0996.5/N1087.5).



Pl. 4. Diagnostic sherds from Phase II.



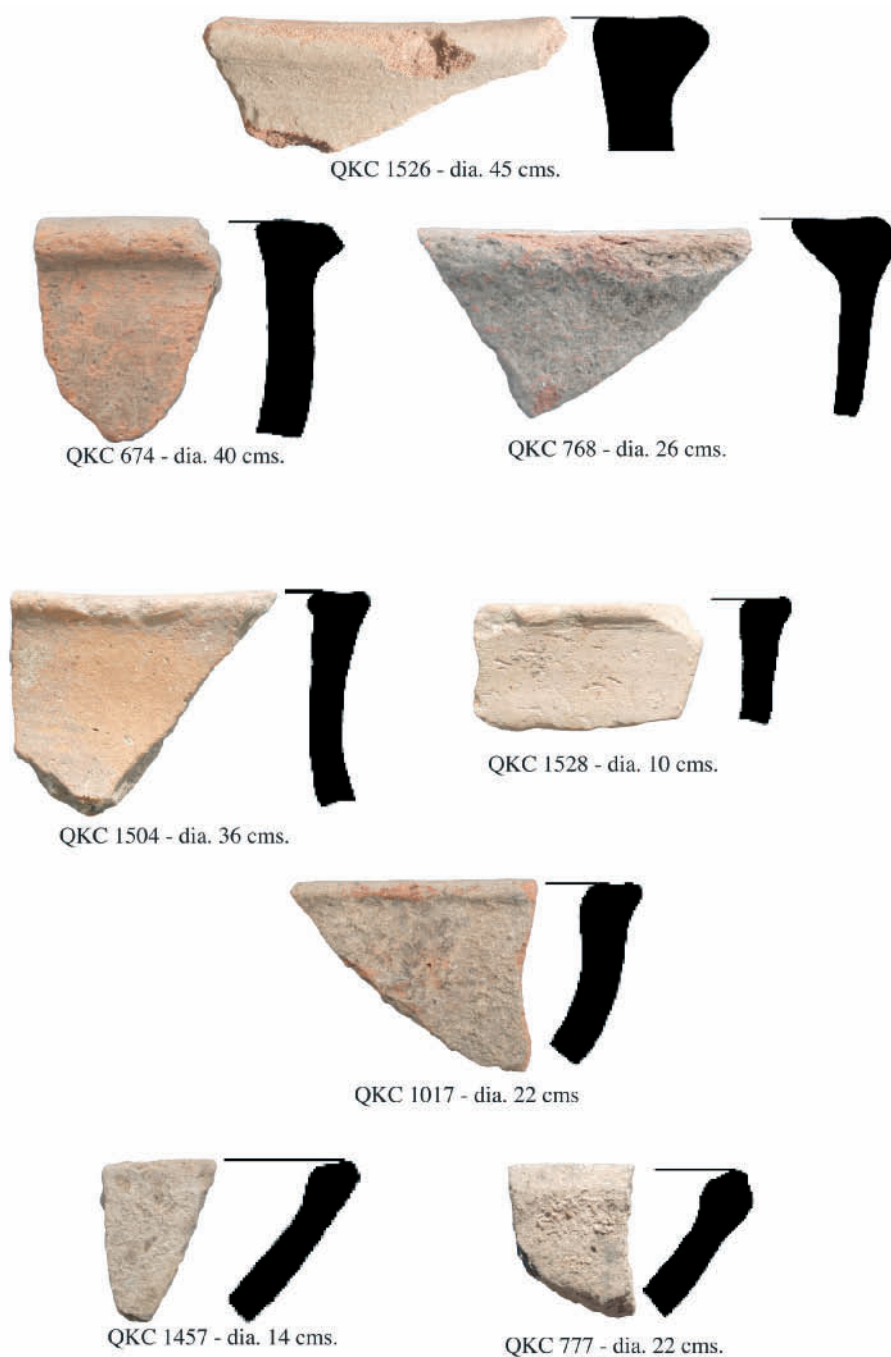
Pl. 5. Diagnostic sherds from Phase Iiv.



Pl. 6. Flaring-rimmed jars from Phase Iv



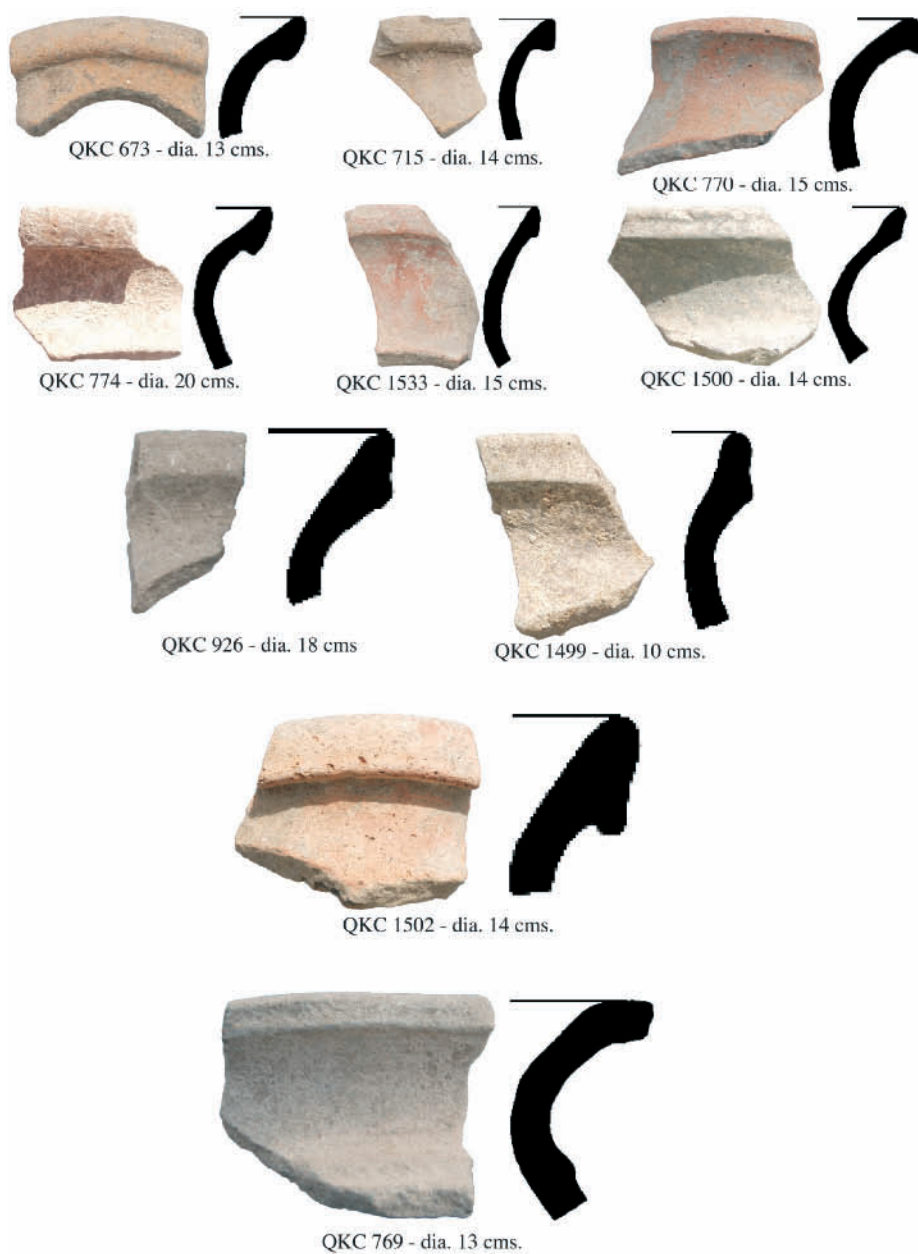
Pl. 7. Other diagnostic sherds from Phase IV.



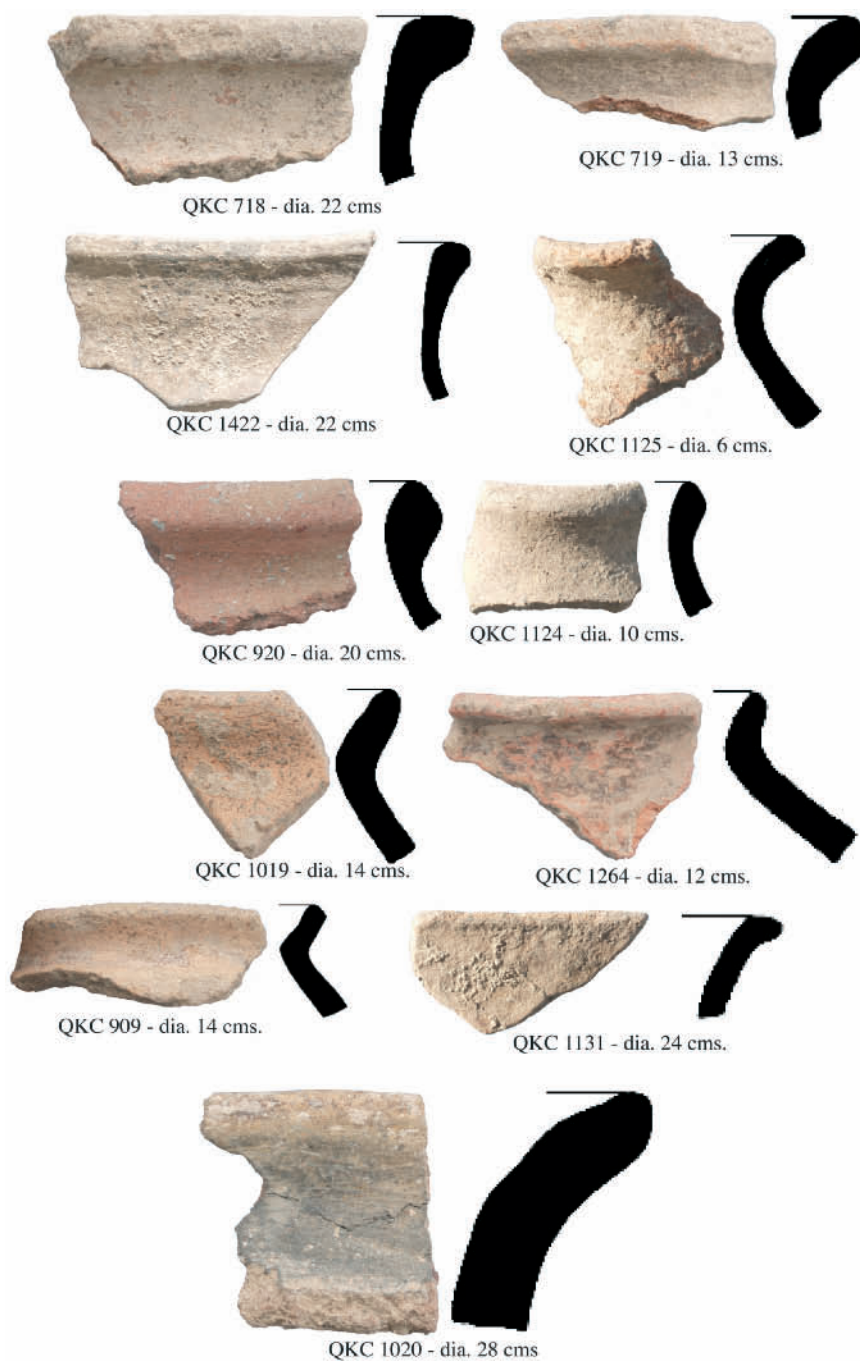
Pl. 8. Bowls from Phase Ivi.



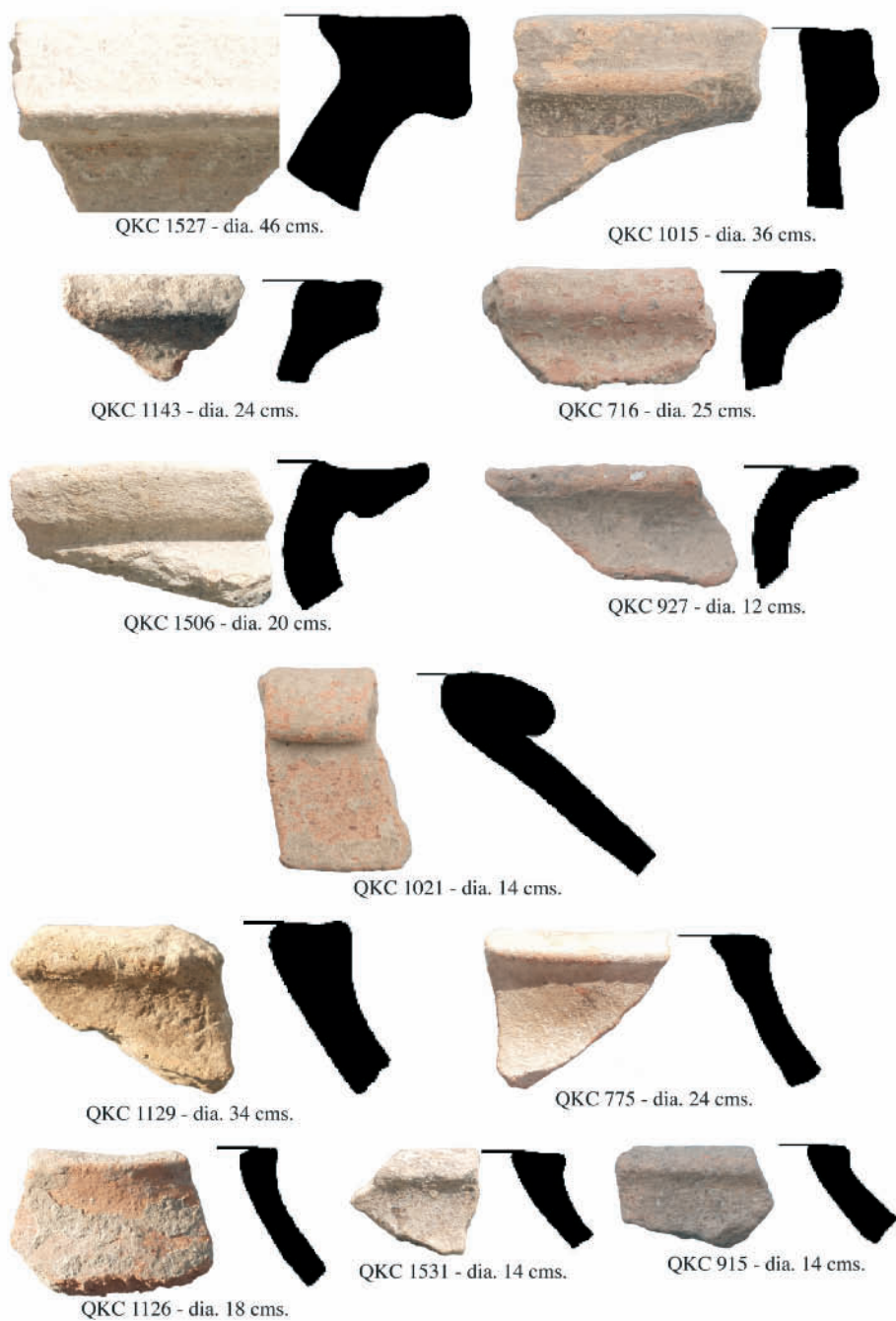
Pl. 9. Bowls from Phase Ivi.



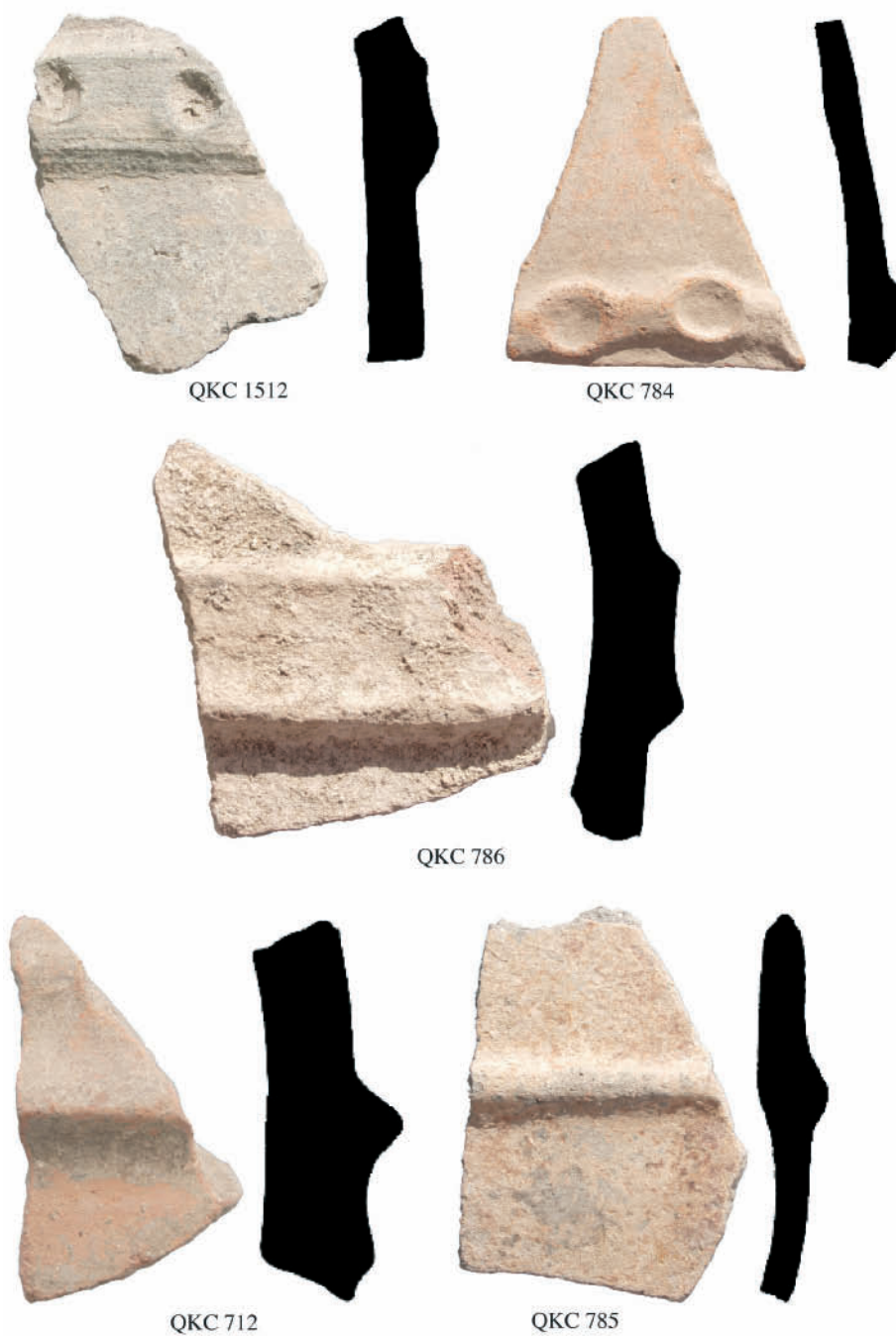
Pl. 10a. Flaring-rimmed jars from Phase Ivi.



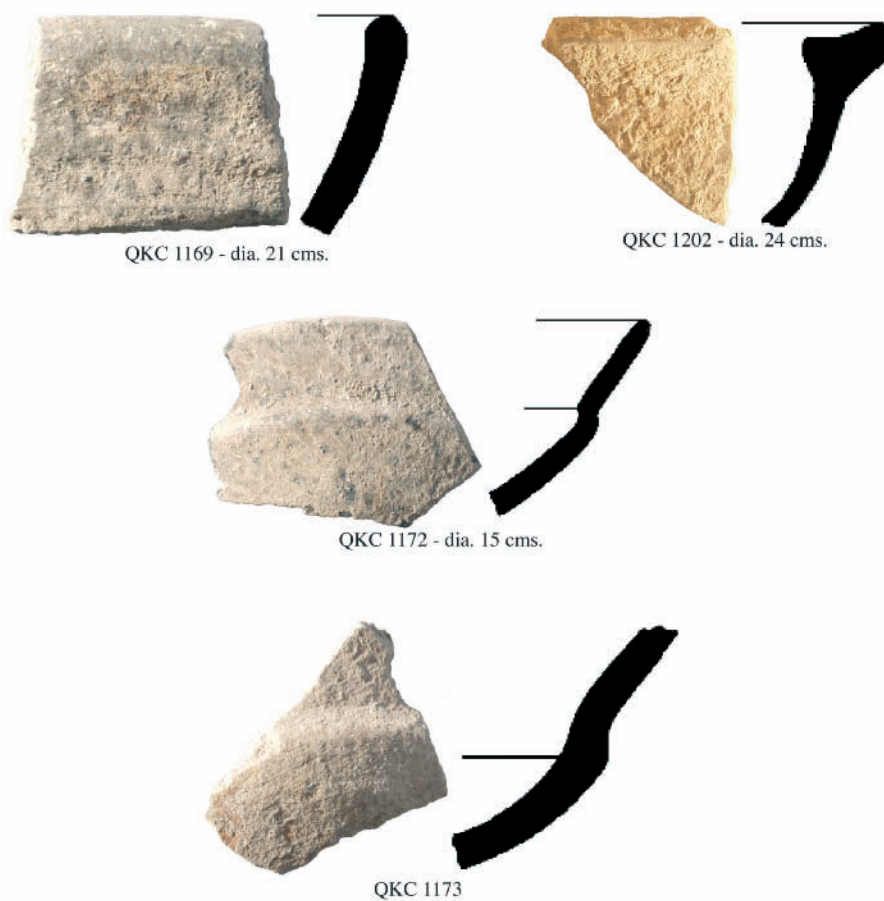
Pl. 10b. Flaring-rimmed jars from Phase Ivi.



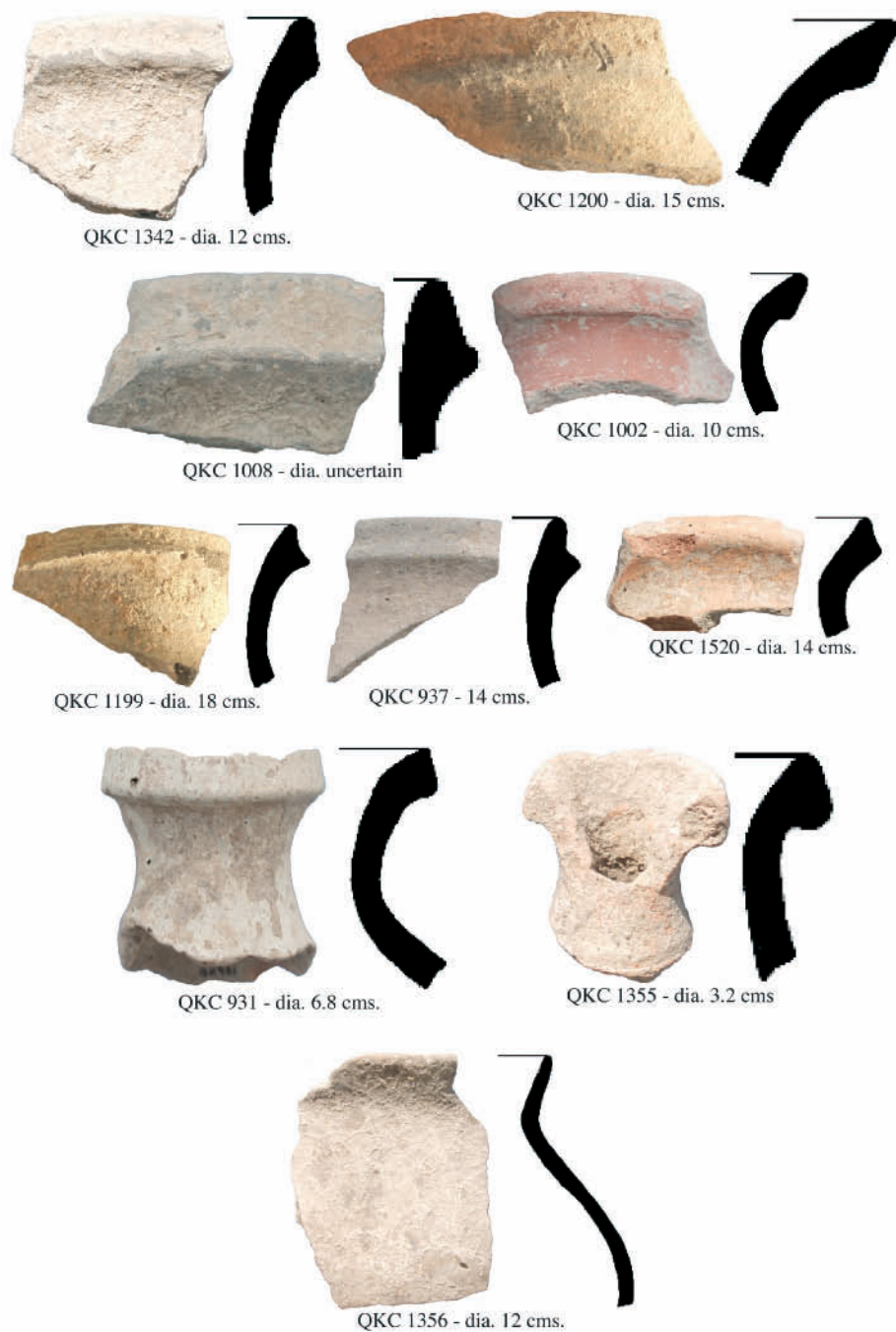
Pl. 11. Jars from Phase Ivi.



Pl. 12. Raised ridge types from Phase Ivi.



Pl. 13. Bowls from Phase Ivii.



Pl. 14. Flaring-rimmed jars from Phase Ivii.



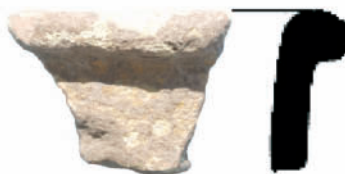
QKC 936 - dia. 34 cms.



QKC 1170 - dia. 31 cms.

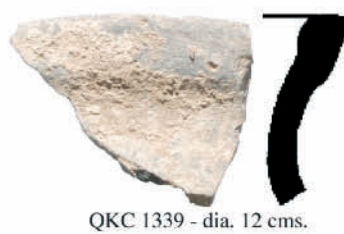
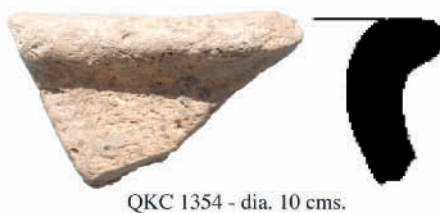
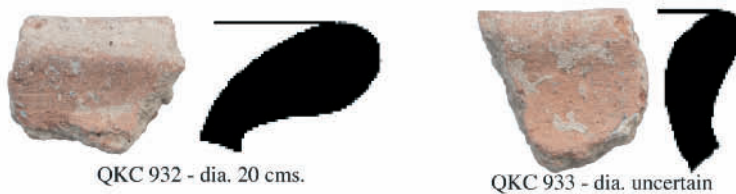


QKC 1343 - dia. 18 cms.

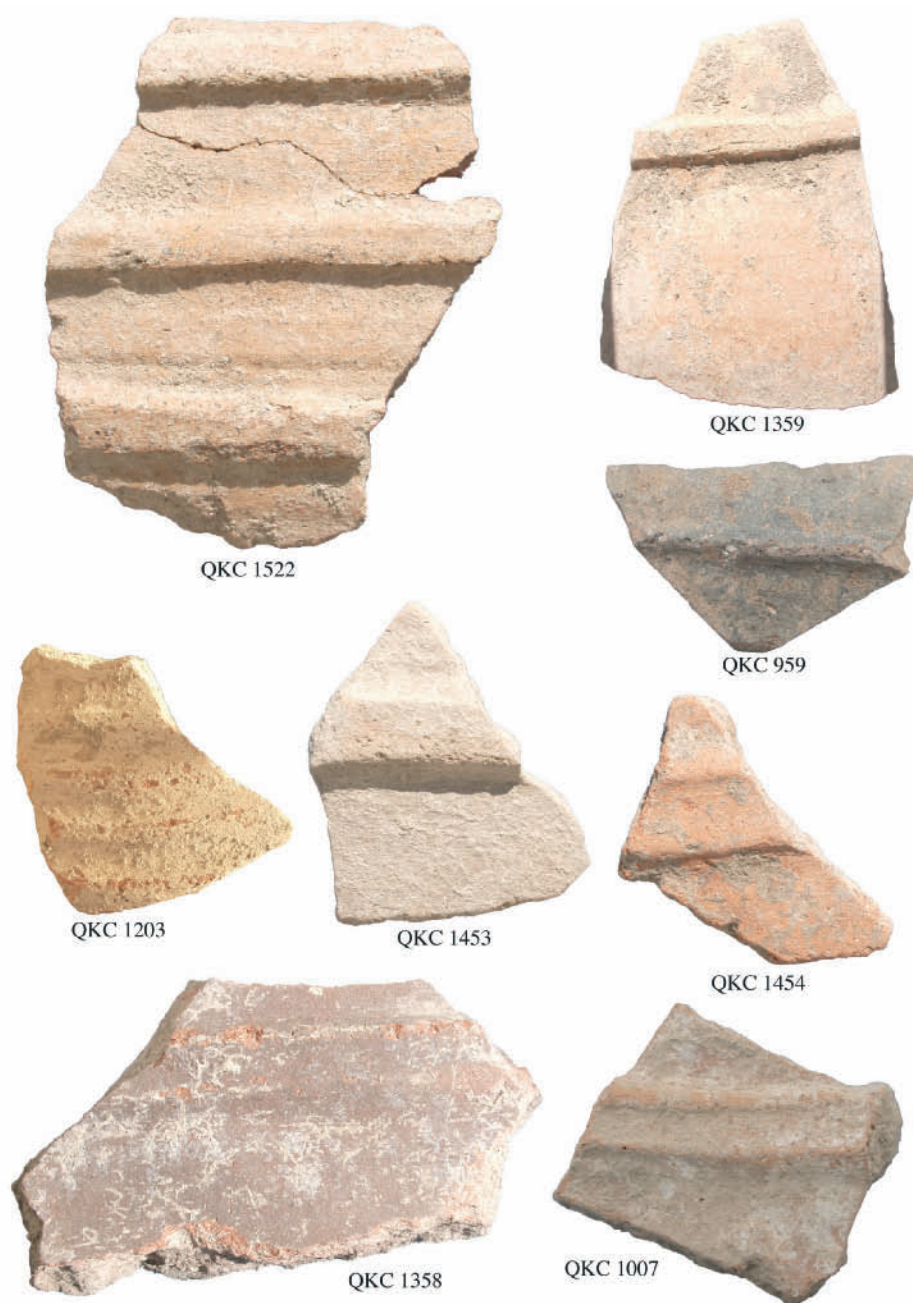


QKC 1340 - dia. 6 cms.

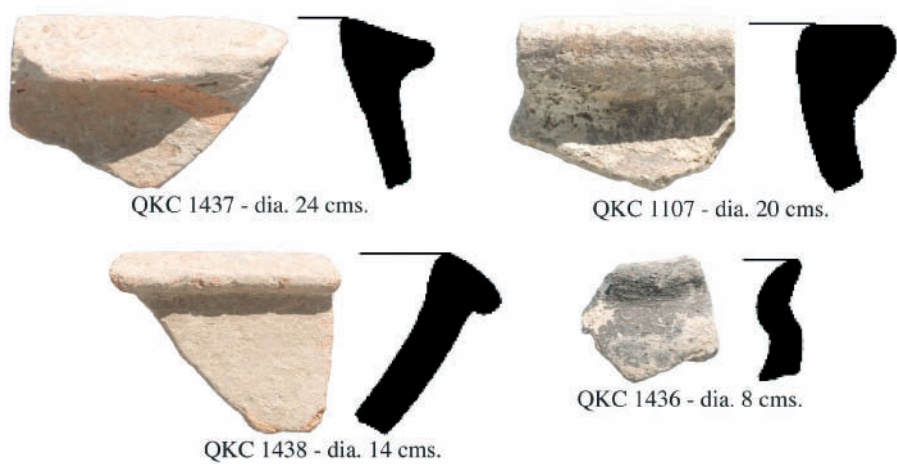
Pl. 15. Jars from Phase Ivii.



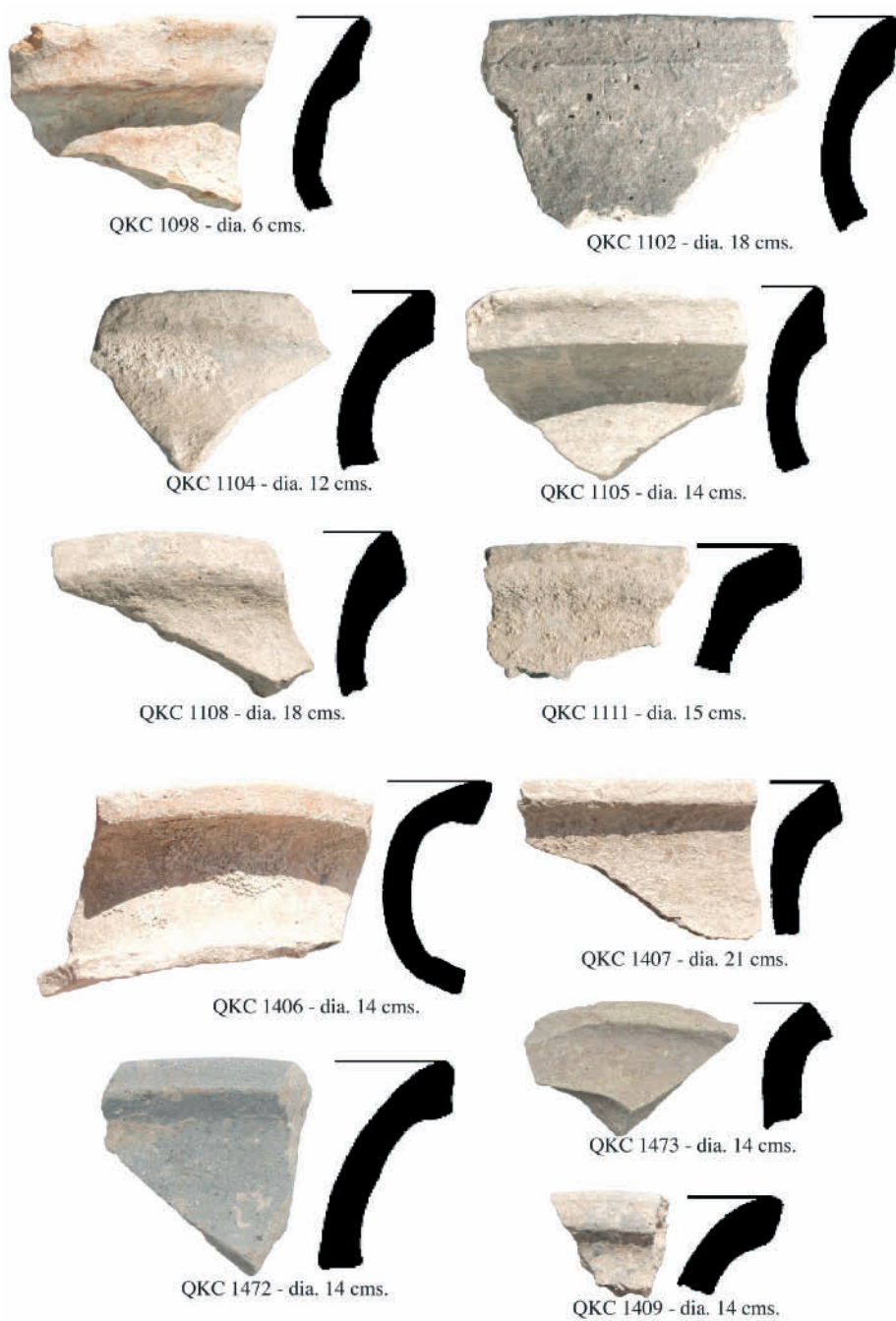
Pl. 16. Jars from Phase Ivii.



Pl. 17. Raised ridge types from Phase Ivii.



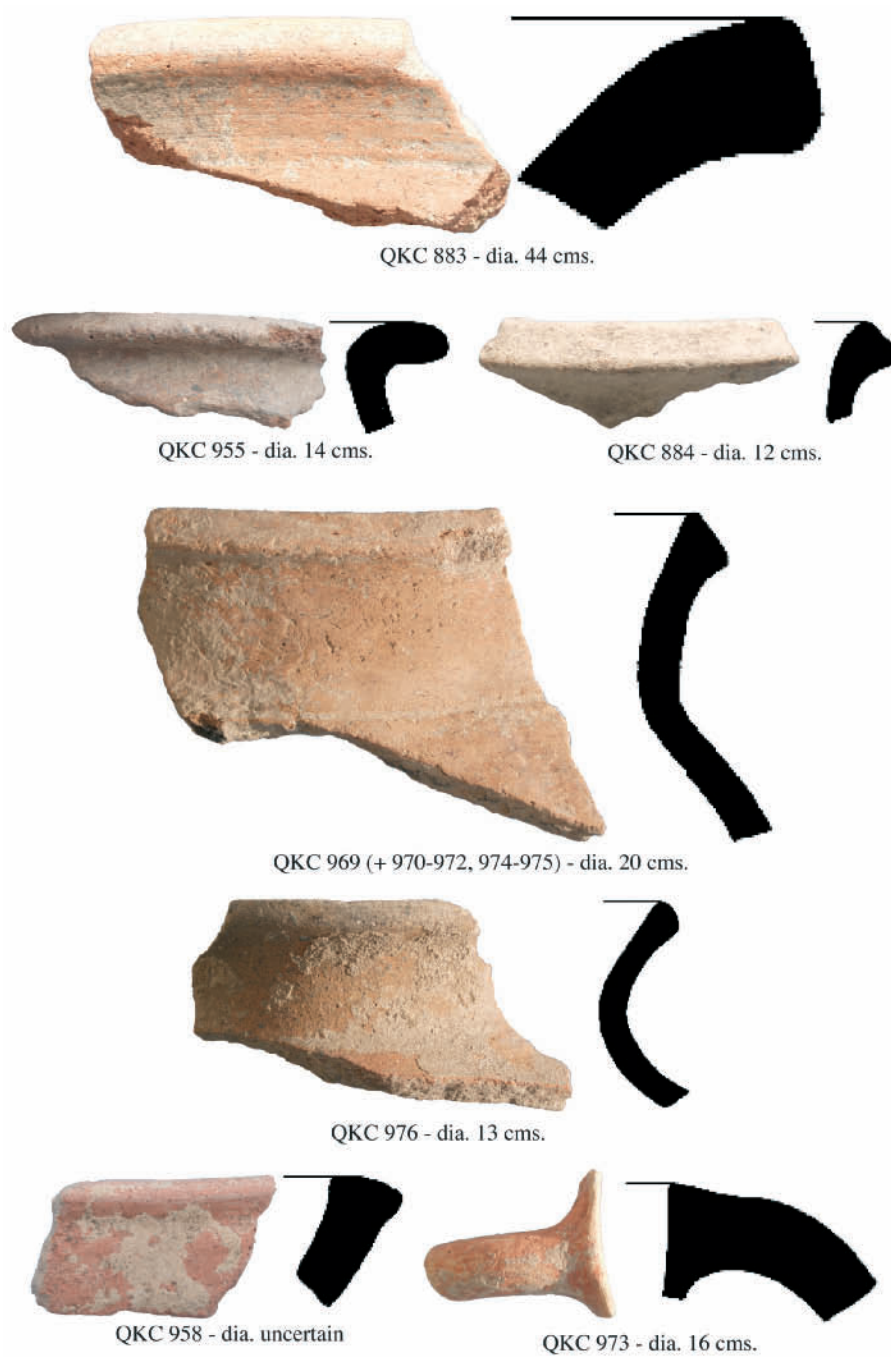
Pl. 18. Jars and bowls from Phase III.



Pl. 19. Flaring-rimmed jars from Phase IIiii.



Pl. 20. Raised ridge types from Phase III.



Pl. 21. Diagnostic sherds from Phase IIIi.

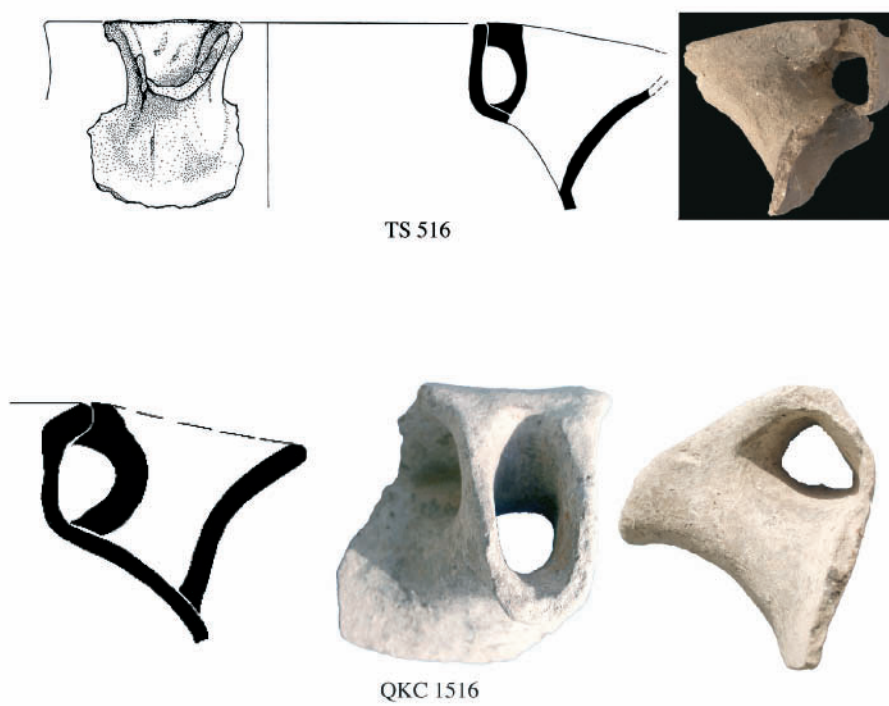


QKC 1109



QKC 701 - dia. 11 cms.

Pl. 22. Diagnostic sherds from Phase IIv.



Pl. 23. Spouts from Tol-e Spid and Qaleh Kali.



QKF 99



QKF 156



QKF 154

Pl. 24. Smallfinds from Qaleh Kali.

DIE DARSTELLUNG DER 23 VÖLKER AUF DEN RELIEFS DES APADANA VON PERSEPOLIS¹

VON

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(Universität Hamburg)

Abstract: Article title: »The 23 subject peoples on the Apadana staircases of Persepolis«. Many scholars tried from 1910 to 2006 to identify the peoples depicted on the staircases of the Apadana in Persepolis, but up to now without finding an accord. The staircases were not constructed in the time of Xerxes (as his inscription may signify) but by Dareios during the Ionian revolt of 499-494 BC. The list is similar to that on the statue of Dareios from Susa, there are depicted the 24 peoples of the empire (together with the Persians), at the Apadana you see the 23 satrapies (the Persis was not a satrapy, it was the personal property of the Great King). The Ionians (Greek) are not mentioned in both lists, at the Apadana they were wrongly looked for. During the revolt Thracia was no more part of the empire, so the Skudra, depicted on the Apadana, can not be located there, their satrapy was Paphlagonia in Asia Minor. At the Apadana the peoples are not arranged in geographical or ethnical order, but Persian and Median magistrates regularly exchange to lead the delegations, these are the satraps. The satraps were very important rulers of the empire, but as Kyros had promised after his victory over Astyages to give the Medes a share in government, the Medes were taking half part of this office also. Identifying the peoples you will observe groups with similar garments, getting informations about historical tribal ties. There are some more reliefs and inscriptions with lists of satrapies at Persepolis. By comparison you will observe three distributions of satrapies by Dareios and Xerxes. There were also added new peoples, which are to be located in western Anatolia and around the Caspian Sea. The reason of arranging the peoples against geographical order in these lists of satrapies is that they follow the personal dignity of the satraps. Our first attempt to call the satraps depicted at the Apadana by their names is still quite provisory and should be completed with the help of colleagues in near future.

Keywords: Archaeology, history, historical topography, epigraphy, Iran, Persepolis, Apadana

¹ Dieser Aufsatz geht auf einen Vortrag zurück, den ich vor mehreren Jahren gehalten habe, er soll als Textbeschreibung für meine TAVO-Karte Gropp 1985 dienen.

Die Ruinen von Persepolis sind wegen ihres reichen und erstaunlich gut erhaltenen Bilderschmucks ein besonders lohnendes Ausflugsziel auf jeder Orientreise. Nur in Ägypten und Indien findet man Vergleichbares. Auf der Terrasse von Persepolis stehen 13 Gebäude², davon ist der Apadana-Palast mit 110 m Seitenlänge und 25 m hohen Säulen das größte und prachtvollste. Sein 3 m hoher Sockel, zu dem im Norden und Osten Treppen hinaufführen, ist mit zwei 70 m langen und 3 m hohen Reliefs verziert, dem größten Bildwerk Altirans. Wir sehen im Zentrum die überlebensgroßen Bilder der Leibgarde und an den Treppenaufgängen kämpfende Löwen und Stiere als magischen Schutz vor dem Bösen. Von beiden Seiten her schreiten jeweils über hundert Personen aufeinander zu, und zwar empfängt die königliche Parade die Delegationen der Völker des achämenidischen Imperiums. Diese Völkerdarstellungen (Abb. 1) sind ein bedeutendes Monument achämenidischer Ikonographie und sollen das Thema dieses Aufsatzes sein, da sie trotz intensiver Bearbeitungen durch viele namhafte Gelehrte immer noch einiges Kopfzerbrechen bereiten. Man kann sagen, dass es bis heute keinem gelungen ist, diese Völker vollständig zu identifizieren. Die achämenidischen Künstler haben nämlich die Völker nicht in geographischer Reihenfolge angeordnet oder durch Beischriften erläutert³. Auch die Reihenfolge der Völkerdarstellungen an der Reliefwand war zunächst nicht klar ersichtlich, man konnte die 3 Registerreihen horizontal lesen oder als Folge von mehreren senkrechten Kolumnen, dass letzteres richtig ist, stellte Herzfeld zwar schon 1910 fest, doch ist es vor einiger Zeit wieder angezweifelt worden⁴.

Die Reliefdarstellung ist an der Nord- und Ostseite des Apadana in zwei Exemplaren erhalten, die in Einzelheiten voneinander etwas abweichen und wahrscheinlich nicht ganz gleichzeitig entstanden sind⁵. Die königliche

² Gropp 1971: 25.

³ Calmeyer 1982: 128 nennt die Anordnung der Völker am Apadana und in der Inschrift XPh »völlig wirr«; Völkerdarstellungen mit Beischriften finden sich an den Felsgräbern Dareios' I. und seines Nachfolgers Xerxes (daß dies Grab über der Terrasse von Persepolis nicht Artaxerxes III zuzuschreiben ist, habe ich in Gropp 1989: 121 nachzuweisen versucht), die Beischriften nennen in 3 Sprachen die Ländernamen.s. Anhang.

⁴ Daß die Völker in Kolumnen angeordnet sind, hat Herzfeld 1910: 116-125 an einem Vergleich der Nordtreppe mit den Thronträgern des Zentralgebäudes E festgestellt. Schmidt 1970: 85 äußert Zweifel an dieser Reihenfolge, folgt dann aber Herzfelds Vorschlag. Barnett 1957: 65ff möchte das Relief als Folge von 3 waagerechten Registern lesen, aber auch dann kann er nur bedingt eine geographische Reihenfolge der Völker nachweisen.

⁵ Auf die Unterschiede hat Schmidt 1970: 82 hingewiesen, er hält die Nordtreppe für etwas älter als die Osttreppe. Auf Tf. 27-49 hat er jeweils auf einer Tafel die Delegationen

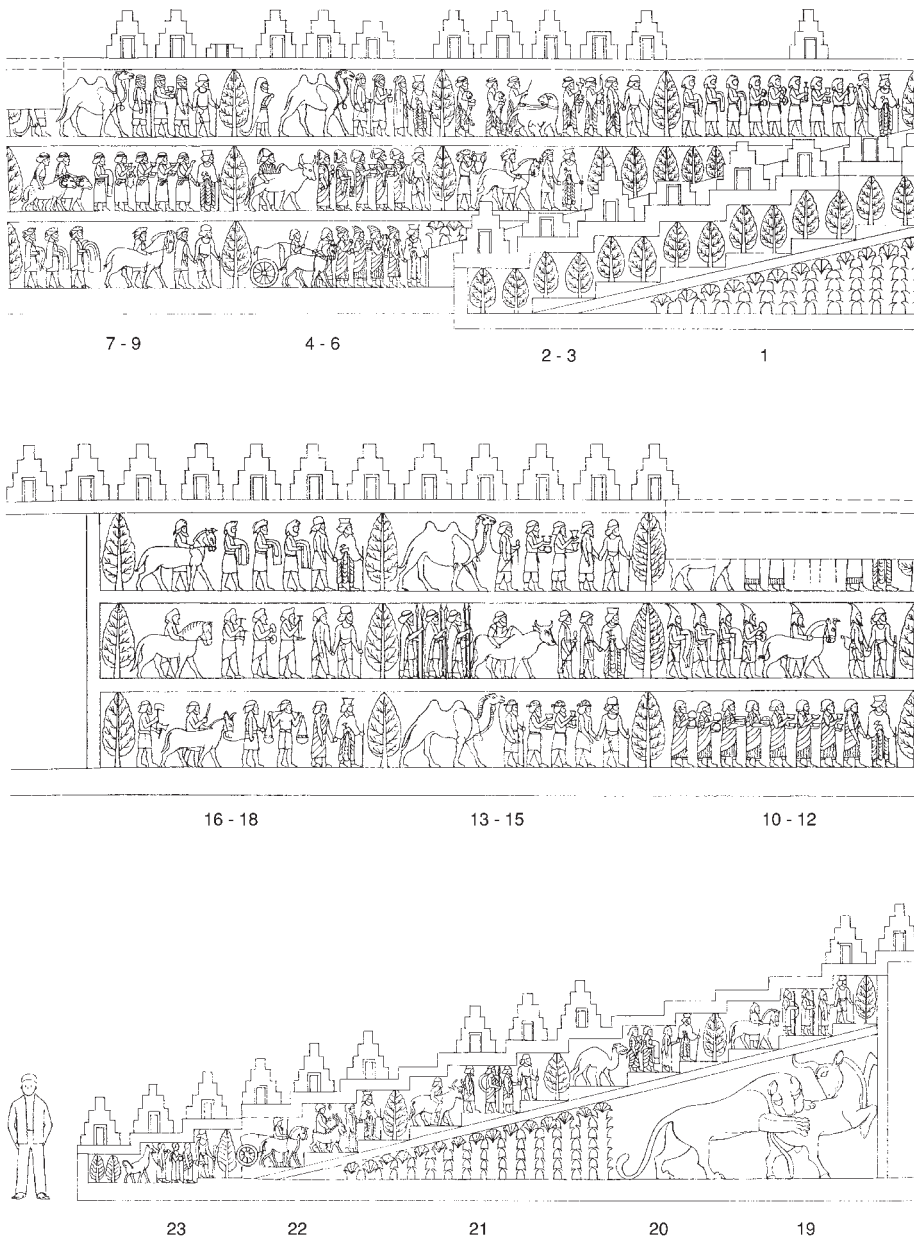


Abb. 1. Apadanarelieff Übersichtszeichnung (nach Walser 1966).

Parade beginnt jeweils an der Nordostecke und schreitet in entgegengesetzten Richtungen einmal nach rechts, das andere Mal nach links fort, so dass die Personen in unterschiedlicher Seitenansicht erscheinen und sich dadurch interessante Aufschlüsse auf die Kleidung und Bewaffnung ergeben. Die Nordtreppe lag immer frei und wurde schon im 18. Jahrhundert oft kopiert und beschrieben⁶, sie ist aber durch Verwitterung und Zerstörungen stark beschädigt. Die Osttreppe entdeckte Ernst Herzfeld⁷ bei den Ausgrabungen 1931 in wunderbarem Erhaltungszustand.

Die Reliefs stammen aus der Regierungszeit König Dareios' I. und lassen sich genau auf die Jahre 499-494 v.Chr. datieren, aber an beiden Treppentritten hat sein Sohn Xerxes⁸ (486-465 v. Chr.) eine Inschrift anbringen lassen, die zu einiger Verwirrung über die Datierung geführt hat, denn er

der Nord- und Osttreppe untereinander abgebildet, damit sie gut zu vergleichen sind. Barnett 1957: 59 diskutiert das Bestreben der achämenidischen Künstler, die Personen abwechselnd von beiden Seiten darzustellen. Roaf 1976 untersucht die Steinmetzzeichen der verschiedenen am Relief tätigen Künstlergruppen. Die Reliefs der Osttreppe wirken nicht nur wegen des besseren Erhaltungszustandes eleganter als die der Nordtreppe, sie sind etwas jünger, denn Tilia 1972: 43-46, 125-172; Tilia 1968 und Tilia 1972a stellte bei Restaurierungsarbeiten fest, dass die Osttreppe nicht zur ursprünglichen Planung des Apadana gehörte und erst in einer zweiten Bauphase hinzugefügt wurde. Da aber die Abweichungen von dem Relief der Nordtreppe geringfügig sind, kann der zeitliche Abstand nicht viel mehr als ein bis zwei Jahre betragen. Gegen den Versuch Herzfelds, nur die Nordtreppe in die Zeit des Dareios zu datieren, die Osttreppe aber in die des Xerxes, spricht das Argument, man hätte bestimmt unter dem neuen König die Völkerliste auf den aktuellen Stand gebracht.

⁶ Alte Zeichnungen und Stiche der Ruinen von europäischen Reisenden haben Barnett 1957: 55-57 und Homayoun 1976 zusammengestellt. Aber schon in der Sasanidenzeit bildete die Nordtreppe das Vorbild für zwei Felsreliefs Shapurs I. in Bishapur, auf denen der König mit seinem Hofstaat von links auf die Reihen der von rechts kommenden Gabenträger zureitet.

⁷ Schmidt 1970 I: 3; die Grabungen 1931-34; p. 70, 82 mit pl. 16-52 und fig. 33-35 über die Osttreppe, pl. 53-61 und fig. 31, 44 über die Nordtreppe, p. 85-90 Beschreibung der Delegationen, Herzfeld 1933; Herzfeld 1934; Breasted 1933. Herzfeld hatte sich die Beschreibung der Apadana-Reliefs für ein eigenes Buch vorbehalten, das posthum von Walser herausgegeben wurde: Herzfeld 1968. Schmidt 1970 I und III: 145 hat sich in seiner Publikation deshalb sehr kurz gefaßt, hat aber mit der Herausarbeitung der Trachtentypen einen wichtigen Forschungsbeitrag geleistet.

Fotos des gesamten Reliefs bei Ghirshman 1964: 160-165, pl. 211 Übersichtszeichnung bei Walser 1966, Faltafel, doch dort sind die Delegationen 13 und 15 vertauscht. Auf Abb. 1 habe ich Walsers Zeichnung kopiert und korrigiert.

⁸ Die Inschrift XPb ist dreisprachig, die altpersische Version ist an der Nordtreppe, die elamisch-akkadischen Versionen an der Osttreppe in den großen Tafeln auf der Seite des königlichen Zuges eingeritzt. Die Tafeln auf der Delegationen-Seite sind leer, Kent 1953: 148; Schmitt 2000: 70-72.

sagt: (XPb §3) »Es spricht Xerxes der Große König: Was ich hier baute und was ich anderswo baute, das baute ich mit Ahuramazdas Hilfe. Ahuramazda zusammen mit den Göttern schütze mich und mein Reich und meine Bauwerke.« Vor den Ausgrabungen hielt man wegen dieser Inschrift den Apadana-Palast und die Treppenreliefs für ein Werk des Xerxes, und in einigen neueren Büchern wird diese Ansicht noch immer vertreten⁹.

Doch 1931 fand Herzfeld im Schutt der Lehmziegelmauern Glasurziegel mit einer weiteren Inschrift des Xerxes¹⁰, in der sich der König etwas genauer ausdrückt: (XPg) »Es spricht Xerxes der Große König: Mit Ahuramazdas Hilfe hat König Dareios, mein Vater, viel schönes erbaut und veranlaßt. Ebenfalls mit Ahuramazdas Hilfe vollendete ich dieses Bauwerk und baute weiteres. Ahuramazda zusammen mit den Göttern schütze mich und mein Reich.« Die Ziegelinschrift zeigt, daß Xerxes einen von Dareios I. begonnenen Bau nur vollendet, also nicht vollständig selbst errichtet hat.

Dies bestätigte sich, als man bei Herzfelds Ausgrabungen 1933 die goldenen und silbernen Gründungsinschriften (DPh) an zwei Ecken des Palastes¹¹ entdeckte. Sie lagen in den Mauerwinkeln in Gründungskapseln und nennen als Bauherrn Dareios I. (522-486 v.Chr.). Auch an anderen Gebäuden Dareios' I. in Persepolis und Susa¹² hat Xerxes weiter gebaut,

⁹ Die Datierung der Reliefs in die Zeit des Xerxes behalten bei: Walser 1966: 20 »Xerxes' Apadana«; Calmeyer 1988: 107; Vogelsang 1992: 94ff »Xerxes-Apadana«. Über die Datierungsversuche besonders des Mittelteils der Apadana-Treppen, die sog. Schatzhausreliefs, durch von Gall, Calmeyer und Shahbazi s.u. Schmidt 1970: 70 datiert das Apadana-Gebäude richtig in die Zeit des Dareios I., hält aber p. 82 die beiden Treppen für Anbauten unter Xerxes. Dagegen datiert Wilber 1969: 55 die Treppenreliefs richtig um 500 v.Chr.

¹⁰ Die Glasurziegel mit der Inschrift XPg wurden 1933 im Schutt vor der Treppe des Apadana gefunden, Kent 1953: 150; Herzfeld 1933; Schmitt 2000: 86-87.

¹¹ Die Gold- und Silbertafeln mit Inschrift DPh lagen in den Gründungskapseln an zwei Ecken des Apadana-Gebäudes, Kent 1953: 136-7; Schmitt 2000: 88-95. Der Text dieser 1933 entdeckten Inschrift gleicht dem der 1926 in Hamadan gefundenen Inschrift DH, die Herzfeld 1926 und Herzfeld 1928 veröffentlichte und, weil sie den Skythenfeldzug 513 nicht erwähnt, in die Jahre 519-13 datierte. Darin sind ihm Schmidt 1970: 70 (dort fig. 42-43); Barnett 1957: 65 und Hinz 1976: 240 gefolgt. Calmeyer 1982: 124 und Trümpelmann 1988: 35 haben die richtige Datierung in die Zeit des Jonischen Aufstands erkannt, nachdem ich in mehreren Vorträgen darauf hingewiesen hatte. Ausführlich Groppe 2001: 38.

¹² Außer am Apadana-Palast (J) setzte Xerxes auch am großen Eingangstor (K) und dem Dareios-Palast (I) in Persepolis sowie am Tor des Susa-Palastes, an dem Dareios seine Statue hatte aufstellen lassen, die Bauarbeiten fort, wie seine Inschriften (XPa, XPd, XSd) besagen.

denn offenbar konnten die mächtigen Zedernholzbalken für die Dächer nicht rechtzeitig geliefert werden. Die Phönizier im Libanon waren zwar den Persern untertan und zu größten Anstrengungen verpflichtet, doch damals muß es außerordentlich schwierig gewesen sein, die riesigen Bäume zu fällen und zu zersägen. Die Lieferung der Balken hat mehr als 40 Jahre gedauert. Die Ziegelinschrift des Xerxes war bezeichnenderweise am Dach des Apadana angebracht, dort fanden nach Eintreffen der Dachbalken die letzten Bauarbeiten statt. Aber die Mauern und Säulen aus Stein und Lehmziegeln gehörten zu den frühen Baumaßnahmen und wurden bereits kurz nach der Grundsteinlegung unter Dareios errichtet. Und da man ein Gebäude mit dem Fundament zu bauen beginnt, gehörte auch der Sockel mit seinen Reliefs gleich zu der ersten Bauphase unter Dareios I. Dies läßt sich auch aus der Gründungsinschrift des Dareios erkennen.

Die Inschrift enthält nämlich geographische Angaben, die sich auf die Völkerdarstellung an den Treppen beziehen: (DPh §2) »Es spricht Dareios der König: Dieses Reich, das ich beherrsche, von den Saken jenseits Sogdien (im Norden) bis nach Nubien (im Süden) und von Indien (im Osten) bis nach Lydien (im Westen), das übergab mir Ahuramazda, der größte der Götter. Möge Ahuramazda mich beschützen und meine Dynastie.« Die Wörter für die 4 Himmelsrichtungen habe ich zum besseren Verständnis zugefügt. Wieder führte die Datierung der Inschrift zu Verwirrungen, denn Herzfeld setzte sie zu früh an, erst 1982 und 1988 kamen Calmeyer und Trümpelmann zum richtigen Ergebnis und beobachteten, daß Lydien als Grenzland im äußersten Westen genannt wird und die weiter westlich liegenden Länder Jonien und hellespontisches Phrygien, die schon unter Kyros zum Imperium gehört hatten, fehlen. Daher konnten sie den Zeitpunkt der Inschrift auf den Jonischen Aufstand von 499 bis 494 festlegen¹³, als das westliche Anatolien dem Achämenidenreich vorübergehend verloren gegangen war. Damit erklärte sich eine auffällige Eigenschaft der Völkerdarstellungen: Sie zeigen nur 23 Völker, aber unter Xerxes bestand das Reich aus 29 Völkern, die in einer von Herzfeld in Persepolis entdeckten Xerxes-Inschrift (XPh) aufgezählt werden, und schon an dem Grab Dareios' I. werden 30 Völker abgebildet. Zu Xerxes' Zeiten war das Reich mächtig gewachsen, die Apadana-Reliefs müssen also früher entstanden sein und der Regierungszeit Dareios' I. angehören.

¹³ Zum Jonischen Aufstand siehe Olmstead 1948: 152-157; Burn 1985: 307.

In die Zeit des Jonischen Aufstandes datiert eine vor einigen Jahrzehnten gefundene Darstellung der Völker, die bisher merkwürdigerweise nicht zur Erklärung der Apadana-Reliefs herangezogen worden ist. Die französischen Ausgrabungen in Susa legten 1972 eine Statue Dareios' I¹⁴. frei, die an den Seiten der Fußplatte die Darstellung von 24 Völkern aufweist, jeweils mit beigelegtem Namen in ägyptischen Hieroglyphen (Inscription DSab) (Abb. 2). Auf der linken Seite sind die Iraner und auf der rechten die Nichtiraner aufgereiht. Dem Herausgeber Jean Yoyotte fiel sofort auf, daß die Jonier fehlen und daher die Statue während des Jonischen Aufstandes gefertigt wurde. Er bemerkte auch, daß die 24 Völker der Susa-Statue die gleiche Liste sind wie auf den fragmentarischen Stelen am Suezkanal (Inscription DZ), aber mit den Apadana-Reliefs hat er sie nicht verglichen.

Die Liste der Susa-Statue nennt 24 Völker und die Reliefs am Apadana bilden 23 Delegationen ab, der Unterschied erklärt sich daraus, daß am Apadana – das hat schon Herzfeld 1910 beobachtet – die Perser nicht als Gabenbringer auftreten, aber daß sie auf der Susa-Statue namentlich genannt werden. Die Perser gehören auch auf den Grabreliefs Dareios' I. und Xerxes' zu den Thronträgern mit Beischriften, und daher wissen wir, daß Perser und Elamer die gleiche Tracht hatten, ein Faltengewand ohne Hosen. Auf den Apadana-Reliefs kommt diese Tracht nur einmal vor (Delegation 2), demnach sind nur die Elamer abgebildet, nicht die herrschenden Perser, deren königliche Parade den Delegationen auf dem anderen Flügel des Reliefs entgegenkommt.

Dass die Völkerliste auf der Susa-Statue mit der abgekürzten Fassung in der Gründungsinschrift DPh und mit den Apadana-Reliefs übereinstimmt, läßt sich an Einzelheiten nachweisen: A) Die beiden Stämme der Saken werden in einem gemeinsamen Ring mit einer einzigen Büste zusammengefaßt (Nr. 12 auf der Susa-Statue). Auf den Apadana-Reliefs ist ebenfalls nur ein Volk der an ihren hohen spitzen Mützen erkennbaren Saken abgebildet (Delegation 11), und die Gründungsinschrift DPh nennt auch nur ein Volk der Saken jenseits von Sogdien. Alle späteren Listen aber und die Grabreliefs führen zwei getrennte sakische Völker auf. B) Die Nubier

¹⁴ Yoyotte 1972: 253-266, und Yoyotte 1974: 181-3; Roaf 1974: 73-160; Calmeyer 1982: 109; Vogelsang 1992: 143-145. Porada 1985: 821 vergleicht zwar die Darstellungen der Susa-Statue mit den Apadana-Reliefs, hat aber die Übereinstimmung der beiden Völkerlisten nicht bemerkt, s. Note 18. Walser 1966: 31 diskutiert die fragmentarische Länderliste DZ auf den Suezkanal-Stelen nach Posener 1936. Der Suez-Kanal scheint in der Inschrift DSab auf der Susa-Statue erwähnt zu sein.

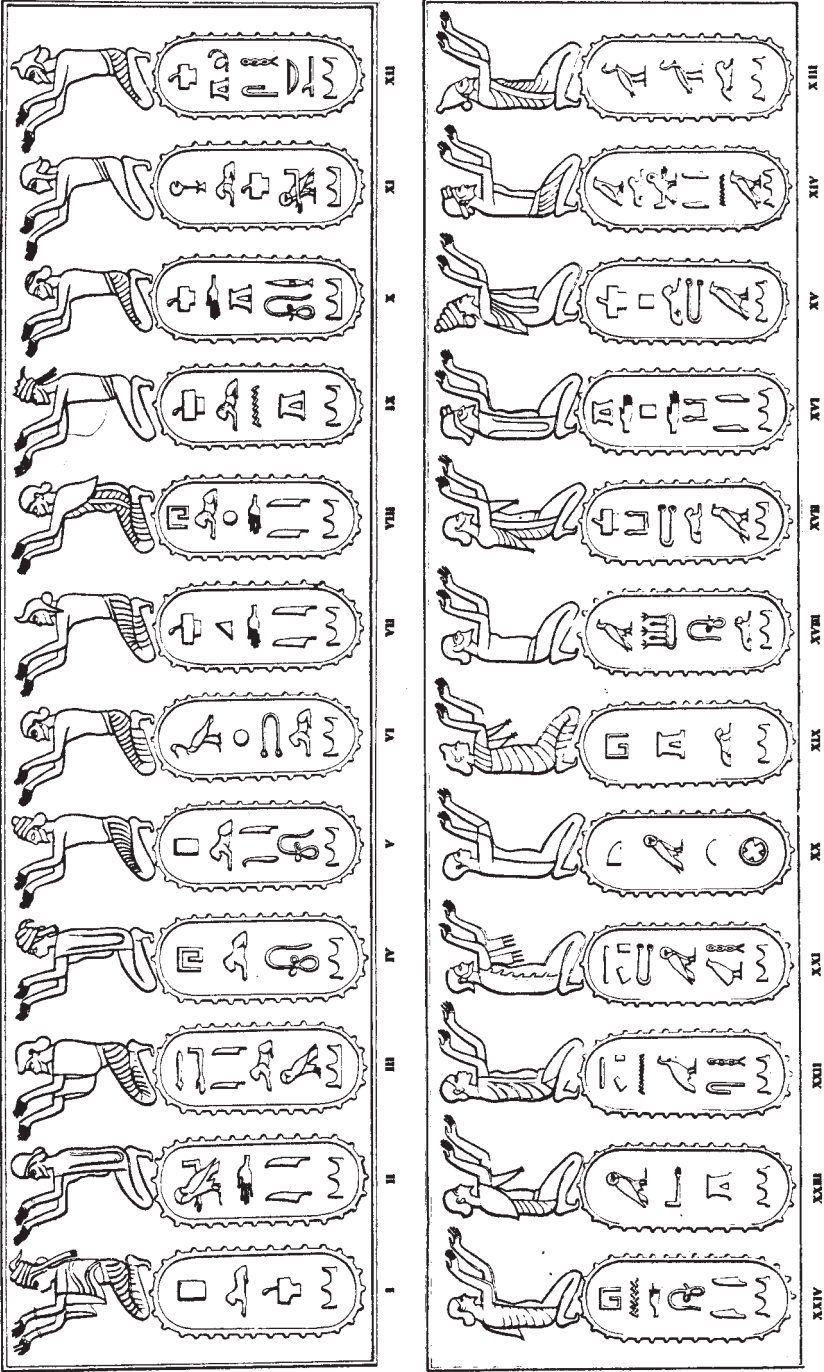


Abb. 2. Thronträger der Susa-Statue (nach Yoyotte 1972).

(Nr. 22) gehören in älteren Länderlisten Dareios' I. (Inschriften DB, DPe) noch nicht zu den Reichsvölkern, werden aber in der Gründunginschrift DPh genannt und konnten auf den Apadana-Reliefs eindeutig identifiziert werden (Delegation 23). C) Wegen des Jonischen Aufstandes werden die Jonier nicht genannt, ebenfalls nicht in der Gründunginschrift DPh, und der Versuch, sie auf den Apadana-Reliefs mit Delegation 12 zu identifizieren, blieb unsicher. Man hat sie, wie wir jetzt wissen, vergeblich auf den Reliefs gesucht. Wir dürfen wegen dieser Übereinstimmungen ohne jeden Zweifel davon ausgehen, daß die Listen auf der Susa-Statue, der Gründunginschrift und den Apadana-Reliefs zusammen gehören. Ein Volk der Liste auf der Susa-Statue, die Skudra, hatte man bisher immer weit westlich von Lydien in Thrakien lokalisiert. Da dies die Inschrift DPh ausschließt und als Irrtum erweist, muß dieses Volk in einem anderen Land östlich von Lydien gewohnt haben und konnte jetzt im nördlichen Anatolien nachgewiesen werden¹⁵.

1. Die Identifizierung der Völker

Viele Gelehrte haben sich mit der Identifizierung der auf den Apadana-Reliefs dargestellten Völker beschäftigt, doch wenn wir deren Arbeit betrachten, so stellen wir große Uneinigkeit fest, allerdings auch einige Übereinstimmungen¹⁶. Die Identifizierung der Völker begann Herzfeld 1910, indem er von den beschrifteten Thronträger-Reliefs in Naqsh-e Rostam¹⁷ ausging, dabei aber wegen stilistischer Unterschiede in Schwierigkeiten geriet. Dann griff Herzfeld auf assyrische und anatolische Bildwerke zurück und wollte Völker nachweisen, die in den Achämenideninschriften nicht genannt werden, wohl aber in der Satrapienliste des Herodot.

¹⁵ Gropp 2001: 40, s.u. Anhang

¹⁶ Wie sich herausstellen wird, ist trotz der Übereinstimmung unter den Gelehrten die Delegation 14 falsch bestimmt worden. Für die Bestimmung der Apadana-Reliefs nahm Herzfeld 1910 die Thronträger am Dareiosgrab zum Ausgangspunkt, die in der danebenstehenden Inschrift DNa aufgezählt werden. Dabei stellte er aber fest, daß am Grab eine andere Bildhauerschule gearbeitet hat als am Apadana, sie stellten die Personen in unterschiedlichem Blickwinkel dar, sodaß ein Vergleich erschwert wird.

¹⁷ Die Bildbeischriften an den Thronträgerreliefs des Dareiosgrabes wurden von Weissbach 1911 entdeckt, aber anfangs nur teilweise entziffert. Vorher hatte Andreas 1902 an den Grabreliefs die Darstellung der Meder und Perser unrichtig bestimmt, was Herzfeld 1910 übernahm, aber nachdem er Weißbach gelesen hatte, noch in einem Nachtrag korrigierte.

Deutung der Delegationen-Reliefs in neuerer Zeit¹⁸:

Die vergleichende Tabelle macht deutlich, daß man sich in den letzten 40 Jahren nur über zehn der 23 Völker einig geworden ist (hier fett gedruckt: Delegationen 1-2, 5, 9-10, 18, 20, 22-23). Calmeyer¹⁹ hat sich mit Recht darüber gewundert, daß auf dem Apadana-Relief Völker abgebildet seien, die in den Listen der Inschriften nicht vorkommen, daß andererseits aber einige fehlen, die dort immer wiederkehren, wie z.B. die Choresmier. Die Reliefs auf der Susa-Statue nennen nur Völker, die uns aus den anderen Achämenideninschriften geläufig sind, durch sie wissen wir nun, welche Völker am Apadana abgebildet sind, und können die bisher vorgeschlagenen Identifizierungen überprüfen und korrigieren.

An der Spitze der Susaliste und der Reliefs stehen die Stammlande Medien und Elam, über deren Identifizierung mit den Delegationen 1 und 2 seit langem Einmütigkeit besteht. Die Reihenfolge der übrigen Völker am Apadana weicht aber entschieden von der Liste der Susa-Statue ab, daher müssen wir die von Schmidt 1970 beobachteten Trachtengruppen²⁰ zur Orientierung heranziehen. Als Tracht II faßt Schmidt 1970 mit den Medern die Völker der Parther, Baktrer, Armenier und Kappadokier zusammen²¹. Über die Bestimmung der Delegationen 3 und 9 als Armenier und Kappadokier besteht Einigkeit, die Baktrer hat Schmidt 1970 an den weiten Hosen richtig in Delegation 13 erkannt, nur die Parther wurden noch nicht bestimmt. Als einziges übrigbleibendes Volk in medischer Tracht kommt für die Parther aber nur Delegation 16 in Frage, deren Fürst zudem die medische Tiara trägt. Das bisher mit dieser Delegation identifizierte Volk der Asagarta wird in der Liste der Susa-Statue nicht genannt.

¹⁸ Die Liste in Herzfeld 1968 ist ca 1945 entstanden und posthum erschienen, Barnett 1957: 73, Vanden Berghe 1959: 32 geht auf Schmidt 1970: 85-90 (erschieden 1953) zurück. Walser 1966: 103. Schmidt 1970: 143. Hinz 1969: 110 basiert auf Walser 1966. Roaf 1983: 149; Vogelsang 1992: 147-160, Übersichtsliste p. 159, vergleichende Liste mit den Thronträgern in Gebäuden E und M p. 148. Koch 1993: 95-105; Tourovets 2001: 228; Vittmann 2006: 139. Die Identifizierungen von Porada 1985: 821-825 und Briant 1996: 180, 184 sind ebenfalls recht unsicher, Übersicht auch bei Yamauchi 1990: 354-5 und bei Wilber 1969: 89-92; Calmeyer 1983: 154 gibt eine Liste der Apadana-Delegationen, in der er auch die Jonier (Del. 12), Gandara (Del. 14) und Karer (Del. 21) aufzählt.

¹⁹ Calmeyer 1982: 108; Walser 1972.

²⁰ Schmidt 1970 III: 110, table IV.

²¹ Schmidt 1970 III: fig. 40-41 »West Median« und »East Median«, zur Tracht der Baktrer s.u.

Delegation	Herzfeld 1968	Barnett 1957	Va. Berghe 1959	Walser 1966	Schmidt 1970	Hinz 1969	Roaf 1983	Vogelsang 1992	Koch 1993	Tourouets 2001	Vitmann 2006
1	Medien	Medien	Medien	Medien	Medien	Medien	Medien	Medien	Medien	Medien	Medien
2	Elam	Elam	Elam	Elam	Elam	Elam	Elam	Elam	Elam	Elam	Elam
3	Armenien I	Armenien	Armenien	Armenien	Armenien	Armenien	Armenien	Armenien	Armenien	Parther	Armenien? Areia?
4	Arachosien	Haraiwa	Haraiwa	Haraiwa?	Haraiwa?	Parthien	Haraiwa	SO-Iran	Parthien	Haraiwa	Parthien?
5	Babylonien	Babylonien	Babylonien	Babylonien	Babylonien	Babylonien	Babylonien	Babylonien	Babylonien	Babylonien	Babylonien
6	Syrien	Lydien	Lydien	Syrien	Lydien	Lydien	Lydien	Lydien	Lydien	Syrien	Lydien
7	Haraiwa	Arachosien	Arachosien	Arachos.?	Arachos?	Arachosien	Zranka	SO-Iran	Areia	Arachosien	Areia?
8	Kilikien	Sogdien	Sogdien?	Kilikien	Assyrien	Syrien	Assyrien	Assyrien	Syrien	Assyrien	Syrien?
9	Kappadok.	Kappadok.	Kappadok.	Kappadok.	Kappadok.	Kappadok.	Kappadok.	Kappadok.	Kappadok.	Kappadok.	Kappadok.
10	Ägypten	Ägypten	Ägypten	Ägypten	Ägypten	Ägypten	Ägypten	Ägypten	Ägypten	Ägypten	Ägypten
11	Saka paradraya	Saka tigrax- auda	Saka tigrax- auda	Saka	Saka paradraya	Saka tigrax- auda	Saka tigrax- auda	Saka tigrax- auda	Skythien	Saka tigrax- auda	Saka
12	Lydien	Jonien	Jonien	Lydien	Jonien	Jonien	Jonien	Jonien	Jonien	Lydien	Jonien?
13	Parthien	Parthien	Parthien	Parthien	Baktrien	Baktrien	Baktrien	Baktrien	Baktrien	Baktrien	Baktrien?
14	Gandara	Gandara	Gandara	Gandara?	Gandara	Gandara	Gandara	Indien, nicht Hindu oder Maka	Sattagydien? Gandara?	Gandara	Gandara?
15	Baktrien	Baktrien	Baktrien	Baktrien	Parthien?	Haraiwa	Parthien	Parthien	Drangiana? Arachosien?	Drangiana	Arachos.? Parthien?
16	Armenien II	Sagartien	Sagartien	Sagartien	Sagartien	Sagartien	Sagartien	med. Volk	Sagartien	Armenien	Sagartien
17	Sogdien	Choresm.	Choresm.	Sogdien	Saka hauma- varg.	Sogdien	Choresm.?	Saka aus NO	Sogder? Choresm.?	Saka hauma- varg.	Sogdien? Choresm.?
18	Indien	Indien	Indien	Indien	Indien	Indien	Indien	Indien aus Maka	Indien	Indien	Indien
19	Daha	Skudra	Skudra	Skudra	Skudra	Skudra	?	Skudra?	Thrakien	Thrakien	Thrakien
20	Arabien	Arabien	Arabien	Arabien	Arabien	Arabien	Arabien	Arabien	Arabien	Arabien	Arabien
21	Akaufaka	Drangiana	Zranka	Medischer Stamm	?	Hykanien?	Karer?	Akaufaka	Karien	Sattagydien	Karien?
22	Libyen	Libyen	Libyen	Libyen	Libyen	Libyen	Libyen	Libyen	Libyen	Libyen	Libyen
23	Nubien	Nubien	Nubien	Nubien	Nubien	Nubien	Nubien	Nubien	Äthiopien	Nubien	Kuschiten

Tabelle 1

Die Tracht III ist an den Bundhosen und den hohen Stiefeln leicht erkennbar²², sie wird von den Delegationen 4, 7 und (von Schmidt 1970 nicht erkannt) 15 getragen. Genauer identifizieren kann man sie an den Turbanen der Darstellungen auf der Susa-Statue, danach sind Delegationen 4 und 7 die Zranka und Haraiwa und Delegation 15 — ohne Turban — die Arachosier.

Die »skythische« Tracht IV nach Schmidt 1970²³ findet sich bei den Delegationen 11, 17 und 19, von denen Hinz 11 und 17 überzeugend als Saka tigraxauda und Sogder erkannt hat. Delegation 19 haben alle außer Herzfeld und Roaf mit den Skudra identifiziert, wozu die Darstellung am Dareiosgrab deutliche Hinweise gibt. Als einziges ostiranisches Volk der Liste auf der Susa-Statue wurden bisher die Choresmier nicht identifiziert. Auf den Reliefs bleibt nur ein Volk mit Hosentracht übrig, die Delegation 21 stellt demnach die Choresmier dar. Walser und Hinz waren dem schon recht nahe gekommen und hatten sie als »medischen Stamm« bzw. »Hyrkanier« bezeichnet. Die Tracht ist derjenigen der Sogder und Baktrer ähnlich.

Die indische Tracht V²⁴ ist auf den Grabreliefs gekennzeichnet durch das Lendentuch dhoti, das am oberen Rand eingerollt wird. Dieses wurde übereinstimmend wiedererkannt bei Delegation 18, den Hindu, deren Fürst darüber einen Schal gewickelt trägt. Das Lendentuch unter dem Überhang erkennt man auch bei Delegation 14, die aber nicht mit den Gandara gleichgesetzt werden darf, da dieses Volk in der Liste der Susa-Statue fehlt. An der Haartracht erkennt man vielmehr die Sattagyden auf der Statue wieder. Alle Delegierten des dritten indischen Volkes, das die Liste nennt, der Maka, tragen ein Wickelgewand, unter dem man das Lendentuch nicht erkennen kann. So hat man Delegation 12 mit den Joniern identifizieren wollen. Wieder stimmt die Haartracht mit der Darstellung auf der Susa-Statue überein. Die Maka tragen als einzige Inder Stiefel.

Von den anatolischen Völkern haben wir Armenier und Kappadokier in ihrer medischen Tracht und die Skudra in »skythischer« Tracht bereits kennengelernt, die Liste führt außerdem noch die Lyder auf, die nach Schmidt 1970²⁵ zur Gruppe der hellenischen Tracht VI gehören. Auf dem

²² Schmidt 1970 III: fig.42; Gropp 1995: 109.

²³ Schmidt 1970 III: fig. 43-44.

²⁴ Schmidt 1970 III: fig.45-46.

²⁵ Schmidt 1970 III: fig. 47-38.

Relief an Grab II erkennt man das charakteristische, über das Ohr fallende Haarband, durch das Delegation 6 eindeutig bestimmt wird.

Die Völker westlich des Tigris²⁶ sind durch einheimische Bildwerke wohl bekannt, daher bestand über die Bestimmung der Delegationen 5, 10, 20, 22 und 23 mit den Babyloniern, Ägyptern, Arabern, Libyern und Nubiern kein Zweifel. Nur über die Assyrer, Delegation 8, hat es einige Diskussion gegeben, aber Hinz (»Syrien«) und Roaf haben das richtige getroffen. Die drei afrikanischen Völker wurden übereinstimmend richtig identifiziert mit den Delegationen 10, 22 und 23.

Auf den Apadana-Reliefs sind also folgende Völker dargestellt: (die Ziffern in Klammern geben die Reihenfolge an der Susa-Statue an, die von den letzten Vorschlägen [Koch 1993; Tourovets 2001 und Vittmann 2006] abweichenden Identifizierungen sind fett gedruckt):

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Medien (2) | 13. Baktrien (6) |
| 2. Elam (3) | 14. Sattagydien (10) |
| 3. Armenien (14) | 15. Arachosien (8) |
| 4. Zranka (9) | 16. Parthien (5) |
| 5. Babylonien (13) | 17. Sogdien (7) |
| 6. Lydien (15) | 18. Hindu (24) |
| 7. Haraiwa (4) | 19. Skudra (17) |
| 8. Assyrien (18) | 20. Arabien (19) |
| 9. Kappadokien (16) | 21. Choresmien (11) |
| 10. Ägypten (20) | 22. Libyen (21) |
| 11. Saken der Sümpfe und Ebenen (12) | 23. Nubien (22) |
| 12. Maka (23) | |

Unsere Identifizierung der Völker weicht in 9 Fällen von Koch, Tourovets und Vittmann ab, aber einige Zuweisungen wurden bereits früher zweifelnd vorgeschlagen. Abweichend von unseren Vorgängern konnten wir die Identifizierungen mit einer Inschriftenquelle belegen. Daher können wir mit größerem Vertrauen dieses Bildwerk studieren und mit besonderem Interesse die östlichen Völker²⁷ betrachten, für die diese Reliefs das älteste bekannte bildliche Dokument sind.

²⁶ Schmidt 1970 III: Trachten VII-IX, fig.49-52.

²⁷ Auf der Karte Gropp 1985 habe ich Nachzeichnungen der Völkerdarstellungen eingetragen. Die Delegationen im Einzelnen sind ausführlich beschrieben bei Walser 1966: 68-102.

Die Völkerdarstellungen auf den Apadana-Reliefs sind stark stilisiert und arm an erzählenden Details, daher kann man ihnen nicht übermäßig viele Informationen entnehmen. Das wichtigste Ergebnis der Studie scheint die Einteilung der iranischen Völker in die soeben besprochenen Trachtengruppen zu sein, aus der sich bei genauerer Analyse 6 Völkergruppen erfassen lassen, die uns einige Hinweise auf die Vor- und Frühgeschichte Irans geben, wie ich hier im Anhang als Kommentar zu der Landkarte Gropp 1985 darzustellen versuche.

Die Delegationen übergeben dem Großkönig Geschenke aus den Erzeugnissen ihrer Länder: Die Saka, Parther, Sogder und Skudra²⁸ sind stolz auf ihre Rösser (in späterer Zeit wurden die Gestüte von Nisa in Parthien und Ferghana in Sogdien berühmt), die Zranka, Haraiwa, Baktrer und Arachosier auf ihre Kamele, die Sattagyden und Choresmier auf ihre Rinder und die Hindu auf ihre Esel. Die Elamer bringen kurioserweise eine Löwin mit Jungen herbei. Nur die Meder und Maka kommen ohne Tiere.

Auch die Delegationen der westlichen Völker führen Tiere herbei. Mit Rössern und Streitwagen-Gespann kommen die Armenier, Lydier, Kappadokier und Libyer, mit Rindern die Babylonier und Ägypter, mit Fetteschwanzschafen die Assyrer, mit Dromedaren die Araber. Die Libyer bringen außerdem noch Ziegen, und die Nubier präsentieren zum Abschluß eine Giraffe²⁹, die als Kuriosität das Gegenstück zu der elamischen Löwin am Beginn der Reihe bildet.

Im übrigen fällt auf, daß nur vier Delegationen, die Saka, Sogder, Skudra und Choresmier, Waffen tragen³⁰. Eine merkwürdige Person mit babr-

²⁸ Die Tiere der Delegationen sind zusammengestellt auf der Tabelle Walser 1966: 103. Diese Tiere sind nicht mit den heiligen Wappentieren des Stammes zu verwechseln, wie den Pferden, denen wir in der königlichen Parade der Perser auf der entgegengesetzten Seite der Apadanatreppen begegnen, denn die Sogder bringen in Delegation 17 ein Pferd herbei, hatten aber Gänse als Wappentiere, wie uns das Fresko von Afrasiab belehrt: Gropp 1993: 59-61; Gropp 2007: 73. Dort wird die Beschreibung der Parade bei Herodot mit den Reliefs verglichen, anders Hinz 1976 II: 85, er deutet die drei Pferde als Reitpferde des Königs. Calmeyer 1986: 79-80 vergleicht die Beschreibung der Parade des Xerxes bei Herodot mit dem Heer Dareios' III, aber nicht mit der Parade Dareios' I. am Apadana. Die von Herodot mitgeteilte Anekdote von dem wiehernden Roß, durch das Dareios I. die Königswürde erlangte, wird allgemein als »Schelmengeschichte« abgetan, erhält aber durch die Darstellung heiliger Pferde am Apadana einiges Gewicht, Bichler 2000: 284 mit Fußnote 71 sehr kritisch.

²⁹ Die zoologische Deutung als Nilgai-Antilope oder Okapi wird von Valdez 1980; Hampe 2001 diskutiert. Nach mündlicher Mitteilung von Lothar Störk handelt es sich bestimmt um eine Giraffe, die als königliches Objekt in der ägyptischen Kunst immer zum Tributzug gehört.

³⁰ Die Thronträger am Dareios-Grab sind alle bewaffnet, diejenigen am Zentralgebäude und Hundertsäulensaal der Palastterrasse dagegen nicht. Walser 1966: 57.

bayân bildet den Schluß der Delegation bei den Zranka, Haraiwa und — nur auf der Nordtreppe — den Baktrern³¹ (Abb. 7). Dies ist ein über den Kopf gestülptes, den Rücken herabhängendes Tiger- oder Pantherfell³², das als Rüstung diente und im Mittelalter nach der Stadt Bayana in Indien, nahe bei Agra, benannt wurde. Der iranische Volksheld Rustam trug eine solche Rüstung, und da die Sagen um ihn in Seistan, Südostiran spielen, wo in der Achämenidenzeit die hier mit dieser Rüstung ausgestatteten Zranka saßen, könnte eine Tradition dieses Landes bis in das Mittelalter erhalten geblieben sein. In den Händen tragen die Delegierten goldene Gefäße, Schmuck und Waffen, sowie Textilien und einen Elefantenzahn. Nur dieser ist für sein Herkunftsland (Nubien) charakteristisch, die kunsthandwerklichen Erzeugnisse dagegen entsprechen im ganzen Achämenidenreich dem einheitlichen höfischen Geschmack der Hauptstadt, und diese Vereinheitlichung der materiellen Kultur im riesigen Imperium hat sich bei den Ausgrabungsfunden³³ als real erwiesen.

2. Die Reihenfolge der Völker

Die Völker der Apadana-Reliefs sind, das haben alle daran arbeitenden Gelehrten sofort erkannt, nicht geographisch oder ethnisch geordnet³⁴. Die

³¹ Schmidt 1970 I: pl.39.

³² Wolff 1935: 115, dazu Khaleghi-Motlagh 1989. Diese Rüstung ist charakteristisch für den iranischen Heros Rustam und den Helden des georgischen Epos von Rustaweli »Der Mann im Pantherfell«. Walser 1966: 76, 103 spricht von einem Raubtierfell oder Pantherfell, das als Jagdbeute gebracht würde.

³³ Tabelle der Geschenke bei Walser 1966: 103. Im achämenidischen Imperium hatte sich im Kunstgewerbe, besonders im Metallhandwerk, ein gemeinsamer Kunststil herausgebildet. Silbernes Tafelgeschirr aus Daskyleion in Anatolien, dem Oxusschatz in Tajikistan und Hortfunden von Armenien-Georgien zeigt die gleichförmigen Merkmale des achämenidischen Reichsstils, Walser 1966: 72; Koch 2006 passim. Textilien aus Pazyryk in Sibirien (ibid. p. 93, 203), die Tracht und der persische Schmuck der Priester in Ägypten, Bothmer 1969: 75, und der Würdenträger in Lykien, Shahbazi 1975: 18, weisen darauf hin, dass die auf den Apadana-Reliefs dargestellten individuellen Trachten der Reichsvölker teilweise der persisch-medischen Kleidung wichen. Vogelsang 1992: 245-303 beobachtet dagegen das kulturelle Eigenleben der Keramiktypen in den östlichen Satrapien. Insgesamt erwies sich das Traditionsbewußtsein der iranischen Völker als dem Druck des Zentralstaates überlegen, denn die vielfältigen Stammestrachten leben bis heute fort, Ziâ'pur 1972.

³⁴ Die meisten Völker-Listen der Inschriften sind geographisch geordnet, s.u. Anhang. Calmeyer 1982 passim hat sich ausführlich mit den geographischen Vorstellungen der Perser auseinandergesetzt, und zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen war bereits Justi 1904: 454-5 gelangt. Die Satrapien sind nach Justi und Calmeyer in Reihen angeordnet, die vom Reichszentrum, den Stammlanden, nach NO, NW, SW und SO verlaufen, auf der Susa-Statue wären das nach Calmeyer die Stammlande 1-3, NO 4-12, NW 13-17, SW 18-22 und SO 23-24, ähnlich sind nach Justi die Listen DPe und DB geordnet, was Calmeyer mit

merkwürdig »gemischte« Anordnung können wir noch an zwei weiteren Reliefs und in einer Inschrift von Persepolis beobachten: an den Thronträgern des Zentralgebäudes (Persepolis E) und Hundertsäulensaals (Persepolis M) und in der Xerxes-Inschrift XPh, darüber hat bereits Herzfeld 1910 vergeblich gegrübelt³⁵.

Er hatte beobachtet, dass die Apadana-Reliefs das Vorbild für die Thronträger am Zentralgebäude und Hundertsäulensaal sind, dort sind die gleichen Völker in fast der gleichen Reihenfolge angeordnet, nur hat man fünf weitere Völker hinzugefügt³⁶, weil die Thronreliefs einige Jahre später als der Apadana-Palast geschaffen wurden und inzwischen das Imperium um einige neue Völker gewachsen war. An den Türwangen des Hundertsäulensaals (Abb. 3) hat man diese nunmehr 28 Völker auf zwei Seiten zu je 14 Personen verteilt. Herzfeld und Walser haben bemerkt, daß dabei einige Umstellungen stattgefunden haben und rügten dies als Unachtsamkeit der Künstler. Diese »Unachtsamkeit« scheint mir aber der Schlüssel für die Erklärung des »gemischten« Ordnungsprinzips zu sein. Auf großartigen Monumenten wie diesen Kolossalplastiken darf man keine »Fehler« erwarten, und dazu gleich zweimal, denn die Türwangen von M wurden doppelt hergestellt, vielmehr können wir daraus folgendes erschließen: Entscheidend für die Anordnung sind gar nicht die Völker und ihre geographische oder ethnische Zusammengehörigkeit, sondern die an den Apadana-Reliefs in schöner Regelmäßigkeit einander abwechselnden persischen und medischen »Einführer«³⁷ der Delegationen. Überträgt man die Nummern der

Recht anzweifelt. Ein ähnliches System hat Koch 1997: 71 ausgetiftelt. Calmeyer 1982: 135 entwickelt wenig überzeugend für XPh ein Rahmensystem. Nach Tourovets 2001: 252 mit Karte fig. 11 versteht sich die Anordnung der Apadanadelegationen als Folge von 5 konzentrischen Zonen, doch halte ich das ebenfalls nicht für überzeugend.

³⁵ Als Herzfeld 1932 die Inschrift XPh entdeckte und sich in Herzfeld 1936: 71 erneut mit dem Problem der merkwürdig geordneten Länderliste beschäftigte, empfand er sie als »Durcheinander«, das durch den »Verfall« der Kultur unter Xerxes hervorgerufen sei, dem Walser 1966: 39 zustimmt.

³⁶ Zur Osttür des Zentralgebäudes E siehe Schmidt 1970 I: 107, pl. 77-81, zu den Südtüren des Hundertsäulensaals M siehe Schmidt 1970 I: 129, pl. 102-113. Die Datierung dieser Reliefs s.u. Nachzeichnungen der Thronträgerreliefs an den Türwangen des Zentralgebäudes E findet man bei Herzfeld 1910: 42, Abb. 9. Die Türwangen des Hundertsäulensaals M hat Walser 1966: 62-63, Abb. 5-6 neu gezeichnet (hier Abb. 3), Koch 1996: 164, 171, 175 mit Zeichnungen p. 168, 172, 176, Fotos bei Ghirshman 1964: 198, pl. 246.

³⁷ Walser 1966: 68; Hinz 1976 II: 87 bezeichnen diese Würdenträger als Einführer oder Herold, und vermuten, dass es sich um wenige Personen handelte, die nacheinander die Delegationen heranleiteten, Koch 1996: 164 vermutet bereits, dass es sich um die Satrapen handelt.

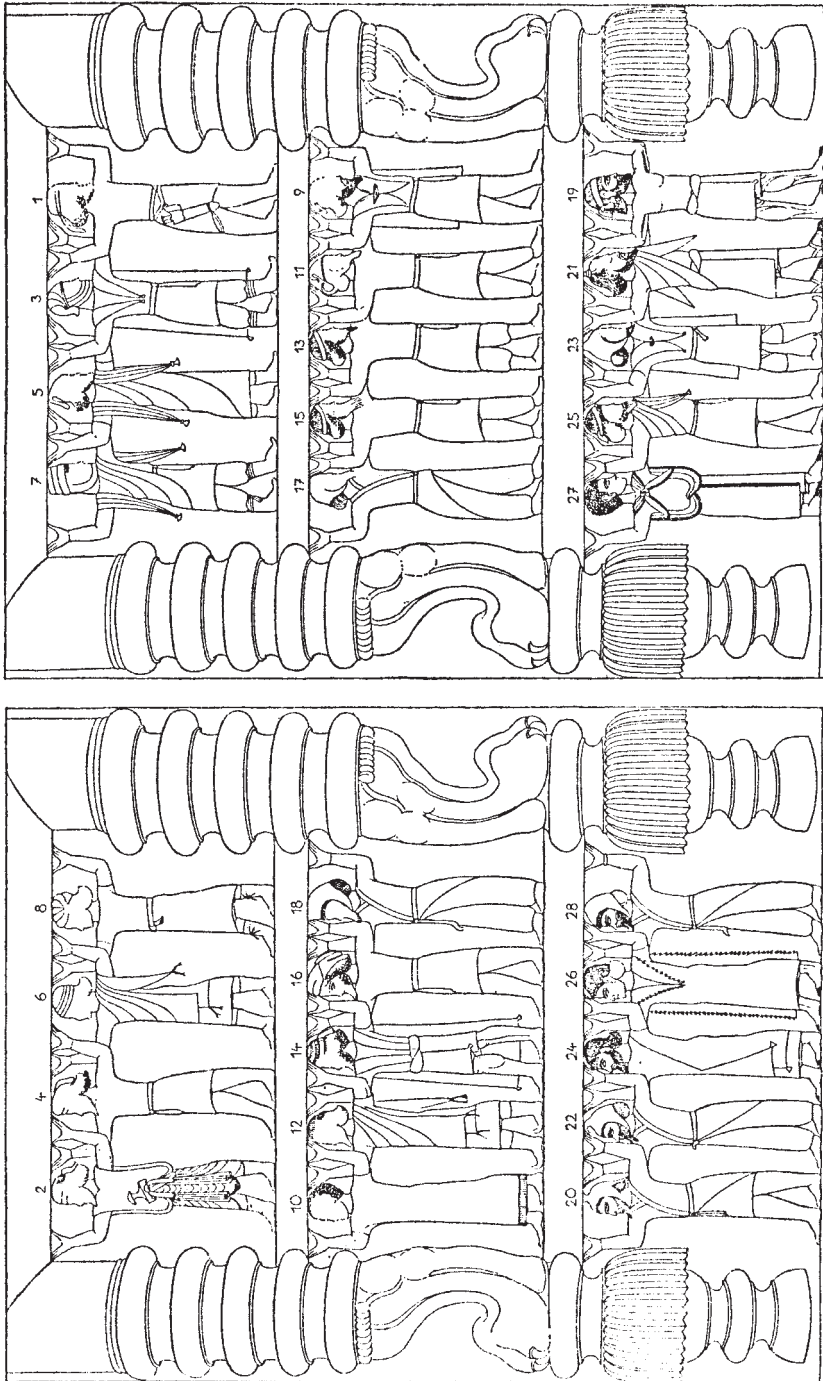


Abb. 3. Türwangen des Hundertsäulensaals (nach Walser 1966).

Apadana-Delegationen auf die Thronträger und fügt jeweils die Volkszugehörigkeit des »Einführers« hinzu (P = Perser, M = Meder, ×1-×5 steht für die neu hinzugekommenen Völker), so kommen an der westlichen und östlichen Türwange folgende Völker zu stehen³⁸:

Westseite ³⁹	Ostseite
1P 4P 5M 7M	2M 3P 6P 8P
9M ×1 15M 13M 19M	10P 12P 14P 16P ×4
18P ×2 ×3 17M 23M	21M 11M 20P 22P ×5

Deutlich überwiegen auf der Westseite die medischen Einführer (8 Meder gegenüber 3 Persern + 3 unbekannt) und auf der Ostseite die persischen (9 Perser gegenüber 3 Medern + 2 unbekannt), und daraus dürfen wir auf das Ordnungsschema schließen, dass alle Völker auf der Türwange zur Rechten einheitlich von persischen und alle auf der Türwange zur Linken einheitlich von medischen Einführern geleitet wurden. Die »Unachtsamkeit«, daß drei am Apadana von Persern angeführte Völker auf der Linken zu stehen kommen und 2 von Medern angeführte auf der Rechten, läßt sich am besten durch eine Umverteilung der Zuständigkeit erklären: Man hat den medischen »Einführern« drei Völker (1 Medien, 4 Zranka und 18 Hindu) neu

³⁸ Die Thronträger an den Türwangen von Persepolis E und M sind in drei waagerechten Reihen angeordnet, dagegen an den Grabreliefs in zwei Reihen.

³⁹ Die Reliefs befinden sich an den beiden Südeingängen des Hundertsäulensaales. Man muß die Reliefs der beiden Türwangen als Teile der riesigen Thronkline betrachten. Die Völkerschaften und der thronende König schauen nach Norden in den Saal hinein. Von vorn angesichts des darauf thronenden Großkönigs gesehen bildet die östliche Laibung mit den persischen Satrapen die rechte und die westliche Laibung mit den medischen Satrapen die linke Seite der Kline ab. Eine vergleichbare Darstellung sind die Thronträger am Sockel der oben besprochenen Susa-Statue. Das Relief mit den iranischen Reichsvölkern befindet sich auf der rechten Seite des Sockels, das mit den Nichtiranern an der linken Seite. Betrachtet man aber beide Reliefpaare vom Großkönig gesehen aus, dann befinden sich die persischen Satrapen und die iranischen Reichsvölker auf dessen linker Seite und die medischen Satrapen sowie die Nichtiraner auf dessen rechter Seite. Nach Müller 1987: 230 gilt die rechte Seite als die Männerseite. Ich verdanke dies Zitat Karin Hörner. Nach Khaleghi-Motlaghi 1989a bedeutet ein Sitz neben dem König an der rechten Seite einen höheren Rang als an der linken. Eine ähnliche Aufteilung der Satrapen beobachtet man an den Treppen der Paläste Persepolis H und F, wo die persischen und medischen Satrapen mit den Delegationen sich von 2 Seiten entgegenkommen. Im Wohnhaus der Kafiren/Nuristaner Afghanistans hat der Hausherr seinen Sitz an der Rückwand, der Eingangstür gegenüber. Zu seiner Linken ist der Ehrenplatz für die Männer, rechts für die Frauen. Klimburg 1999, p. 287, fig. 95.

zugeteilt, und den persischen ebenfalls drei Völker (2 Elam, 11 Saka tigraxauda und 21 Choresmien). Von den neuerworbenen Gebieten erhielten die medischen »Einführer« drei ($\times 1-3$), die persischen aber zwei ($\times 4-5$). Beachtet man, daß am Apadana wegen der ungeraden Zahl der Delegationen die Perser ein Volk mehr (12 Völker) anführen als die Meder (11 Völker), so spürt man die politische Kraft, die hier am Wirken ist: Es wird ein Proporz eingehalten, der beiden Völkern gleiche Anrechte sichert, doch wo dies möglich ist, werden die Perser ein wenig bevorzugt. Wenn aber den die Delegationen anführenden Persern und Medern ein so großes Gewicht zugemessen wird, dass sie ausschlaggebend sind für die Komposition der Apadana-Reliefs und für die Verteilung an den Türwangen des Hundertsäulensaales, dann waren diese »Einführer« keine unbedeutenden Hofchargen, die nur vorübergehend bei der Festveranstaltung im Palast die Delegationen zum König geleiteten, es müssen ganz wichtige politische Größen gewesen sein, nämlich die Satrapen selbst. Die Delegationen stellen also die Satrapien dar, wodurch das Fehlen einer persischen Delegation erklärt wird, denn Parsa wurde, wie Herodot⁴⁰ uns berichtet, nicht als Satrapie von einem Satrapen verwaltet, sondern unterstand persönlich dem Großkönig. Allerdings waren die Perser das wichtigste Reichsvolk und sind deshalb an der Susastatue, an den Grabreliefs und in anderen Völkerlisten an erster Stelle aufgeführt. Wir müssen also zwischen Darstellungen, bzw. Listen der Satrapien und der Reichsvölker unterscheiden.

Wir erfahren aus dieser Beobachtung, daß die Satrapen ebenso wie die Stammesfürsten, die stehende Armee und die Priesterschaft im Proporz aus Persern und Medern zusammengestellt waren. Es ist bereits häufig beobachtet worden, daß auf zwei Reliefs von Persepolis persische und medische Adlige als Teilnehmer der königlichen Parade dargestellt sind, einmal vermischt zusammen stehend am Apadana, das andere Mal getrennt, die Perser zur Rechten und die Meder zur Linken, die Treppen zum Zentralgebäude (Persepolis E) hinaufsteigend⁴¹. Ihren Rang und ihre freie Ungezwungenheit

⁴⁰ Nach Herodot III,97 war Parsa steuerfrei und keine Satrapie, Klinkott 2006: 59-60, Bichler 2000: 287 mit Fußnote 78 (ich verdanke den Hinweis auf diese beiden Publikationen Josef Wiesehöfer) und Gschnitzer 1988.

⁴¹ Beschreibung dieser Reliefs bei Olmstead 1948: 276 mit pl. 38 Apadana und p. 180 mit pl. 27a Zentralgebäude. Die dargestellten Adligen sind Fürsten über Stammesverbände des persischen und medischen Volkes. Eine derartige Fürstenversammlung trat in Afghanistan noch 1956 zusammen, um über die Pashtunenfrage zu diskutieren, sie wird dort Loya Jirga genannt. Hinz 1976 II: 79-121 erwähnt diese Fürstenversammlung nicht,

demonstrieren diese Adligen, indem sie sich in angeregtem Gespräch hin und herwenden, an den Händen oder auf die Schulter fassen und Rosen zum Riechen entgegenhalten. Sie sind zu keiner strammen Haltung verpflichtet wie die königliche Garde⁴². Diese höchsten Würdenträger des Staates waren die Stammesfürsten, Höflinge und Berater des Großkönigs, sein Gefolge im Palast bestand also aus Persern und Medern. Daß auch das persische Heer aus Truppen beider Völker zusammengesetzt war, berichtet Dareios in der Bisotun-Inschrift⁴³, er besiegte mit dieser Armee die Aufstände in Babylonien, Medien und Persien nach seiner Thronbesteigung. Das gleiche scheint für die Priesterschaft der *magu* zuzutreffen⁴⁴. Die Verteilung der höchsten Ämter an Angehörige der beiden Völker geht auf Kyros II. zurück, der durch diesen diplomatischen Zug nach dem Sieg über den Mederkönig Astyages

obwohl Herodot III,80-82 ausführlich neben der Monarchie auch die Möglichkeit der Regierung durch eine Fürstenversammlung oder eine Oligarchie ausgewählter Adliger diskutiert. Man sollte in Anbetracht der Persepolisreliefs diese Verfassungsdiskussion bei Herodot ernst nehmen, Bichler 2000: 281 mit Fußnote 66. Zum Hofstaat der Achämeniden Dandamayev 1993.

⁴² Die erste Tausendschaft des stehenden Heeres, der Garde der »Zehntausend Unsterblichen«, sehen wir am Beginn der königlichen Parade am Apadana, sie war ausschließlich aus Persern rekrutiert: Hinz 1976 II: 138, Ghirshman 1964: 172, pl. 218; Olmstead 1948: pl. 31.

⁴³ Bisotun-Inschrift DB §25, 33, 41: *kâra Pârsa utâ Mâda*, »das persische und medische Heer«, gemeint ist der Kern der Reichsarmee, die übrigen neun Tausendschaften der Garde der »Zehntausend Unsterblichen«. Diese waren eine aus Persern und Medern zusammengestellte Armee und sind am Apadana auf der Tafel im Zentrum der Treppe dargestellt, Olmstead 1948: pl.37; Hinz 1976 II: 137, Abb. p. 136; Head 1992: 20. Die von Herodot, Xenophon und Arrian beschriebenen Armeen, die mit Xerxes gegen Griechenland, mit Artaxerxes II gegen den Rebellen Kyros und mit Dareios III gegen Alexander kämpften, waren durch Kontingente aus allen Satrapien verstärkt.

⁴⁴ Auf den Apadana-Reliefs werden mehrfach medische und persische Würdenträger mit übereinandergelegten Händen dargestellt: Hinz 1976 II: 78, Abb. 27, p.76 Abb. 26 links hinter dem Kronprinzen und rechts hinter dem Lanzenträger. Die gleiche Handhaltung kann auf ägyptischen Monumenten der Perserzeit häufig beobachtet werden, sie wird als »Persian gesture« bezeichnet, Bothmer 1969: 68; Hinz 1976: 208-9. Diese Ägypter sind aber alle Priester. Daher vermute ich, dass auch die persischen und medischen Würdenträger mit dieser Handhaltung Priester, *magu*, sind. Dies wird bestätigt durch den Vergleich des Apadana-Reliefs mit dem Afrasiab-Fresko (s.o.), wo an entsprechender Stelle die Würdenträger durch das Mundtuch *padan* deutlich als Priester gekennzeichnet sind. Wie von Gall 1972: 263, 277 feststellt, zählen die antiken Chronisten die Magier mal zu den persischen und mal zu den medischen Stämmen, das würde mit den Persepolisreliefs übereinstimmen. Das von Herodot III,79 berichtete Massaker an den Magiern, die *magu-phonía* vor Dareios' I. Thronbesteigung, hatte wohl nur geringe Folgen und hinderte die Priester nicht, bei feierlichen Paraden in Erscheinung zu treten, Bichler 2000: 281 mit Fußnote 58.

ein dauerhaftes vertrauensvolles Bündnis mit den unterworfenen Gegnern erreichte⁴⁵. Daß jedoch auch ein so wichtiges Amt im Staate wie die Würde der Satrapen, die im Rang sogleich unter dem Großkönig und seiner Ministerrunde standen, an Adlige beider Völker vergeben wurde, erfahren wir erst durch die Apadana-Reliefs.

Der Satrap⁴⁶ verwaltete mit sehr großen Vollmachten ausgestattet ein Staatsgebiet, das häufig vor der Eroberung ein unabhängiges Königreich gewesen war. Außer der Zivilverwaltung und Steuereinzahlung unterstand ihm auch eine kleine Armee, um die persische Macht zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Er residierte in einem Palast mit königlichem Hofstaat, und es kam nicht selten vor, dass ein Satrap sich Ehren anmaßte, die dem Großkönig vorbehalten waren, sodass ein wirkungsvolles System der geheimen Überwachung und notfalls der Bestrafung, die »Augen und Ohren des Königs«, die Zentralregierung schützen mußte⁴⁷. Ein weiteres Mittel der Überwachung waren die in Abständen von 3 oder 6 Jahren durchgeführten Neuverteilungen und Umbesetzungen des Satrapenamtes. Auch darüber geben uns die Reliefs und Inschriften von Persepolis Auskünfte:

3. Drei Neuverteilungen der Satrapien

Die vier »gemischten« Länderlisten und -darstellungen (hinzu kommen noch die beiden Treppenreliefs Artaxerxes' I. in Persepolis H und Artaxerxes' III in Persepolis I, die aber so stark beschädigt sind, daß sie hier nicht berücksichtigt werden konnten, obwohl die Delegationen auch hier von den Satrapen angeführt werden) sind also Satrapienlisten im Gegensatz zu den meistens ethnisch oder geographisch geordneten Listen der Reichsvölker. Aus den Abweichungen in der Reihenfolge dieser »gemischten« Satrapienlisten

⁴⁵ Olmstead 1948: 37.

⁴⁶ zum Wort Satrap siehe Schmitt 1976; Klinkott 2006: 59-67; Klinkott 2005: 28ff; Kleiner Pauly 1979, 4: 1564-1565 s.v. Satrap (Duchesne-Guillemin); Hinz 1976 II: 109 »Satrap«; Lehmann-Haupt, Pauly-Wissowa Suppl. 1921: 82ff; Wiesehöfer 2002: 59-62. R. Schmitt weist darauf hin, dass in den altpersischen Inschriften das Wort »Satrapie« nicht vorkommt, es wird immer nur von »Völkern«, dahyu, gesprochen. Doch in den aramäischen Dokumenten der Achämenidenzeit ist das Wort wohl belegt: Olmstead 1948: 158: aram. Gewichtsaufschrift »exact according to the satrapy of the king« CIS II 108,

⁴⁷ Olmstead 1948: 59; Frye 1972: 89. Nach Klinkott 2005: 45 waren die Satrapen lebenslänglich im Amt, falls sie nicht in Ungnade fielen, von der Umbesetzung mit neu zugeteilten Provinzen schreibt er nichts. Auch den Proporz zwischen Medern und Persern behandelt er nicht.

können wir über den eng begrenzten Zeitraum von 495 bis 480 drei Neuverteilungen der Satrapien beobachten. Ausgehend von den Apadana-Reliefs, die während des Jonischen Aufstandes um 495 v.Chr. entstanden, sind das:

1. die Reihenfolge der Thronträgerliste des Zentralgebäudes Persepolis E, konzipiert am Ende der Regierungszeit des Dareios um 490-486⁴⁸,
2. die der Thronträgerliste des Hundertsäulensaales Persepolis M, wahrscheinlich zu Beginn der Regierung des Xerxes um 485 entstanden, und
3. die der Länderliste des Xerxes in der Inschrift XPh, die nach dem gleichen »gemischten« Prinzip zusammengestellt wurde. Sie ist nach Herzfelds Meinung vor dem Griechenfeldzug geschrieben, ist wahrscheinlich aber erst um 475 v.Chr. anzusetzen.

Die 1. Umverteilung um 490 v. Chr. am Zentralgebäude Persepolis E war geringfügig und führte zu so wenigen Veränderungen, dass Herzfeld 1910 mit Hilfe der gleichen Reihenfolge der Völker die Frage klären konnte, ob die Apadanareliefs in drei waagerechten Registern angeordnet seien oder in 8 senkrechten Kolumnen⁴⁹. Die Mehrzahl der Thronträger treten in gleicher Reihenfolge wie die Delegationen am Apadana auf, die Satrapen wurden wohl im Amt belassen, für die Satrapien 4 bis 28 bilden sie eine regelmäßige Folge persischer und medischer Satrapen. Aber auf die ersten drei Satrapien trifft dies nicht zu, dort war am Apadana ein zusätzlicher Perser zwischengeschoben worden. Hier müssen die Stellen neubesetzt worden sein. Dadurch begann die neue Liste anders als auf den Apadana-Reliefs mit einem medischen Satrapen. Auf den Proporz hatte das keinen Einfluß, da die Anzahl der Satrapien jetzt eine gerade Zahl hatte. Es gab aber auch weitere Veränderungen: Die Satrapie der Saka (11M der Apadana-Reliefs, jetzt 22P, mit M und P bezeichne ich wie oben die medischen und persischen Satrapen) wurde umgestellt und auch umbesetzt. Die fünf neu hinzugefügten Satrapien (×1-×5) wurden auf die Plätze 11M, 18P, 21M, 23M und 28P verteilt. In der Gruppe von 17M bis 25M wurden die Satrapien der Skudra (19M am Apadana, jetzt 17M), Hindu (18P der Apadana-Reliefs, jetzt 19M), Choresmien (21M am Apadana, jetzt 20P) und Sogdien (17M am Apadana, jetzt 25M) umbesetzt. Trotz des anfänglichen Eindrucks großer Übereinstimmung erkennen wir somit acht Neubesetzungen, außerdem die fünf neu hinzugefügten Satrapien, also 13 Abweichungen.

⁴⁸ Zur Datierung der Thronszene s.u.

⁴⁹ s.o. Note 4.

Die Identifizierung der neu hinzugefügten Satrapien (×1-×5) bereitet einiges Kopfzerbrechen⁵⁰. Hilfe bieten (A) Dareios' I. späteste und Xerxes' älteste Inschriften⁵¹, sowie (B) die beschrifteten Thronträger an den ebenfalls in diese Zeit datierenden Gräbern der beiden Könige. (Abb. 4)

Thronträger 21M/×2 hat deutlich indische Tracht wie (B) am Dareiosgrab (dort Thronträger 12) der Gandarer. Die Satrapie Gandara wird (A) in allen späten Inschriften genannt und war also wieder erobert worden (von Walser 1966: 55 und Hinz 1969: 111 wird der Thronträger als Sattagyde bezeichnet).

Zu den 4 Völkern in »skythischer« Tracht am Apadana, den Delegationen 11, 17, 19 und 21, die wir auf Persepolis E mit den Thronträgern 22, 17, 23 und 25 identifizieren können, gesellen sich zwei neue hinzu, die Thronträger 18P/×4 und 28P/×5. In den Inschriften (A) werden 4 neue sakische Völker genannt, aber nur zwei zeigt das Grabrelief (B). Die in (A) und (B) hinzugefügten Saka haumavarga können wir mit dem Thronträger 18P/×4 identifizieren (von Walser 1966 p.55 und Hinz 1969 als Skythen bzw. Choresmier bezeichnet). Das andere neue Saka-Volk des Dareiosgrabes (B) ist dort Thronträger 24, die Saka tyaiy paradraya »Saken jenseits des Meeres«. Bisher hat man sie mit den Skythen jenseits des Schwarzen Meeres identifiziert, die Dareios 513 v.Chr. vergeblich angriff und nie seinem Imperium angliederte, und man hat ihre Einfügung am Grabrelief als Anmaßung des Großkönigs gerügt⁵². Doch eine genaue Beobachtung der Inschriften (A) kann seinen Ruf der Aufrichtigkeit rehabilitieren. Gemeint sind nicht die Skythen jenseits des Schwarzen Meeres, sondern die jenseits

⁵⁰ Versuche, die in Persepolis Palast E und M dargestellten Völker zu identifizieren, stammen von Herzfeld 1910: 42-45; Walser 1966: 66-67; Tourovets 2001; Hinz 1969: 110-111 und Calmeyer 1982: 139, 145. Ausführliche Veröffentlichung durch Schmidt 1970 I: 117-120: Gebäude E und p. 135-136: Gebäude M, er hat die Völker nach Trachten geordnet.

⁵¹ Die fragmentarischen Inschriften DSe und DSm, sowie die »Palastbau-Inschrift« DSf sind offenbar zeitgleich (bald nach dem Jonischen Aufstand) und nennen die 5 neu hinzugekommenen Völker, ebenso die etwas späteren Inschriften DNa und XPh. Es sind Jonien, Hellespontisches Jonien (yauna tyaiy drayahya uta tyaiy paradraya, yauna takabara), Karien, Gandara, Saka haumavarga, Saka tyaiy paradraya, Daha und Akaufaciya. Über die Thronträger Vogelsang 1992: 136-143.

⁵² Die Saka paradraya nennt Hinz 1969: 106 (Taf.46) »pontische Saken«, p. 98 »Saken jenseits des [Schwarzen] Meeres«. Meines Wissens hat sie zuerst Nagel 1983: 171 mit den transkaspischen Saken und insbesondere den Daha identifiziert, ihm folgen Jacobs 1994: 257 und Bichler 2000: 293 mit Fußnote 96. Zu ähnlichen Identifizierungen der sakischen Völker gelangt Jacobs 2007.

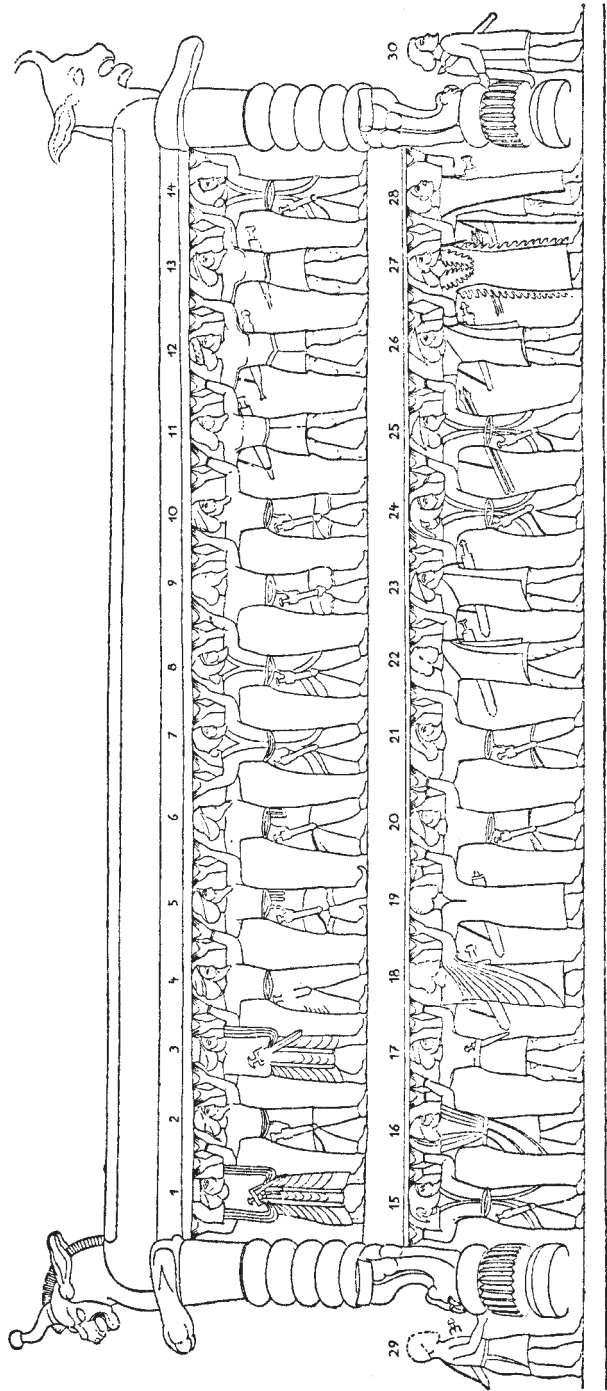


Abb. 4. Thronkline des Dareiosgraves in Naqsh-e Rostam (nach Walser 1966).

des Kaspischen Meeres! In der Inschrift (A) des Xerxes fehlen sie nämlich und sind ersetzt durch zwei bisher ungenannte Völker, die Daha und Akaufaciya, und die wohnten jenseits des Kaspischen Meeres. Den Namen der Daha trägt noch heute das westliche Turkmenien (Dehestan), dort sind sie aber erst im 3. Jh. v. Chr. von Norden kommend eingewandert⁵³, als sie die Satrapie Parthien eroberten und die arsakidische Dynastie gründeten. Im Avesta dagegen gelten sie als nördlichstes iranisches Volk⁵⁴ und das läßt erschließen, dass ihre Heimat ursprünglich an der Wolgamündung lag. Westlich davon hat die Landschaft Qifcaq am Nordhang des Kaukasus den Namen der Akaufaciya bewahrt⁵⁵. Die antiken Historiker berichten von keinen Feldzügen des Dareios und Xerxes über den Kaukasus oder von dem heutigen Uzbekistan aus an die Wolgamündung, doch auch die Rebellion von Gandara gleichzeitig mit dem Jonischen Aufstand wird von den Historikern nicht erwähnt, über Angelegenheiten im östlichen iranischen Gebiet berichteten die iranischen Chronisten immer sehr vorsichtig. Ich halte den Thronträger 28P/×5 für den Repräsentanten des ersten der im Gebiet der Saka tyaiy paradraya schon unter Dareios I. eroberten Völker, der Daha, denen Xerxes am Anfang seiner Regierung die Akaufaciya hinzufügte (von Walser 1966: 55 und Hinz 1969 werden sie als Saka haumavarga bzw. richtig als Daha bezeichnet). Möglicherweise wurden diese außerordentlich kriegesischen Völker durch Verhandlungen auf diplomatischem Wege dem Imperium angegliedert.

Bleiben noch die beiden Thronträger 11M/×1 und 23M/×3 in westlicher Tracht. Die Inschriften (A) und das Grabrelief (B) zählen 3 verbleibende Völker auf, Jonien, Hellespontisches Jonien (yauna tyaiy drayahya uta tyaiy paradraya oder yauna takabara) und Karien. Thronträger 23M/×3 kann zweifelsfrei auf dem Grabrelief mit dem Karer (dort Thronträger 30 neben dem Stuhlbein) identifiziert werden (von Walser 1966: 55 und Hinz 1969 wird er als Skythe bzw. Thraker bezeichnet). Dann muss der Thronträger 11M/×1 der Jonier sein. Den Joniern teilen das Grabrelief (B) und die Inschriften (A) zwei Satrapien zu, doch die Inschrift des Xerxes faßt

⁵³ s.u. Anhang.

⁵⁴ In der Avestahymne Yt.13,143-144 werden die iranischen Völker der 5 Himmelsrichtungen aufgezählt, 1. (Zentrum) die Iraner, 2. (Osten) die Turaner, 3. (Westen) die Sarmaten, 4. (Süden) die Sani (möglicherweise Vorfahren der Kumzar auf der Halbinsel Oman, Morgenstierne 1958: 175), 5. (Norden) die Daha. Die Vorstellung von 5 Himmelsrichtungen ist in Iran mehrfach belegt, Gropp 1993: 66-69, s.a. Gropp 2007a.

⁵⁵ s.u. Anhang.

die Jonier als »Jonier des Meeres und jenseits des Meeres« in einer Satrapie zusammen, dies scheint bereits auf unserem Relief dokumentiert zu sein (von Walser 1966: 55 und Hinz 1969 wird er als Saka paradraya oder Saka tigraxauda bezeichnet).

Wir können also die Thronträger am Zentralgebäude Persepolis E folgendermaßen identifizieren (umbesetzte Satrapien fett, Nummer des Apadanareliefs zum Vergleich in Klammern):

1M. Medien (1P)	15M. Arachosien (15M)
2P. Elam (2M)	16P. Parthien (16P)
3M. Armenien (3P)	17M. Skudra (19M)
4P. Zranka (4P)	18P. Saka haumavarga (×4)
5M. Babylonien (5M) ⁵⁶	19M. Hindu (18P)
6P. Lydien (6P)	20P. Choresmien (21M)
7M. Haraiwa (7M)	21M. Gandara (×2)
8P. Assyrien (8P)	22P. Saka tigraxauda (11M)
9M. Kappadokien (9M)	23M. Karien (×3)
10P. Ägypten (10P)	24P. Arabien (20P)
11M Jonien und Hellespont (×1)	25M. Sogdien (17M)
12P. Maka (12P)	26P. Libyen (22P)
13M. Baktrien (13M)	27M. Nubien (23M)
14P. Sattagydien (14P)	28P. Daha (×5)

Die 2. Umverteilung um 485 v. Chr. ist uns am Hundertsäulensaal bereits aufgefallen und war Ausgangspunkt für diese Studie (s.o.). Nur vier Satrapien wurden umbesetzt. Zranka und Armenien bekamen neue Satrapen, vielleicht auch Arachosien und Baktrien, falls die beiden bisherigen Satrapen nicht in der Rangliste umgestuft wurden.

Die Völker am Hundertsäulensaal Persepolis M lassen sich entsprechend identifizieren (umbesetzte Satrapien fett, Nummer am Zentralgebäude in Klammern)

⁵⁶ Befremdend erscheint zunächst die Beobachtung, daß Babylonien unter Dareios von medischen Satrapen verwaltet wurde, wissen wir doch, daß diese Satrapie Residenz des Kronprinzen war. Doch seit dem Jonischen Aufstand war der Kronprinz Xerxes als Mitregent des Großkönigs nicht länger Satrap, das Amt muß vorübergehend an einen sehr verdienten medischen Adligen vergeben worden sein. Die Xerxes-Liste läßt wieder auf einen persischen Satrapen schließen, offenbar hat der König kurz nach seiner Thronbesteigung den neuen Kronprinzen in Babylonien eingewiesen.

1M. Medien (1M)	15M. Baktrien (13M)
2P. Elam (2P)	16P. Parthien (16P)
3M. Zranka (4P)	17M. Skudra (17M)
4P. Armenien (3M)	18P. Saka haumavarga (18P)
5M. Babylonien (5M)	19M. Hindu (19M)
6P. Lydien (6P)	20P. Choresmien (20P)
7M. Haraiwa (7M)	21M. Gandara (21M)
8P. Assyrien (8P)	22P. Saka tigraxauda (22P)
9M. Kappadokien (9M)	23M. Karien (23M)
10P. Ägypten (10P)	24P. Arabien (24P)
11M. Jonien und Hellespont (11M)	25M. Sogdien (25M)
12P. Maka (12P)	26P. Libyen (26P)
13M. Arachosien (15M)	27M. Nubien (27M)
14P. Sattagydien (14P)	28P. Daha (28P)

Die 3. Umverteilung 480 ist sehr tiefgreifend und deutlich. Nur 9 Satrapen blieben im Amt, die restlichen 20 wurden neu ernannt. Da es sonst einen Proporz von 51 Prozent für die Meder ergeben hätte, muß die Liste wieder mit einem persischen Satrapen begonnen haben. Auf die Stammlande Medien und Elam folgt noch vor Armenien die Satrapie Arachosien und nach dem wichtigen Land am Ararat das am Apadana so weit in den Vordergrund gestellte Zranka im Kreise der anderen ostiranischen Satrapien - Haraiwa, Parthien, Baktrien, Sogdien und Choresmien. Erst an Stelle 11 erscheint das Land des Kronprinzen, Babylonien, zusammen mit Assyrien, Sattagydien am Indus, dem strategisch bedeutsamen Lydien und Ägypten. Das politisch kritische Jonien hat wieder ein Meder erhalten, wohl ein sehr verantwortungsvoller Mann. Als neues Volk werden (x6) die Akaufaciya hinzugefügt, die wir als Nachbarn der Daha am Kaukasus lokalisieren möchten.

Die Satrapienliste XPh lautet (umbesetzte Satrapien fett, Nummer am Hundertsäulensaal in Klammern)

1P. Medien (1M)	16M. Jonien und Hellespont (11M)
2M. Elam (2P)	17P. Maka (12P)
3P. Arachosien (13M)	18M. Arabien (24P)
4M. Armenien (4P)	19P. Gandara (21M)
5P. Haraiwa (7M)	20M. Hindu (19M)
6M. Parthien (16P)	21P. Kappadokien (9M)

7P. Zranka (3M)	22M. Daha (28P)
8M. Baktrien (15M)	23P. Saka haumavarga (18P)
9P. Sogdien (17M)	24M. Saka tigraxauda (22P)
10M. Choresmien (20P)	25P. Skudra (17M)
11P. Babylonien (5M)	26M. Akaufaciya (×6)
12M. Assyrien (8P)	27P. Libyen (26P)
13P. Sattagydien (14P)	28M. Karien (23M)
14M. Lydien (6P)	29P. Nubien (27M)
15P. Ägypten (10P)	

Die Neuverteilung und Umbesetzung der Satrapien wurde unter Dareios II. (424-404 v.Chr.) und seinen Nachfolgern stark vernachlässigt und mehrere Satrapenämter wurden erblich. Daher kam es nur zu bald zu gefährlichen Rebellionen, unter denen das Reich im 4. Jahrhundert zu leiden hatte⁵⁷. Alexander d.Gr., Perdikkas und Antipater haben deshalb sofort den in Vergessenheit geratenen Brauch der Satrapieverteilung erneuert.

Bei der Betrachtung der soeben besprochenen Satrapen-Umbesetzungen haben wir die Reliefs am Apadana, Zentralgebäude E und Hundertsäulensaal M in die Übergangszeit vom späten Dareios I. zum frühen Xerxes datiert, das steht in krassem Widerspruch zu den Studien von Calmeyer 1976, von Gall 1974 und Shahbazi 1976⁵⁸. Tilia 1972 hatte bei

⁵⁷ Weiskopf 1989.

⁵⁸ Die Schatzhausreliefs (Schmidt 1970 I: 156, pl. 119-123, zur Datierung p. 158; Ghirshman 1964: 205-206, pl.255) wurden in Gebäude Persepolis B entdeckt, einem Wohnpalast Dareios' I., der später von Xerxes teilweise abgerissen und überbaut wurde. Schmidt 1939: 20-32 und Schmidt 1970 I: 162-169 identifizierte die auf den Reliefs dargestellten Könige als Dareios I und seinen Mitregenten Xerxes in der späten Regierungszeit von 495 bis 486 v.Chr. So auch Olmstead 1948: 215. Auch die Reliefs am Zentralgebäude Persepolis E mit der gleichen Darstellung datierte Schmidt 1970 I: 116 in diese Zeit. Als Tilia 1972a feststellte, die Reliefs hätten anfangs als Mittelteil der Apadanatreppen gedient und seien von dort entfernt worden, meinten von Gall 1974 und Shahbazi 1976, weil sie die Apadanatreppen in die Zeit des Xerxes datierten, die beiden dargestellten Könige seien Xerxes und der Kronprinz Daraeios. Nach dessen Beseitigung während der Palastrevolte Artaxerxes' I. sei das Relief vom Treppenzentrum des Apadana entfernt und in das Schatzhaus verbannt worden. Als Argument gegen die Gleichsetzung der Herrscher mit Dareios I. und Xerxes dient von Gall die Abwesenheit der Waffenträger Gobryas und Aspathines auf dem Schatzhausrelief, obwohl sie am Bisotun- und Grabrelief dargestellt sind. Das ist wenig überzeugend, da die Audienz unter dem Baldachin im Palastinneren sehr wohl in anderer Weise komponiert werden konnte als eine kriegerische oder religiöse Demonstration. Die stilkritischen Argumente, besonders auf die Kronen bezogen, überzeugen ebenfalls wenig. Um 1850 hatte Mordtmann analog zu

Restaurierungsarbeiten erkannt, dass die Schatzhausreliefs ursprünglich im Zentrum der beiden Apadanatreppen angebracht waren, aber später in ein anderes Gebäude versetzt wurden. Die drei Gelehrten halten wegen der Inschriften des Xerxes die Apadanatreppen immer noch für Arbeiten aus der Regierungszeit dieses Königs und deshalb können auch ihrer Meinung nach die auf den Schatzhausreliefs abgebildeten Herrscher, der König und sein Mitregent, nicht Dareios I. und Xerxes sein. Xerxes habe sich zusammen mit seinem Kronprinzen Daraeios darstellen lassen, der aber bei dem Regierungswechsel von Artaxerxes I. beseitigt wurde. Danach sei das Bildnis mit dem in Ugnade gefallenen Prinzen nicht mehr tragbar gewesen und wurde in den Innenhof des Schatzhauses verbannt. Am Zentralgebäude Persepolis E seien Artaxerxes I. und sein Kronprinz Dareios (II.) abgebildet. Calmeyer 1976 möchte das wiederholte Auftreten des Thronfolgers auf den Reliefs für ein politisches Hauptthema der Palastkunst ansehen. Doch dabei lassen es alle drei Gelehrten offen, ob es Hinweise darauf gibt, dass die Nachfolger Dareios' I. ihre Kronprinzen überhaupt zu Mitregenten ernannt haben. Nur von Dareios I. wird dies ausdrücklich als etwas Besonderes bei Herodot erwähnt⁵⁹ Wir haben festgestellt, dass die Apadana-Reliefs ikonographisch mit der Gründungsinschrift des Dareios I. zusammengehören, demnach dürfen wir auch die Schatzhausreliefs diesem Herrscher zuordnen. Die im Hundertsäulensaal gefundene Bauinschrift⁶⁰ Artaxerxes' I berichtet, er habe den von seinem Vater Xerxes begonnenen Bau vollendet.

seinen Studien über die Sasanidenmünzen mit Hilfe der Kronen versucht, auch die Achämenidenmünzen zu klassifizieren. Ihm standen aber nur unzureichende Abbildungen und wenig überzeugende Zuweisungen der Achämenidengräber zur Verfügung. Da Numismatik ein kommerzielles Sammlergebiet darstellt, wird dort ungern diskutiert, so hat man seither die Handbücher unverändert nachgedruckt, ohne dass wissenschaftliche Argumente herangezogen werden.

Audienzszenen wie auf den Schatzhausreliefs haben sich unter den Skulpturen des Maussoleum von Halikarnass, Koch 2006: 67, und des Harpienmonuments von Xanthos erhalten, Shahbazi 1975: 17. Zur Audienzdarstellung Briant 1996: 266.

Calmeyer 1976 identifiziert die dargestellten Könige auf den Reliefs des Tripylon Persepolis E als Artaxerxes I. mit Kronprinz Dareios (II.) und den auf den Türwangen des Hundertsäulensaaes Persepolis M thronenden Herrscher ebenfalls als Artaxerxes I., aber in einer späteren Regierungsphase. Warum er in seiner ersten Regierungsphase den Thronfolger darstellen ließ, ihn aber später fortließ, bleibt unklar.

⁵⁹ Herodot VII,2-4: Xerxes wurde von Dareios I. wegen des Jonien- und Ägypten-Feldzuges zum Mitregent erhoben, Olmstead 1948: 214-19 mit Diskussion der Thronreliefs.

⁶⁰ Inschrift A1Pb, nur die akkadische Version erhalten auf einer kleinen Marmortafel, die im Schutt gefunden wurde, aber wohl aus einer Gründungskassette stammt, Herzfeld 1938, p.45, Nr. 22, Tf.XVI.

Die Südtüren können demnach schon in den ersten Jahren Xerxes' entworfen worden sein. Die zeitlich dazwischen liegenden Reliefs am Zentralgebäude sind, wie Herzfeld 1910 erkannte, kurz nach den Apadanareliefs entstanden. Die Entfernung der Schatzhausreliefs von ihrem ursprünglichen Platz kann übrigens auch einen ganz anderen nichtpolitischen Grund haben: Auf der Freitreppe, an deren Fuß die Bilder des Königs zu ebener Erde aufgestellt waren, konnte jeder Besucher emporsteigen und dann über dem Bild des Herrschers stehen. Das mag dem König mißfallen haben, so dass er den Befehl gab, die Reliefs zu entfernen⁶¹. Die Audienzszenen im Zentralgebäude und Hundertsäulensaal sind dann auch in großer Höhe über dem Besucher angebracht worden. Damit werden diese historischen Spekulationen über kriminelle Ereignisse in der Artaxerxeszeit hinfällig.

4. Satrapen

Indem wir die regelmäßige Abfolge der persischen und medischen Satrapen als Grund für die »gemischte« Reihenfolge der Delegationen am Apadana, der Thronträger an Zentralgebäude E und Hundertsäulensaal M sowie der Länderliste in der Xerxesinschrift XPh erkannt haben, ist aber noch keineswegs erklärt, warum man auf eine geographisch-ethnographische Reihenfolge, wie wir sie von den meisten anderen Völkerlisten kennen, verzichtet hat. Es wäre auch bei Beachtung des persisch-medischen Proporztes möglich gewesen, eine einigermaßen geordnete geographische oder ethnische Folge einzuhalten. Doch offenbar gab es noch ein zweites Ordnungsprinzip, das hier wirksam wurde und das die Beachtung der Geographie völlig unmöglich machte. Als man sich entschloß, die Satrapen selbst an der Spitze jeder Delegation abzubilden (allerdings ohne den künstlerischen Ehrgeiz der Porträthaftigkeit), scheinen diese ihren politischen Einfluß geltend gemacht zu haben, dass sie entsprechend ihrer persönlichen Bedeutung möglichst weit vorn in der Reihe zu stehen kamen. So konnten sich die Satrapen von Medien und Elam, die nahe bei den Verwaltungsmetropolen Susa und Persepolis residierten, an die Spitze manövrieren. Am Schluß stehen dagegen Satrapen, die in weiter Ferne im Hinterland amtierten und nur selten in die Hauptstadt

⁶¹ Ein entsprechendes Ereignis schildert die 1865 am Hofe des Königs von Siam wirkende englische Hauslehrerin. Sie sprach mit dem König und wollte ihm schnell ein Buch herbeiholen, stieg dazu die Treppe zum Obergeschoß hinauf und fand bei ihrer Rückkehr den Hofstaat in großem Entsetzen. Sie hatte sich über den Herrscher erhoben. Leonowens 1980: 191; Müller 1987: 82.

reisen konnten. Wahrscheinlich wußten die Besucher die einzelnen Satrapen mit Namen zu benennen. In der Tat gab es Listen mit den Namen der Satrapen, denn Herodot hat uns eine überliefert. Da die Gesichter der Reliefs so streng stilisiert sind, dass sie keine individuellen Züge erkennen lassen, und da außerdem am Zentralgebäude und Hundertsäulensaal die Satrapen selbst gar nicht dargestellt sind, sondern nur ihre Völker, mußte man allerdings wissen, über welches Volk der Satrap herrschte, und dazu benötigte man eine Liste oder einen Erklärungen gebenden Dragoman⁶².

An der Spitze der Prozession standen offensichtlich die mächtigsten Satrapen. Wie wir schon sahen, waren die Stammlande Medien und Elam bestimmt Domänen der ehrwürdigsten Politiker des Reiches. Folgt man der Liste, so wird man in Armenien und Zranka zwei zentral gelegene Brückenköpfe des Staates erkennen, die mit zuverlässigen und geschickten Männern besetzt wurden. Dasselbe gilt für Lydien, Assyrien und Kappadokien. Babylonien und Ägypten gehörten zu den reichsten Ländern des Reiches, wohl auch deshalb wurde die Verwaltung Babyloniens meist dem Kronprinzen überlassen. Beide Länder hatten aber zudem eine uralte Tradition religiös bestimmten Königtums, die an den Satrapen außergewöhnliche diplomatische Anforderungen stellten. Auch die Landschaft Zranka hatte wahrscheinlich eine Tradition religiös begründeten Königtums⁶³. Diese 10 Satrapien waren gewiß mit den mächtigsten Männern des Staates besetzt, daher erscheinen sie auch in der etwas anders zusammengestellten Liste des Xerxes unter den ersten 16 Ländern.

An dieser Stelle kann ich nur einen vorläufigen Versuch machen, die Namenslisten der Satrapen zusammenzustellen. Da die 4 Listen jeweils Angaben über die medische oder persische Volkszugehörigkeit machen, müssen alle bisher bekannten Informationen über diese Personen neu

⁶² In Persepolis und Naqsh-e Rostam hat man Steintafeln mit den Keilschrifttexten der hoch am Felsen angebrachten Inschriften gefunden. Mit ihrer Hilfe lasen Dragomane den Besuchern die Texte vor. Auch Alexander d.Gr. wurde die Grabinschrift Dareios' I. vorgelesen, und der bei Strabo XV,III,8 nach Onesikritos überlieferte Satz steht wirklich am Felsen: »I was a friend to my friends; as horseman and bowman I proved myself superior to all others; as hunter I prevailed; I could do everything«. Die Namenlisten der Satrapen waren den Dragomanen vielleicht auf aramäischen Manuskripten zugänglich. Ein ähnliches Manuskript in griechischer Sprache hat wohl Herodot benutzt. Eine Namenliste seines Ministerkabinetts fügt Dareios I. als §68 der Bisotuninschrift ein. Sehr viel ausführlichere Namenlisten von Würdenträgern enthält Jahrhunderte später die Inschrift des Sasaniden Shapurs I. an der Ka'be-e Zardosht.

⁶³ s.u. Anhang.

gesichtet werden, wozu ich nicht in der Lage bin. Herodot überliefert eine Liste mit den Namen der Satrapen oder Feldherren aus der Zeit nach dem Jonischen Aufstand, also in der Xerxes-Zeit. Für das Apadana-Relief um 497 oder 495 haben wir keinen entsprechenden Text, wir müssen die Liste demnach aus diversen Quellen rekonstruieren. Für die am Apadana abgebildeten Satrapen möchte ich zunächst einen Vorschlag machen und sie mit folgenden Personen identifizieren:

- 1P. Vidarna, Satrap von Medien in den Jahren 19-23, 503-499 v.Chr., Dareios hatte ihn 522 als General gegen den Rebell Fravartiš eingesetzt, dann war er Kabinettsminister⁶⁴.
- 2M. Bagapâna, Satrap von Elam in den Jahren 18-28, 504-494 v.Chr.⁶⁵.
- 3P. Hydarnes I, Satrap von Armenien⁶⁶,
- 4P. NN. Satrap von Zranka⁶⁷
- 5M. Uštani (griech. Hystanes) Satrap von Babylonien seit 520 v.Chr.⁶⁸.
- 6P. Rtafarnah II (griech. Artaphrenes), Satrap von Lydien, 512-492 v.Chr.⁶⁹,
- 7M. Arbamiça, Satrap? von Haraiwa⁷⁰
- 8P. Dâtâna (griech. Tattenai), Satrap von Assyrien und Zypern in Jahr 27, 495 v.Chr.⁷¹.
- 9M. Ariaramnes, Satrap von Kappadokien 510 v.Chr.⁷².
- 10P. Aryandes, Satrap von Ägypten 522-492 v, Chr.⁷³.
- 11M. NN. Satrap der Saken der Sümpfe und Ebenen
- 12P. Cavana, Satrap? von Maka in Jahr 27, 495 v.Chr.⁷⁴.,

⁶⁴ auf elam. Tontafeln als mi-tar-na, mi-tur-na belegt, Koch 1993: 12.

⁶⁵ auf elam. Tontafeln als ba-qa-ba-na belegt, Koch 1993: 8.

⁶⁶ Klinkott 2005: 451, 483; Kleiner Pauly 2: 1258 s.v. Hydarnes (2).

⁶⁷ Koch 1993: 31.

⁶⁸ Klinkott 2005: 453, 483; Olmstead 1948: 116, 120, 129, 133, 162, 191, 199-206, 227.

⁶⁹ auf elam. Tontafeln als ir-da-pir-na belegt, Koch 1993: 6; Klinkott 2005: 469, 485, Bruder des Dareios; Olmstead 1948: 150-1, 154-5; Kleiner Pauly 1979,1: 615 s.v. Artaphrenes (3).

⁷⁰ auf elam. Tontafeln als har-ba-mi-iš-ša belegt, genannt ist auf elam. Tontafeln die Stadt Haraina/har-ri-nu/Herat?, Koch 1993: 32.

⁷¹ auf elam. Tontafeln als da-ut-tan-na belegt, Kypros entspricht elam. Ku-pir-ri-ya-ip, Koch 1993: 22; Klinkott 2005: 457, 483.

⁷² Olmstead 1948: 147.

⁷³ oder Pherendates, falls dieser bereit 511 eingesetzt wurde, Klinkott 2005: 450, 483; Olmstead 1948: 142, 148, 224-5.

⁷⁴ auf elam. Tontafeln als ša-man-na belegt, Koch 1993: 22 oder Jâmâspa/za-ma-aš-ba, Klinkott 2005: 485.

- 13M. Rtabânuš, Satrap von Baktrien in den Jahren 22-28, 500-494 v.Chr.⁷⁵.
- 14P. NN. Satrap von Sattagydien
- 15M. Bagabâduš, Satrap von Arachosien in den Jahren 21-28, 501-494 v.Chr., wohl der bedeutende Feldherr am Hellespont⁷⁶
- 16P. Farnaxša, Satrap? von Parthien (oder Fratarak von Hyrkanien) in Jahr 28, 494 v.Chr.⁷⁷.
- 17M. NN. Satrap von Sogdien
- 18P. Višmina, Satrap? von Hindu in den Jahren 27-28 495-494 v.Chr.⁷⁸.
- 19M. NN. Satrap von Skudra⁷⁹
- 20P. NN. Satrap von Arabien
- 21M. NN. Satrap von Choresmien
- 22P. NN. Satrap von Libyen
- 23M. NN. Satrap von Nubien

Für die Reliefs am Zentralgebäude und am Hundertsäulensaal konnte ich bisher keine Liste rekonstruieren.

Dagegen gibt uns Herodot im Zusammenhang mit dem Aufmarsch gegen Griechenland 480 v. Chr. die Namensliste der Satrapen bzw. Feldherren zur nur wenig späteren Xerxes-Inschrift XPh⁸⁰:

- 1P. Tigranes, Satrap von Medien⁸¹
- 2M. Anaphes, Sohn des Otanes I, Satrap von Elam⁸²
- 3P. Bagazušta, Satrap von Arachosien⁸³
- 4M. Masistes/Masistios, Sohn des Siromitres, Satrap von Armenien⁸⁴

⁷⁵ auf elam. Tontafeln als ir-tub-ba-nu-iš belegt, Koch 1993: 34, die ihn für einen Bruder des Dareios hält, was unsere Untersuchung unwahrscheinlich macht, Klinkott 2005: 455, 483.

⁷⁶ auf elam. Tontafeln als ba-qa-ba-du, ba-qa-ba-du-iš belegt, Koch 1993: 22.

⁷⁷ auf elam. Tontafeln als bar-na-ik-ša belegt, Koch 1993: 33.

⁷⁸ auf elam. Tontafeln als mi-iš-mi-na belegt, Koch 1993: 38.

⁷⁹ Olmstead 1948: 157.

⁸⁰ Herodot VII,61-99; Olmstead 1948: 237 und Herzfeld 1968: 288 diskutieren Herodots Quelle für die Liste.

⁸¹ Olmstead 1948: 239, angeblich ein Achämenide.

⁸² Olmstead 1948: 239.

⁸³ Koch 1993: 26.

⁸⁴ Olmstead 1948: 241-2; Kleiner Pauly 1979,3: 1062 s.v. Masistios, er fällt 479 bei Platäa, seine Rüstung wird der Athene geweiht, Herodot 7.79 und 9.20, Plutarch etc. Genannt wird auch ein Satrap Artochmes.

- 5P. Sisamnes, Sohn des Hydarnes I, Satrap von Haraiwa⁸⁵
- 6M. Artabazus I (Rtabrzana?), Sohn des Pharnaces, Satrap von Parthien⁸⁶
- 7P. Pherendates, Sohn des Megabazus, Satrap von Zranka⁸⁷
- 8M. Hystaspes, Sohn des Dareios, Satrap von Baktrien⁸⁸
- 9P. Azanes, Sohn des Artaios, Satrap von Sogdien⁸⁹
- 10M. Artabazos I, Sohn des Pharnaces, Satrap von Choresmien⁹⁰
- 11P. Megapanus?, Satrap von Babylonien⁹¹
- 12M. Otaspes, Sohn des Artachaees, Satrap von Assyrien⁹²
- 13P. Siromitres, Sohn des Oiobazus, Satrap von Sattagydien⁹³
- 14M. Tigranes, Satrap von Lydien
- 15P. Achämenes, Bruder des Xerxes??, Satrap von Ägypten⁹⁴
- 16M. Ariabignes, Sohn des Dareios (?), Satrap von Jonien und Hellespont⁹⁵
- 17P. Pharnazathres, Sohn des Artabates, Satrap von Maka⁹⁶
- 18M. Arsames, Sohn des Dareios (?), Satrap von Arabien⁹⁷
- 19P. NN, Satrap von Gandara
- 20M. Pharnazathres, Sohn des Artabates, Satrap von Hindu (und Maka)⁹⁸
- 21P. Gobryas II, Sohn des Dareios, Satrap von Kappadokien 480-70 v.Chr⁹⁹.
- 22M. NN, Satrap von Daha
- 23P. Hystaspes, Sohn des Dareios??, Satrap der Saka haumavarga¹⁰⁰
- 24M. NN, Satrap der Saka tigraxauda

⁸⁵ Olmstead 1948: 240.

⁸⁶ Olmstead 1948: 240; Kleiner Pauly 1979,1: 614 s.v. Artabazos (1); Koch 1993: 33, 47.

⁸⁷ Olmstead 1948: 240.

⁸⁸ er rebelliert 465 gegen Artaxerxes I, Klinkott 2005: 455, 483; Olmstead 1948: 240, 290; Justi 1895: 398: Sohn des Xerxes, gest. 464.

⁸⁹ Olmstead 1948: 240.

⁹⁰ Olmstead 1948: 240.

⁹¹ Klinkott 2005: 453, 483; Olmstead 1948: 240.

⁹² Olmstead 1948: 243, 245.

⁹³ Olmstead 1948: 241, oder Arsamenes, Sohn des Dareios.

⁹⁴ Klinkott 2005: 450, 483; Olmstead 1948: 235-6, 244-5, 303; Justi 1895: 398: gest. 462, Kleiner Pauly 1979,1: 39 s.v. Achaimenes (3).

⁹⁵ Olmstead 1948: 246.

⁹⁶ Olmstead 1948: 241.

⁹⁷ Olmstead 1948: 244.

⁹⁸ Olmstead 1948: 241.

⁹⁹ Olmstead 1948: 242; Kleiner Pauly 1979, 1: 840.

¹⁰⁰ Olmstead 1948: 240.

- 25P. Dotus, Sohn des Megasidrus, Satrap der Skudra¹⁰¹
 26M. NN, Satrap der Akaufaciya
 27P. Massages, Sohn des Oarizus, Satrap von Libyen¹⁰²,
 28M. NN, Satrap von Karien
 29P. NN, Satrap von Nubien

Es gab demnach eine Rangfolge unter den Satrapen, die auch zu einem gewissen Grade an das von ihnen verwaltete Land gebunden war, in erster Linie aber doch wohl von ihrer Persönlichkeit abhing. Dementsprechend wurden die Satrapien nicht nach ihrem Steueraufkommen und Reichtum allein gestaffelt, denn dann stünden Hindu und Babylonien an erster Stelle¹⁰³, sondern sie wurden nach politischen und strategischen Gesichtspunkten ausgewählt. Eine »offizielle Reihenfolge« der Satrapien¹⁰⁴ hat es aber nicht gegeben, jede Achämeniden-Inschrift hat eine neue Aufreihung.

5. Die Könige auf dem Apadana-Relief

An der Spitze der Delegation steht hinter dem Satrapen in einigen Fällen (Delegationen 1, 4, 6, 16, 18, 20, 23) vor dem schlichter gekleideten Gefolge eine durch den Mantel oder die Tiara hervorgehobene Persönlichkeit, offensichtlich der Fürst des Landes¹⁰⁵. Bisher hatten wir nur aus der Satrapie Assyrien/Syrien Informationen, daß dort neben dem Satrapen auch recht unabhängige Könige herrschten: Durch Inschriften und prachtvolle Sarkophage bekannt sind die Könige der phönizischen Metropole Sidon¹⁰⁶, die Könige anderer Phönizierstädte kennen wir durch ihre Münzprägung¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰¹ Olmstead 1948: 242.

¹⁰² Olmstead 1948: 244.

¹⁰³ Über das Steueraufkommen informiert uns die Liste Herodot III,89-95, s. Olmstead 1948: 291-297.

¹⁰⁴ Bengston 1972: Tf. 15b gibt den Satrapen eine »offizielle Reihenfolge«, die auf Junge 1941 basiert. Putzger 1911 Tf. 5a und andere historische Atlanten benutzen die Herodotliste als Grundlage einer Nummerierung. In der Auflage 1961 sind aber die Nummern fortgelassen. Auch manche moderne Historiker betrachten die Numerierung bei Herodot als »offiziell«.

¹⁰⁵ Walser 1966: 68 nennt diese Person den Delegationsleiter.

¹⁰⁶ Chebab 1972. Die Könige von Sidon ließen sich im Ornat des Großkönigs darstellen, vergaßen in ihren Inschriften aber öfter, ihren Oberherrn zu erwähnen.

¹⁰⁷ de Morgan 1923: 55-80. Er kennt die autonomen Phönizierstädte Arad, Byblos, Sidon, Tyros, Gaza, sowie Hierapolis-Babyke, Kilikien, Karien, Lykien, Cypern, Klinkott 2005: 478.

Sie waren dem Achämeniden als Vasallenkönige untergeben, vergessen in ihren Inschriften aber notorisch, den Großkönig zu erwähnen.

Wir wissen aus anderen Quellen, daß innerhalb des großen Imperiums der Perser Völker lebten, die nicht unterworfen waren und unabhängige Herrscher hatten. Nach Xenophon empfangen das kilikische Königspaar Syennesis und Epyaxa¹⁰⁸ den Usurpator Kyros d.J. freundlich und nahmen dessen Heer gastlich auf. Kilikien, Pisidien und Lykaonien waren geduldete Freistaaten in Anatolien und unterstanden keinem Satrap. Auf dem Weg nach Trapezont durchquerten Xenophons Söldner zwischen den Satrapien Assyrien, Armenien und Skudra die Freistaaten der Karduchen, Taocher, Chalyber, Skythenen und Phasianen. Bis zur Ankunft Alexanders d.Gr. lebten auch die Kissioi in den Bergen zwischen den Metropolen Susa und Persepolis als freies Vasallenvolk und gewährten dem Großkönig nur auf dessen Bitte Geleit durch ihr Gebiet. Wahrscheinlich mußten diese Völker ihre Unabhängigkeit durch Tribute an den Großkönig erkaufen.

Einen anderen Status scheinen die Fürsten auf den Apadana-Reliefs zu haben. Da die Satrapien aus ursprünglich mächtigen Königreichen hervorgegangen sind, ist es erstaunlich, wenn die alteingesessenen Fürsten neben dem Satrapen weiter regieren konnten. Doch andererseits bestätigen die Reliefs die antike Überlieferung:

Der König der Meder in Delegation 1 trägt die runde Kappe (Abb. 6), die in hellenistischer Zeit als Krone der Arsakiden und Omayyaden-Kalifen beibehalten wurde¹⁰⁹, außerdem ist er mit dem Akinakes bewaffnet. Die Kopfbedeckung seines Gefolges hat Wangenklappen, wahrscheinlich sind es Kriegshelme. Der lydische König von Delegation 6 hat seinen Schal einmal mehr umgeschlungen als sein Gefolge (Abb. 11). Herodot berichtet uns über Medien und Lydien, weder Astyages noch Krösos seien von Kyros bei der Eroberung getötet¹¹⁰ worden, er habe sie vielmehr als Teilnehmer an seine Tafelrunde¹¹¹ geladen und hoch geehrt. Es gibt mehrere

¹⁰⁸ Xenophon *Anabasis* I,II,12; Olmstead 1948: 39, 154, 295ff, 373; Klinkott 2006: 60; Oppenheim 1985: 531 n. 4 weist auf das Vorrecht des Kilikiers hin, den Königstitel syennesis zu tragen.

¹⁰⁹ Ettinghausen 1972: 28-34 Kalifenhaube in Khirbet el Mafjar, ihre parthisch-sasanidischen Vorbilder und Fortleben in päpstlicher Tiara. In Ostiran übernahmen die Kushan diese Königskappe und machten sie im buddhistischen Bereich bekannt, wo sie bis heute als »Gelbe Mütze« der Gelugpa-Lamas in Tibet im Gebrauch blieb.

¹¹⁰ Herodot I,130 und 88, die Babylonische Chronik scheint Herodot zu widersprechen, doch das Apadana-Relief bestätigt ihn offenbar. Olmstead 1948: 40.

¹¹¹ Zur Tafelrunde s. Briant 1996: 297; Vössing 2004.

Anekdoten, daß Kyros sich mit ihnen unterhalten und ihre Ratschläge befolgt habe. Auf jeden Fall aber hat Kyros die beiden Könige nicht in ihrer alten Hauptstadt weiter regieren lassen, dort übernahm jetzt der Satrap die Amtsgeschäfte. Ich möchte deshalb annehmen, auch zu Dareios' Zeiten seien die Könige dieser mächtigen Völker am großköniglichen Hof im »goldenen Käfig« in gewissen Ehren gehalten worden. Möglicherweise erfreuten sie sich wie unter Kyros von Zeit zu Zeit der Einladung zu einem Bankett, und wahrscheinlich durften sie zum Neujahrsfest zusammen mit dem Satrap die Delegierten ihres Volkes anführen, aber irgendwelche Einflüsse auf die Geschicke ihres Landes hatten sie wohl kaum. Da seit Kyros' Zeit bis zur Errichtung des Apadanareliefs ein halbes Jahrhundert vergangen war, können in Delegation 1 und 6 nicht mehr Astyages und Krösos selbst dargestellt sein, sie müssen also mit Duldung des Dareios Nachfolger bekommen haben. Die in der Bisotuninschrift geschilderte Rebellion der Meder unter Fravartish scheint nicht von einem Angehörigen des Königshauses sondern von einem Usurpator ausgegangen zu sein, so daß Dareios seinen königlichen Gast deshalb nicht behelligen mußte.

König und Gefolge der Parther in Delegation 16 (Abb. 6) haben ähnliche Kopfbedeckungen wie die Meder. In der Bisotuninschrift erfahren wir von den Aufständen der Parther gegen Dareios, die er nur mit Hilfe seines in der Satrapie ansässigen Vaters niederringen konnte. Von der Gefangennahme und Hinrichtung des Königs ist nicht die Rede, vielmehr erstirbt der Aufstand mit dem Sieg über die benachbarten Meder. Offenbar hat der König an den Feindseligkeiten seines Volkes gar nicht teil genommen. Da der König der Parther sich kampfflos dem Mederreich unterworfen haben soll, war er wohl als Vasall im Amt belassen worden, hatte aber seit Generationen keinen Anteil an der Regierung mehr. So wurde er vielleicht auch von den Achämeniden auf seinen Gütern in Khorasan geduldet und kam zum Neujahrsfest eigens nach Persepolis.

Auch der König der Nubier in Delegation 23, er trägt ein aufwendiger drapiertes Wickelgewand als sein Gefolge (Abb. 13), ist wahrscheinlich zum Fest den weiten Weg vom Oberen Nil bis Persepolis gekommen, denn die kontinuierliche Folge königlicher Inschriften in Meroe spricht dafür, daß die einheimischen Könige neben dem Satrapen im Lande weiterherrschten. Da Nubien reich an Gold war, konnten die persischen Wünsche leicht erfüllt werden.

Deutlich reichere Gewänder als ihr Gefolge tragen die Könige der Zranka (Delegation 4, Abb. 6), Hindu (Delegation 18, Abb. 18) und Araber

(Delegation 20, Abb. 11). Zranka war unter Kyros zu besonders günstigen Bedingungen den Bund mit dem Achämenidenreich eingegangen und hatte ein altherwürdiges Königtum, das offenbar unangetastet blieb. Der abgebildete Herrscher war möglicherweise ein Nachkomme der im Avesta und im Shahname hoch gerühmten Kayaniden-Dynastie. Hindu war erst wenige Jahre vor Errichtung des Apadana dem Imperium angegliedert worden, daher läßt die Anwesenheit des Königs vermuten, daß dies ohne kriegerische Auseinandersetzung vorgegangen ist und der König im Amt bleiben konnte. Da Herodot das gewaltige Steueraufkommen dieser Satrapie hervorhebt, könnte ein ähnlicher Fall wie in Nubien vorliegen und die Höhe des Tributs die Freizügigkeit gegenüber dem König erkaufte haben. Von den Arabern erfahren wir bei Herodot III,4-9, daß Kambyses II. mit ihrem König persönlich ein Freundschaftsbündnis geschlossen hat.

Die Apadana-Reliefs vermitteln uns mit der Abbildung der Könige ein weiteres Detail des höfischen Lebens im Perserreich. Der Titel »König der Könige« der Achämeniden und ihrer Nachfolger war also nicht nur eine stilistische Steigerung im Sinne von »großer König«, sondern Kyros und Dareios herrschten in der Tat über andere Könige.

Abschließend sei noch einmal nach der Bedeutung der Völkerdarstellungen gefragt. Dareios I. äußert sich dazu in seiner Grabinschrift (DNa §4) mit folgenden Worten: »Wenn du nun denkst, Wie vielfach waren jene Länder, die König Dareios besaß, so blick die Bilder derer an, die den Thron tragen, da wirst du erkennen, alsdann wirst du wissen, des persischen Mannes Lanze ist fernhin vorgedrungen, alsdann wirst du wissen, der persische Mann hat fern von Persien den kämpfenden Feind geschlagen.«

Diese Reliefs sollen also die weltweite Macht des Perserkönigs aufzeigen und die kriegerische Wehrhaftigkeit der Perser dokumentieren. Doch zweifellos hat Walser recht mit seiner Beobachtung, die Reliefs stellten nicht die Unterdrückung und Tributforderung in den Vordergrund sondern die Freiwilligkeit des Geschenkebringens¹¹². Offenbar defilierten die Völker vor dem Großkönig und seinem Gefolge, die auf der gegenüberliegenden Reliefhälfte abgebildet sind, mit großem Gepränge, von dem nur ein kleiner Ausschnitt abgebildet wurde. Auch das königliche Gefolge ist verkleinert dargestellt, wie wir aus der Beschreibung bei Herodot erkennen

¹¹² Wie Koch 1980; Koch 1996 und schon Walser 1966 bemerken, unterscheidet sich die achämenidische Darstellung von dem assyrischen oder ägyptischen Thronsessel mit gefesselten Feinden, es handelt sich nicht um einen Triumph über die Unterjochten.

können, denn dort erfahren wir z.B., daß 10 heilige Pferde teilnahmen und nicht nur die drei abgebildeten. Es gehörten zu den Völkerdelegationen bestimmt auch Musiker, vielleicht auch Tänzer und Akrobaten. Die Satrapen wollten damit zum Ausdruck bringen, wieviel sie zum Glanz des Imperiums beitrugen.

Die Thronträgerszenen sind vor einiger Zeit als kosmische Darstellung gedeutet worden¹¹³, das halte ich für fragwürdig. Auf einer riesigen Kline thront der König unter einem Baldachin (am Hundertsäulensaal H und Zentralgebäude E) oder er steht (auf dem Grabrelief) vor einem Feuertempel und gibt Gott Ahuramazda gegenüber seinen hinter seinem Rücken aufgeschriebenen Rechenschaftsbericht über seine Regierungsweise ab. Auffallend am Grabrelief ist ein Detail, nämlich daß zwei Thronträger neben der Kline stehen (Abb. 4): diese Merkwürdigkeit läßt erkennen, daß man nur eine durch 4 teilbare Anzahl Thronträger unter der Kline haben wollte¹¹⁴. Unter dem Throngestell sind die Völkervertreter frontal dargestellt (deshalb sind diese Thronträger nicht leicht mit den im Profil gesehenen Delegationen der Apadanareliefs zu vergleichen, wie Herzfeld 1910 feststellte). Die Anordnung in zwei Reihen übereinander (in Persepolis E und M sind es drei Reihen übereinander) ist vom Künstler nur gewählt worden, um Raum zu

¹¹³ Über die Thronklinen, auf denen der König thront bzw. (am Grabe) steht, handelt Koch 1980: 292 und Koch 1996: 184, 197, er vermutet in den Darstellungen einen kosmologischen Hintergrund und möchte die jeweils 28 Völker unter dem Gestell (am Grabe stehen noch 2 weitere Völker neben der Kline) als Gestirne deuten.

¹¹⁴ Koch 1980 beachtete nicht, dass auch die Völker am Sockel der Susa-Statue die Hände erhoben haben und den König auf einem nicht abgebildeten Gestell tragen. Das wäre eine Kline mit 24 Reichsvölkern (die Perser sind wie am Grabrelief dabei). Die Bisotuninschrift zählt in der Liste der Reichsvölker als Nr. 10-13 vier Völker des Mederreiches auf. Im Avesta finden wir eine Liste mit 16 Völkern (Vendidad I) und eine wahrscheinlich etwas ältere Liste mit 8 Völkern (Yasht 10,13-14). Auffällig ist bei all diesen Listen die Teilbarkeit durch 4, das hat Koch 1996 bereits für die 28 Völker erkannt. Ich halte das aber für profaner als er: das Throngestell hatte 4 Seiten, an denen entweder je 1 Völkerrepräsentant (Mederreich) stand, oder 2 Völkerrepräsentanten (Ostiran Yt.10), oder 4 (Ostiran Vendidad I), oder 6 (Susa-Statue) oder 7 (Persepolis E und M). Als gegen Ende der Regierung Dareios' I. 30 Völkerrepräsentanten zur Verfügung standen, ließ sich das nicht durch 4 teilen, also stellte man die überzähligen 2 Völker seitlich neben das Gestell. Herzfeld 1910 hat beim Vergleich der Reliefs am Grabrelief mit denen des Apadana beobachtet, dass die Völkerrepräsentanten der Grabreliefs alle frontal gesehen sind, obwohl sie den Kopf und die Füße nach rechts richten. Den Künstlern scheint das wichtig gewesen zu sein, da sie sonst Profildarstellungen bevorzugten. Sie beabsichtigten offenbar, die Völker in kriegerischer Phalanx von vorn darzustellen (am Grabrelief sind alle bewaffnet), wie sie den König und das Imperium verteidigen, und zwar in gleicher Stärke nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen, daher jeweils in gleicher Anzahl an den 4 Thronseiten.

sparen, denn alle Thronträger standen nebeneinander auf dem Boden, sonst hätten sie das Gestell nicht hochheben können. Da die Kline vier Seiten hatte, schauten sie nach den 4 Himmelsrichtungen und demonstrierten die Wehrhaftigkeit des Staates, und ein alter orientalischer Königstitel ist »König der 4 Weltgegenden«. Die Sitte, den König auf einem Gestell emporzuheben, kommt auch bei einigen europäischen indogermanischen Völkern, den Kelten und Germanen¹¹⁵, vor und könnte von den Iranern aus ihrer Urheimat nach Persien mitgebracht worden sein.

Anhang

Übersicht über die Völkerlisten

Im Anhang möchte ich noch eine Liste der Inschriften und Reliefs mit Völkerdarstellungen und eine Tabelle der Verteilung der Völker in den Listen zusammenstellen. Danach folgen einige kurz gefaßte Bemerkungen über die Volksgruppen und einzelnen Völker.

In der Tabelle sind 15 Völkerlisten (A-M) der achämenidischen Inschriften und Reliefdarstellungen zusammengefaßt, dazu eine Liste (N) des griechischen Historikers Herodot:

- A Inschrift Dareios' I. in Bisotun nahe Kermanshah im Zagrosgebirge, ca 522-520 v. Chr.. Die Inschrift ist mehrfach erweitert und umgestaltet worden. Die Völkerliste (DB §6) mit 23 Ländern beginnt mit den Stammländern (1-2) Persien und Elam, das wohl schon unter den Vorgängern Kyros' II. erworben wurde, weshalb die beiden Völker die gleiche Tracht haben. Darauf folgen die Eroberungen unter Kyros II. und Kambyzes II. (3-9), die wahrscheinlich dem König direkt als Kronland unterstanden, dann die Reichsvölker des Mederreiches¹¹⁶, die seit der persisch-medischen Koalition unter Kyros II. einen besonders vorteilhaften Rang hatten (10-13) und zuletzt die Völker eines Ostiranischen Reiches¹¹⁷ (14-23), die einen vergleichbar hohen Rang hatten, denn sie

¹¹⁵ Eine ähnliche Sitte kennen wir von den Kelten und Germanen, die ihren König auf den Schild hoben, auch dies eine kriegerische Geste: Der Große Brockhaus, 15. Aufl. Leipzig 1933 Bd. 16: 617 s.v. Schild: »Auf den Schild erhob man Personen als Zeichen, daß man sie zum Befehlshaber oder Herrscher wähle. Diese Gebräuche gingen noch in das Mittelalter über und finden sich namentlich bei den deutschen Stämmen.« Den König in die Höhe zu heben, ist eine weitverbreitete Sitte, Müller 1987: 82, Schilderhebung des römischen Kaisers Julianus 360 n.Chr. in Paris: Kornemann 1978: 86; Alföldi 1935: 54-56; Ensslin 1942: 268-198

¹¹⁶ Zur Organisation des Mederreiches s. Gropp 1998, Medien steht an 10. Stelle, das hat Befremden bei Herzfeld 1968 hervorgerufen, Calmeyer 1982: 124 spricht von einem »Aufstieg Mediens« in den folgenden Länderlisten.

¹¹⁷ Dieses Ostiranische Reich kennen wir aus den Länderlisten im Avesta.

wurden wahrscheinlich als Teile eines zentral regierten Staatsgebildes von Kyros II. unter Anerkennung besonderer Vorrechte erobert. Da die Liste als erstes dieser östlichen Länder Zranka nennt, können wir den Sitz des ehemaligen Oberherrschers hier am Hilmand-Fluß vermuten¹¹⁸.

- B Relief mit Beischriften Dareios' I. in Bisotun neben der großen Inschrift, ebenfalls 522-520 v.Chr.: der König triumphiert über die besiegten 10 Rebellenkönige, die in der Inschrift (DB §52) in abweichender Reihenfolge aufgezählt werden. Das Relief zeigt (1-2, 8) die Perser Dareios, Gaumata und Vahyazdata, (3, 6) die Elamer Asina und Martiya, (4, 9) die Babylonier Nadi-tabaira und Arxa, (5) den Meder Fravartish, (7) den Sagartier Cisantaxma, (10) den Margianer Frada und (11) den Saka Skunxa¹¹⁹.
- C Inschrift Dareios' I. in Persepolis am Südrand der großen Palastterrasse, ca 518 v. Chr.¹²⁰. Die Völkerliste (DPe §2) mit 24 Völkern beginnt mit den Stammlanden (1-3) und stellt dann die nichtiranischen Westländer (4-11) vor die iranischen Ostländer (12-24), Hindu kommt neu hinzu. Die akkadische Version, Inschrift DPg, nennt ähnlich wie F die Grenzländer (s. dort 7-8).
- D Statue Dareios' I. aus dem Tor des Palastes von Susa, ca 499-495 v.Chr. Die Länderliste (DSab) mit 24 Völkern bildet die Fußplatte der Statue und die Relieffiguren sind als Thronträger dargestellt. Die Liste wird gleichlautend auf den Stelen des Königs am Suezkanal (DZ) wiederholt. Links folgen nach den Stammlanden (1-3) die iranischen (4-12) und rechts die nichtiranischen Völker (13-22), sowie am Schluß noch zwei indische Völker (23-24). Die Unterscheidung von Iranern und Nichtiranern ist deutlich, obwohl der Begriff »Nichtiraner« erst in Inschriften der Sasanidenzeit vorkommt. Jonien, Jonien am Meer und Gandara fehlen; Saka der Ebenen (= haumavarga), Skudra, Libyen und Nubien kommen neu hinzu.
- E Relief Dareios' I. ohne Beischriften an den Freitreppen des Apadana von Persepolis, ca 495 v.Chr., es zeigt 23 Delegationen der Völker des Imperiums in gemischter Reihenfolge ohne Persien. Dies Relief ist der Gegenstand unserer Untersuchung.
- F Inschrift Dareios' I. auf Gold- und Silberplatten aus den Gründungskapseln des Apadana von Persepolis und eines Palastes in Hamadan, ca 495 v.Chr. Sie nennt (DPH §2 und DH §2) die äußersten Grenzen (1-6) des Imperiums¹²¹.
- G Inschrift Dareios' I. auf Tontafeln aus dem Palast in Susa ca 493 v.Chr. Auf den Fragmenten konnte eine Liste mit (DSe §3) 28 Völkern rekonstruiert werden: Auf die Stammlande (1-3) folgen die Iraner (4-16) und Nichtiraner (17-28), Karien kommt neu hinzu¹²².

¹¹⁸ Herrenschmidt 1976: 57 gibt nur eine kurze Bemerkung über den Aufbau der Länderliste.

¹¹⁹ Vogelsang 1992: 146.

¹²⁰ nach Olmstead 1948: 150 datiert sie von 513.

¹²¹ Schmitt 2000: 63-64.

¹²² Stève 1974: 7ff; Olmstead 1948: 157.

- H Inschrift Dareios' I. auf Ton- und Marmortafeln sowie einem Fries glasierter Ziegel aus seinem Palast in Susa, ca 493 v.Chr. Sie zählt (DSf §3) 26 Völker auf, die bei der Errichtung des Palastes mitgewirkt haben, gemischt nach ihren Landeserzeugnissen, mit Mehrfachnennungen.
- I Inschrift Dareios' I. auf glasierten Ziegeln aus seinem Palast in Susa, ca 493 v.Chr., beschädigt, mit (DSm §2) unvollständiger Liste von 23 Völkern. Auf die Stammlande (1-3) folgen die Nichtiraner (4-13) und die Iraner (14-25)¹²³.
- J Relief ohne Beischriften Dareios' I. an den Türwangen des Palastes E (Tripylon oder Zentralgebäude genannt) in Persepolis, ca 490 v.Chr., es zeigt 28 Thronträger in gemischter Reihenfolge, ohne Persien.
- K Inschrift sowie Relief mit Beischriften (DNe) Dareios' I. an seinem Felsgrab in Naqsh-e Rostam (DNa §3), ca 490 v.Chr., mit 30 Völkern, die auch als Träger seiner Thronkline abgebildet sind, kopiert von Xerxes an seinem Felsgrab bei Persepolis (Südgrab genannt, meist Artaxerxes II oder III zugeschrieben) (A3Pb): Auf die Stammlande (1-3) folgen im oberen Register die Iraner (4-14), im unteren Register fortgesetzt mit den Saka (15, 24-25) und den Nichtiranern (16-23, 26-28). Neben der Thronkline stehend die iranischen Maka (29) und die nichtiranischen Karer (30). Saka paradraya kommen neu hinzu¹²⁴.
- L Relief ohne Beischriften des Xerxes an den Türwangen des von seinem Sohn Artaxerxes I. vollendeten Palastes M (Hundertsäulensaal genannt) in Persepolis, ca 485 v.Chr., es zeigt 28 Völker in gemischter Reihenfolge als Thronträger, ohne Persien.
- M Inschrift des Xerxes (Daiva-Inschrift genannt) auf Steintafeln, die wiederverwendet im Garnisonsgebäude in Persepolis gefunden wurden, ca 475 v.Chr., sie nennt (XPh §3) 29 Völker in gemischter Reihenfolge, ohne Persien. Die Dahi und Akaufaciya kommen neu hinzu.
- N Satrapienliste des Herodot III 89-95, um 430 v.Chr., 20 Völker, von Jonien im Westen ausgehend, wohl eine griechische Zusammenstellung¹²⁵.

In der Tabelle nicht berücksichtigt wurden:

- Heeresliste des Herodot¹²⁶ VII 60, ca 430 v.Chr., 46 + 8 + 12 Satrapien,

¹²³ Brandenstein 1932: 55.

¹²⁴ Schmitt 2000: 25-32. Die Beischriften des Reliefs werden DN I-XXX genannt von Kent 1953: 140 und Weissbach 1911, aber DNe von Schmitt 2000: 47-49. Die Beischriften am Xerxesgrab laufen unter der Signatur A?P bei Kent 1953: 155, jetzt unter A3Pb bei Schmitt 2000: 119-122, veröffentlicht von Davis 1932, gute Abbildungen bei Hinz 1969: 99-109, zur richtigen Datierung s.o.

¹²⁵ Bichler 2000: 286; Olmstead 1948: 291.

¹²⁶ Die Beschreibung der Armee-Parade des Xerxes in Doriskos, Herodot VII,61-94, enthält 46 Ländernamen der Fußtruppen, bei der Erwähnung der Schlacht von Marathon spricht Herodot IX,27 ebenfalls von 46 Völkern des Perserheeres, offenbar nimmt er ungenauerweise Bezug auf die gleiche Liste, Herzfeld 1968: 288; Briant 1996: 207; Burn 1985: 317-318, 320; Bichler 2000: 312-314, 324-325; Klinkott 2005: 96; Olmstead 1948: 246.

- Relief ohne Beischriften Artaxerxes' I. an der Freitreppe seines Palastes H in Persepolis, ca 450 v.Chr., fragmentarisch erhalten, wohl 30 Satrapien (Tilia vermutet 24 Satrapien) in gemischter Ordnung, die persischen Satrapen kommen von rechts, die medischen von links, eine überzeugende Reihenfolge der Delegationen konnte bisher nicht erstellt werden¹²⁷.
- Relief ohne Beischriften Artaxerxes' III. an seiner Freitreppe, die er dem Palast I Dareios' I. in Persepolis zufügte, ca 350 v.Chr., fragmentarisch erhalten. 12 Länder, rechts persische Satrapen, links medische Satrapen in gemischter Anordnung, eine überzeugende Reihenfolge der Delegationen konnte bisher nicht erstellt werden¹²⁸.
- Heeresliste Dareios' III. bei Curtius Rufus III,4, er nennt 8 Länder und III,7 »12 Perserstämme«.
- Satrapieverteilungen nach Alexanders d.Gr. Tod, unter Perdikkas in Babylon 323 v.Chr. und unter Antipater in Triparadeisos 321, die Listen nennen 25 Länder¹²⁹.
- Länderliste in Yasht 10,13-14, einem Avestatext, um 800 v.Chr.?, genannt werden 8 Länder. Die Identifizierung dieser Länder ist noch nicht endgültig gelungen¹³⁰.
- Länderliste in Vendidad I, einem Avestatext, um 700 v.Chr.?, genannt werden 16 Länder. Auch an der Identifizierung dieser Länder wird noch gearbeitet¹³¹.

Genannt werden in den Listen insgesamt 34 Völker (dahyu), die aber nicht alle Satrapien waren: Persien war ein dem Großkönig direkt unterstelltes Reichsvolk, kleinere Länder waren Teil eines Reichsvolkes oder einer Satrapie und wurden von einem Gouverneur fratarak verwaltet wie Karmana (zu Persien), Margiana (zu Baktrien) und Sagartien (anfangs Satrapie, dann zu Assyrien). Die Tabelle 2 zeigt, wie sehr die Reihenfolge der Länder von Liste zu Liste abweicht und daß die Kanzleien in der Residenz Susa keine Rangstufung ausgearbeitet haben, die Herodots Nummerierung der Satrapien stützen würde.

Abschließend möchte ich noch als Kommentar zu der Karte Gropp 1985 die oben zu den einzelnen Ländern gemachten Bemerkungen zusammenfassen. Die Beobachtungen zu den Trachtengruppen von Schmidt 1970 bilden mit leichten Abweichungen den Ausgangspunkt für die Anordnung der Tabelle, wie bereits bei der Identifizierung der Apadana-Reliefs.

¹²⁷ Hinz 1969: 110-111; Calmeyer 1982: 147-152; Tilia 1972 I: 265-312; Jacobs 2006; Vogelsang 1992: 160-162.

¹²⁸ Calmeyer 1982: 153-154; Tilia 1972 I: 303-312.

¹²⁹ Justi 1904: 477 nach Gutschmid 1888: 17, dazu auch Calmeyer 1982: 183.

¹³⁰ Gerschevitch 1959: 81 und 174-176 zieht die Liste zu 4 Ländernamen zusammen, doch eine neuere Analyse ergibt die Länder: 1. Airyana shayana, 2. Ishkata upâiri-saêna (d.i. Gandara), 3. Pouruta (d.i. Aparytai bei Herodot), 4. Marw, 5. Haraiwa, 6. Gava, 7. Sogdien, 8. Choresmien.

¹³¹ Christensen 1943; Gnoli 1967; Gnoli 1980; Gnoli 1987 und andere.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Persien	1	1	1	1			1		1		1			
Elam	2	3	2	3	2		3	16	2	2	3	2	2	8
Kerman								6						
Medien	10	5	3	2	1		2	19	3	1	2	1	1	10
Parthien	13		13	5	16		4		16	16	4	16	6	16a
Sagartien		7	12											14a
Zranka	14		14	9	4		9		17	4	9	3	5	14b
Haraiwa	15		15	4	7		5		18	7	5	7	7	16d
Arachosien	22		20	8	15		10	15	23	15	10	13	3	18
Margiana		10												
Baktrien	17		16	6	13		6	8	19	13	6	15	8	12
Sogdien	18		17	7	17	2	7	9	20	25	7	25	9	16c
Choresmien	16		18	11	21		8	10	21	20	8	20	10	16b
Saka tigrax.	20	11	23	12	11	1	16			22	15	22	24	15b
Saka haum.							15		15	18	14	18	23	
Skudra				17	19		25		14	17	25	17	25	
Saka parad.										28	24	28	22	
Akaufaciya													26	
Hindu			21	24	18	4	14	14	24	19	13	19	20	20
Sattagydien	21		19	10	14		11		22	14	11	14	13	7a
Gandara	19		22				13	5	25	21	12	21	19	7b
Maka	23		24	23	12		12			12	29	12	17	14c
Armenien	11		8	14	3		21		8	3	20	4	4	13
Kappadok.	12		9	16	9		22		9	9	21	9	21	19
Hellesp.Jon.	7		11b				24a	17	13	11a	26	11a	16a	3
Jonien	9		11a				24b	4	11	11b	23	11b	16b	1
Lydien	8		10	15	6	5	23	7	10	6	22	6	14	2
Karien							3	3	(12)	23	30	23	28	4
Babylonien	3	4	4	13	5		15	1	4	5	16	5	11	9a
Assyrien	4		6	18	8		18	2	6	8	17	8	12	9b
Arabien	5		5	19	20		19		5	24	18	24	18	5
Ägypten	6		7	20	10		20	11	7	10	19	10	15	6a
Libyen				21	22					26	27	26	27	6b
Nubien				22	22	3				27	28	27	29	17

Tabelle 2

a. Stammlande (Tracht I): Die elamische Tracht der beiden südwestiranischen Staaten Persien und Elam läßt erschließen, daß die Einbindung Persiens in das Mederreich, aus dem sich Kyros II. 550 v.Chr. befreite, nur wenige Jahrzehnte gedauert hat, so daß man die Tracht der Oberherren nicht übernahm, wie das die Parther, Armenier und Kappadokier taten. Da die Perser um 580 v.Chr. Elam den Babyloniern abnehmen konnten, waren sie zu der Zeit noch souverain. Noch heute hat Südwestiran als Heimat der persisch-lurischen Sprachfamilie sein kulturelles Eigenleben bewahrt. (Abb. 5)



Abb. 5. a. Stammlande: Elam (Delegation 2) (nach Koch 1997).

- Persien (altpersisch p-a-r-s-a/Parsa) ist die heutige Provinz Fars in Südwestiran, das alte Anshan mit Laristan und Karman. Anshan war seit dem 3. Jahrtausend v.Chr. ein Teil des elamischen Reiches und wurde um 695 v.Chr. von den Persern erobert, die vorher um 830 v.Chr. am Urmia-See gelebt hatten. Die elamisch sprechende Urbevölkerung behielt die Städte Tirazzish/Shiraz und Yada/Anshan/Tepe Malyan als Wohnsitze und wurde unter Cishpish um 680 v.Chr. mit der Verwaltung und Kanzlei des persischen Staates in elamischer Keilschrift und Sprache betraut (Dareios I. setzte dann um 500 v.Chr. die Aramäer als Kanzlei-beamte ein, aber elamische Tontafel-Dokumente sind noch unter Artaxerxes I. gebräuchlich). Die Perser kleideten sich wie die einheimische elamische Bevölkerung. Ein späteres Wandgemälde aus Zentralasien zeigt die Struktur des persisch-elamischen Faltengewandes. Die Sprache der Perser machte unter elamischem Einfluß einen Lautwandel durch, der noch zur Zeit des Kyros und Dareios lebendig war, denn die Namen der neu erworbenen Länder wurden dementsprechend umgelautet: z > d, sp > s: Muzra (Ägypten, heute Misr) > Mudraya, Zranka (Seistan) > Drangiana, Sparda (Lydien) > Sardes. Herodot I,125 nennt 10 Stämme der Perser. Die Perser lebten halbnomadisch als Viehzüchter außerhalb der Städte auf den Sommer- und Winterweiden zwischen Pasargadae im Hochland und Bushir am Persischen Golf und errichteten dort kleine Paläste mit Säulensälen. Heute haben die turkmenischen Qashgai diese Weiderechte erworben¹³².

¹³² Kleiner Pauly 1979, 4: 653-654 s.v. Persis (Duchesne-Guillemin); Herzfeld 1968: 298; Boyce 1991 vol.3: 106; Hansman 1985. Zur Tracht: Gropp 1974: 83-84, 134-137,

- Elam (altpersisch u-v-j/Uvja, elamisch haltamtu), die heutige Provinz Khuzestan in Südwestiran, war seit 3000 v.Chr. ein bedeutender Staat mit eigener Schrift und Sprache. Inschriften nennen mehr als einhundert Könige. Um 580 v.Chr. wurde das Land von den Persern erobert. Seine Metropole Susa machte Dareios I. zur Hauptstadt des Imperiums. Die Kleidung der Elamer und ihrer östlichen Nachbarn in Anshan wurde von den Persern übernommen¹³³.
- Karmana (altpersisch k-r-m-a-n), das heutige Kerman, war offenbar ein Distrikt des Landes Persien, denn Herodot zählt es als Germanioi zu den 10 Stämmen der Perser, es war keine Satrapie, sondern wurde wahrscheinlich von einem Fratarak verwaltet. Befremdenderweise gehört die heutige Lokalsprache Kermans zu den Zentralkonstruktionen und ist dem Dialekt der Dörfer um Isfahan verwandt. Die Zentralkonstruktionen stehen der Sprache der Meder nahe und Isfahan gehörte zu Medien. Aber auch in dem Dorf Sivand bei Persepolis inmitten Parsa spricht man ein verwandtes Idiom, die Sprachzugehörigkeit ist vielleicht nur bedingt ausschlaggebend für die politische Gliederung des Landes¹³⁴.

b. Mederreich (Tracht II): Die Meder werden zuerst um 830 v.Chr. als Nachbarn der Urartäer am Urmia-See erwähnt und bauten nach der Eroberung Assyriens (612-610 v.Chr.) einen Großstaat auf, der Parthien im Osten und die anatolischen Länder Armenien und Kappadokien (siehe in Abschnitt h) im Westen umfaßte. Diese drei Völker übernahmen die Reitertracht ihrer Oberherren. Die Sprachen der Meder und Parther stehen sich als Nordwestiranische Dialekte nahe und sind noch heute in Dörfern von Azarbaijan bis Khorasan lebendig¹³⁵. (Abb. 6)

- Medien (altpersisch m-a-d/Mada) umfaßte außer Westiran mit den Städten Ekbatana/ Hamadan, Raga/Ray bei Teheran und Paraitakene/Gabae/Isfahan auch den ganzen Norden bis an den Kaukasus mit dem Sitz eines Fratarak in Ardabil. Dieser Teil der Satrapie wurde nach der Eroberung durch Alexander d. Gr. als eigenes Land mit Namen Aturpatakan/Azarbaijan abgespalten. Es gab nach Herodot I,101 sechs medische Stämme. Unsere einzige ausführliche Quelle über die Geschichte des älteren Mederreiches ist Herodot I,95-130. Keilschrifttexte aus Assyrien und Babylonien bestätigen und ergänzen seine Angaben und lassen die drei Könige Kyaxares I (Xšathrita, Kaštariti), Kyaxares II (Uvaxštra) und Astyages (Ištamegu) zwischen 720 und 550 v.Chr.

124-127, anders Hinz 1969: 68 und Rehm 2006: 205. Über die in den elamischen Tontafeln genannten Ortsnamen der Persis siehe Koch 1990; Metzler 1975 und Schmitt 1978: 118-122: Auf den elamischen Tontafeln werden Anshan, Beziyamatiya/Paishiyauvada, Marafiya und Tirazziy/Schiraz genannt.

¹³³ Herzfeld 1968: 303; Walser 1966: 72, Tourovets 2001: 230, Dandamayev 1972, Encyclopaedia Iranica VIII 1998: 311 s.v. Elam (Francois Vallat). Hinz 1969: 68-79 ausführlich zur Kleidung der Elamer und Perser.

¹³⁴ Kleiner Pauly 1979: 3: 122 s.v. Karmania (Hans Treidler); von Gall 1972: 261; Schmitt 1978: 121: auf elamischen Tontafeln wird ein Satrap von Karmana genannt.

¹³⁵ Widengren 1956.

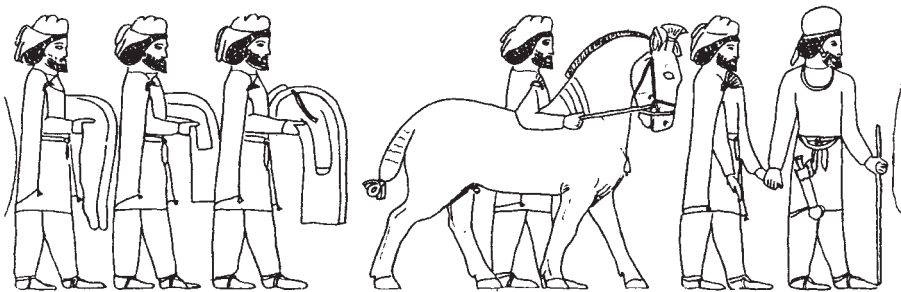
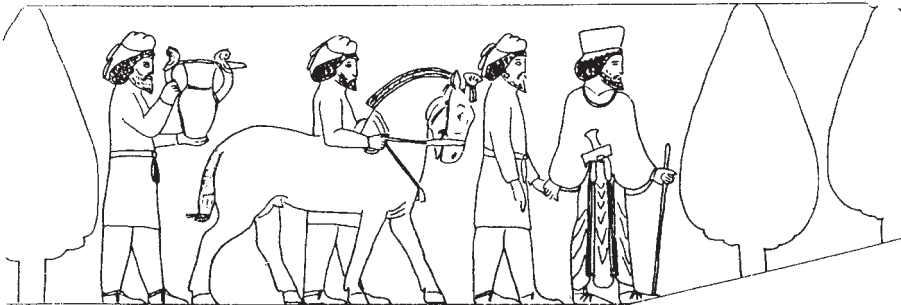
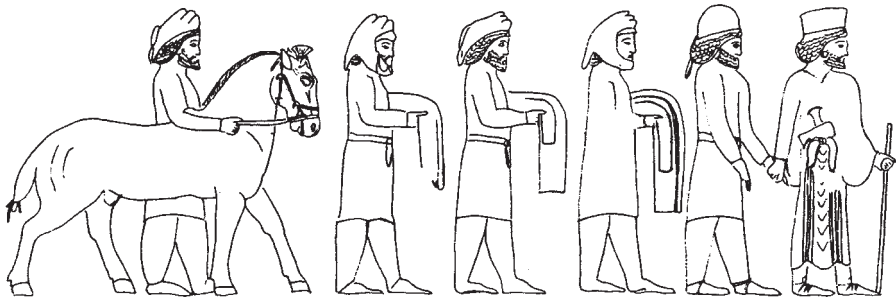
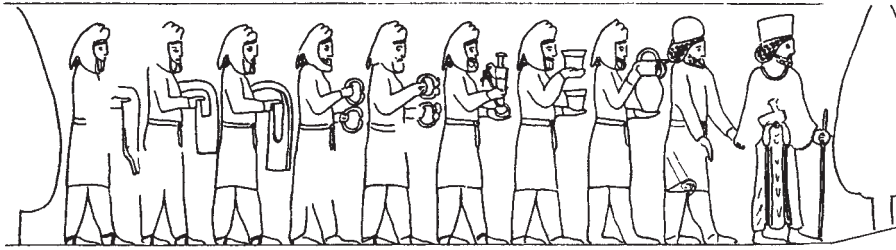


Abb. 6. b. Miederreich: Medien, Parthien, Armenien, Kappadokien
(Delegationen 1, 16, 3, 9) (nach Koch 1997).

deutlich werden. Der Perser Kyros II. erkannte die kulturelle Überlegenheit der Meder an und übernahm bei der Errichtung seines eigenen Reiches die Königstitulatur in medischer Sprache, die bis in die heutige Zeit medische Lehnwörter enthielt, und außerdem die Form des medischen Königspalastes, den Apadana-Saal, wie Ausgrabungen in der Nähe von Ekbatana gezeigt haben. Die königlichen Archive des Mederreiches wurden bisher nicht entdeckt, doch gibt es Hinweise, daß sie in babylonischer (akkadischer) Keilschrift geführt wurden, die deshalb die zweite Version der achämenidischen Trilinguen neben Altpersisch und Elamisch bildet. Das hohe Ansehen des Volkes bei den Persern konnte mehrfach bei unserer Analyse der Apadana-Reliefs beobachtet werden, es wurde im Proporz an der Regierung beteiligt und durfte seinen eigenen König (neben dem Satrapen) behalten¹³⁶.

- Parthien (altpersisch p-r-th-v/Parthava) ist die heutige Provinz Khorasan in Nordostiran und Westturkmenien mit der alten Hauptstadt Tus bei Mashhad und umfaßte auch die Landschaft Hyrkanien/Varkana/Gorgan. Beide Länder werden in der Avesta-Länderliste unter den Namen Nisa und Khnenta-Vehrkana als 5. und 9. Land zum Ostiranischen Reich gerechnet (nach dem Avestatext Vendidad I). Ob auch das später zum medischen Kernland gehörige Ragha (Land 12 in Vendidad I) Teil von Parthien war, läßt sich nicht entscheiden. Im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. wurde Parthien vom Mederreich erobert und die Bevölkerung nahm die medische Tracht an. Die parthische Sprache ist erst seit hellenistischer Zeit in Inschriften und literarischen Texten belegt, sie gehört wie das Medische zur nordwestiranischen Gruppe. Ungeklärt sind bisher Hinweise darauf, daß ein Seitenzweig des achämenidischen Herrscherhauses, aus dem Dareios' Vorfahren stammen, als Fürsten in Parthien eingesetzt waren, denn Dareios' Vater Hystaspes war während des in der Bisotuninschrift beschriebenen Aufstandes in Parthien anwesend¹³⁷.
- Sagartien, Asagarta (altpersisch a-s-g-r-t), scheint ein Distrikt von Assyrien gewesen zu sein, da der Aufstand des Rebells Cisantaxma (nach Inschrift DB §21) in der Satrapie Assyrien stattfand und der Delinquent in deren Hauptstadt Arbela (DB §33) hingerichtet wurde, doch die Tracht und auch die politische Ausrichtung des Rebells ist medisch. Sagartien wurde als einzige Satrapie unter Dareios I. wieder aufgelöst und entweder Medien oder Assyrien zugeschlagen. Möglicherweise sind die Asagarta die um 700 v.Chr. in assyrischen Texten erwähnten Parsumaš und die Vorfahren der mit den Persern sprachverwandten, aber im Westen lebenden heutigen Luren. Herodot I,125 rechnet die Sagartier nämlich zu den 10 Stämmen der Perser¹³⁸.

¹³⁶ Kleiner Pauly 1979, 3: 1128-1129 s.v. Media (Duchesne-Guillemin): die Aufteilung in Herodots 11. und 18. Satrapie ist sehr fraglich, da in den Inschriften nicht nachweisbar. Herzfeld 1968: 301: das alte Gutium. Walser 1966: 70; Tourovets 2001: 228; Högemann 1992: 71.

¹³⁷ Kleiner Pauly 1979, 4: 532-537 s.v. Parthia (Hans Volkmann) ausschließlich über die Arsakidenzeit, Herzfeld 1968: 317; Tourovets 2001: 230; Gropp 1995: 109-123, 131 note 32.

¹³⁸ von Gall 1972: 261; Encyclopaedia Iranica II 1987: 701 s.v. Asagarta (Wilhelm Eilers): akkad. Sagarta, wohl nahe Arbela, ~ Zikirta bei Sargon II. Vielleicht bei Siirt, das aber sehr weit westlich liegt, nach Junge und Christensen hat Sagartien in Fars gelegen.

- Hyrkanien (altpersisch v-r-k-a-n/Varkana) war ein Distrikt von Parthien, der als Land nicht in den Listen erwähnt wird, aber in dem Feldzugsbericht der Bisotuninschrift (DB§35-37). In vorachämenidischer Zeit gehörte dieser Distrikt als 9. Land Chnenta vehrkano-shayana zum Ostiranischen Reich (Vendidad I). Seit der Sasanidenzeit gewann das Land an Bedeutung durch seinen Hafen am Kaspischen Meer, der die Handelsstraßen aus Ostiran mit dem riesigen Wolga-Kama-Becken verband.

c. Ostiran (Tracht III): Deutlicher noch als in der Studie von Schmidt 1970 konnte bei unserer Analyse der Apadana-Reliefs eine ostiranische Völkergruppe mit gemeinsamer Tracht beobachtet werden, die 4 Länder umfaßt. In den beiden Länderlisten des Avesta und in der Liste der Bisotuninschrift sind diese Länder mit der Nordiranischen und Indischen Gruppe (s. Abschnitte d, f) eng verbunden, doch werden in der ältesten Avesta-Liste (Yasht 10) zunächst nur zwei dazugezählt (Haraiwa und Margu), Zranka und Arachosien schlossen sich erst später (Vendidad I-Liste) dem Ostiranischen Reich an. Dann allerdings gibt es Hinweise, als sei Zranka zur Zeit der Eingliederung in das Achämenidenreich das Zentrum dieses Reichsgebildes gewesen. (Abb. 7) In hellenistischer Zeit setzte sich in diesem Bereich die baktrische Kanzleisprache durch, daher ist von keinem dieser Völker die alte Sprache erhalten geblieben. Wenn aber die in zwei Tälern nahe Kabul überlebenden Dialekte Ormuri und Parachi Reste der Sprache Arachosiens bewahren, gehörten die Sprachen des Ostiranischen Landes dem Westiranischen (Zentraldialekte) an.

- Zranka (altpersisch z-r-k) erhielt in persischer Sprache den (bei den Griechen überlieferten) Namen Drangiane und ist die heutige Landschaft Seistan in Ostiran/ Südwestafghanistan. In der Avesta-Länderliste trägt es als 11. Land den Namen Haētumant (Vendidad I) nach dem großen Fluß (heute) Helmand, und die Avestahymne Yt.19 widmet dem Land einen ganzen Abschnitt (§§65-77) und beschreibt den See Kansaoya/Hamun-e Helmand mit seinen Zuflüssen und die Herrschaft der dort residierenden Kayanidenfürsten Kavi Kavâta, Kavi Aipivohu, Kavi Usan und Kavi Haosravah. Dieser Bericht hat möglicherweise einen historischen Kern. Zumindest läßt sich der Bericht über das Wagenrennen des Kavi Haosravah in Azarbaijan am See Caicasta, in dessen Verlauf er den heidnischen Tempel zerstörte und das Feuerheiligtum Adur Gushnasp errichtete, mit dem archäologischen Befund an den Ruinen des Zendan-e Sulaiman vergleichen¹³⁹. Nach Arrian III.27.4 erhielt das Land von Kyros bei seiner

¹³⁹ Hauschild 1959: 6ff konnte feststellen, dass die Avesta-Terminologie des Wagenrennens und der Rennbahn mit den hethitisch-mitannischen Pferdetexten Übereinstimmungen aufweist, und dass wahrscheinlich in Azarbaijan ein Hippodrom errichtet war. Kleiss 1971 hat durch seine Ausgrabungen zwei Bauphasen nachgewiesen, deren zweite um 700 v.Chr. nach einer Zerstörung stattfand. Dies könnte der Neubau eines zarathustrischen Feuerheiligtums auf den Ruinen eines voriranischen Tempels sein. Der avestische Name des Sees Caicasta, an dem diese Bauten liegen, hat sich bis in das Mittelalter in der Form Shiz erhalten. Statt mit dem Feldzug eines ostiranischen Herrschers kann der Text aber

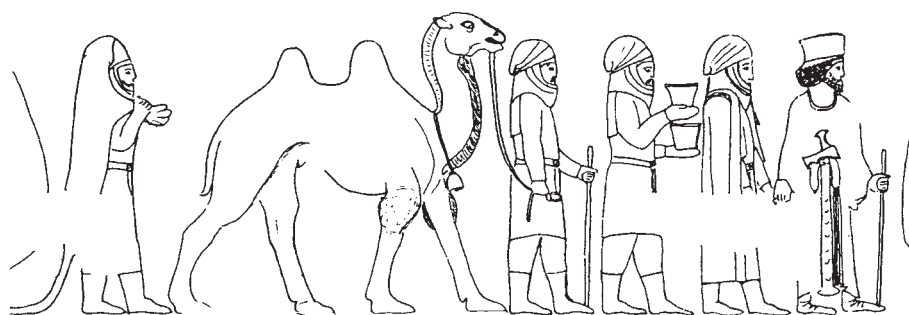


Abb. 7. c. Ostiran: Zranka, Haraiwa, Arachosien
(Delegationen 4, 7, 15) (nach Koch 1997).

Aufnahme in das Achämenidenreich besondere Vorrechte eingeräumt und in der Satrapienliste DB §6 steht es an der Spitze des Ostiranischen Reiches. Dazu stimmt die Beobachtung, daß die Delegation des Landes außer vom Satrapen auch von dem einheimischen König angeführt wird, möglicherweise einem Nachkommen der Kayaniden. In hellenistischer Zeit wurde das Land zum Mittelpunkt des Sakenreiches (Sagastan, Seistan) mit der Residenz Zabul der Dynastien des Maues und Gondophares (140 v. - 50 n.Chr.), sowie des legendären Sagzi Rustam/Rôstastahm, des Helden in Ferdousis Shahname¹⁴⁰.

- Haraiwa (altpersisch h-r-i-v, griech. Areia) ist das Land um die heutige Stadt Herat in Westafghanistan. Die Länderliste des Avesta nennt es im Ostiranischen Reich als 6. Land Haraêva (Vendidad I, in Yt.10 das 5. Land). Es scheint nicht zum Mederreich gehört zu haben und erst von Kyros erobert worden zu sein¹⁴¹.
- Arachosien (altpersisch h-r-u-v-t-i-š/Harauvatiš) ist das heutige Südafghanistan mit der Hauptstadt Kandahar, wo ein achämenidisches Verwaltungsgebäude mit einer elamischen Tontafel ausgegraben wurde. Die Inschrift DB §45 erwähnt die Stadt Kapishakani, das heutige Begram nahe Kabul. Im Avesta ist es als 10. Land Haraxvaiti des Ostiranischen Reiches (Vendidad I) erwähnt¹⁴².
- Margu/Margiana (altpersisch m-a-r-g-v), heute das östliche Turkmenien mit der Metropole Mary/Merv, wird in der Inschrift DB §38-39 als Distrikt (dahyu) der Satrapie (ebenfalls dahyu) Baktrien bezeichnet, doch die Tracht ist ostiranisch und mit der von Haraiwa verwandt. Der Distrikt wurde wahrscheinlich von einem Fratarak verwaltet. Die Länderliste des Ostiranischen Reiches nennt Margiana als 3. Land (Vendidad I, nach Yt.10 war es das 4. Land). Durch Ausgrabungen ist die große Bedeutung dieses Landes in der Mittleren Bronzezeit (2100 – 1700 v.Chr.) bekannt geworden¹⁴³.

d. Nordiran (Tracht IVa): Die von Schmidt 1970 in der »skythischen Tracht« (IV) zusammengefaßten Völker lassen sich in zwei Gruppen aufgliedern, die Nordiraner, d.h. die am Oxus wohnenden Völker, und die Saken. Die beiden Trachten sind besonders an den Thronträgern der Felsgräber und des Palastes Persepolis M deutlich zu unterscheiden. Schmidt 1970 hatte die Baktrer der Tracht II zugeordnet. Die Nordiraner wurden mit den anderen Völkern des Ostiranischen Reiches von Kyros in den Achämenidenstaat aufgenommen und gehörten seither zu dessen treuesten

auch dadurch erklärt werden, dass ein zarathustrischer Gelehrter die ähnlich klingenden Namen der Könige Haosravah und Uvaxštra kontaminierte, dass also ein Mederkönig das Heiligtum errichtete.

¹⁴⁰ Herzfeld 1968: 331; Walser 1966: 80; Tourovets 2001: 243; Encyclopaedia Iranica VII 1997: 535-537 s.v. Drangiana (Rüdiger Schmitt).

¹⁴¹ Herzfeld 1968: 330; Walser 1966: 75; Tourovets 2001: 231; Encyclopaedia Iranica XII 2004: 205-206 s.v. Herat (Willem Vogelsang).

¹⁴² Herzfeld 1968: 332; Tourovets 2001: 235; Gnoli 1983; Encyclopaedia Iranica II 1987: 246 s.v. Arachosia (Rüdiger Schmitt): er setzt das Volk mit den Thamanaioi in Herodots Satrapie 14 gleich.

¹⁴³ Kleiner Pauly 1979, 3: 1021 s.v. Margiana (Duchesne-Guillemin), Herzfeld 1968: 322.

Verbündeten. Ein choresmischer General hat an der ägyptischen Südgrenze Dienst geleistet. Von einem Altbaktrischen Reich berichtet wenig überzeugend Ktesias¹⁴⁴, auch die ältere indische Überlieferung von einem Staat Vahlka/Bahlka¹⁴⁵, d.i. Baktrien, im Mahabharata ist nicht gut faßbar. In der avestischen Länderliste des Yasht 10 stehen die Länder Sogdien und Choresmien am Ende, in der Liste Vendidad I stehen Baktrer und Sogder vorn, doch die Choresmier fehlen, sie scheinen sich vom Bund wieder getrennt zu haben. In hellenistischer Zeit entstand das Baktrische Reich der makedonischen Söldner und der Kushan. Alle drei Völker entwickelten eigene Schriftsprachen mit reicher Literatur. (Abb. 8)

- Baktrien (altpersisch b-a-x-t-r-i-š/Baxtriš), das heutige Nordafghanistan mit der alten Metropole Baktra/Balch/Mazar-e Sharif, reichte über den Oxus/Amu Darya hinweg nach Norden in das heutige südliche Tajikistan (auf der TAVO-Karte Gropp 1985 ist das zu korrigieren). Dort wurde um 1890 der Kronschatz der Satrapen und ihrer hellenistischen Nachfolger gefunden, der als Oxuschatz in das British Museum gelangte. Die Länderliste des Avesta nennt Baktrien als 4. Land des Ostiranischen Reiches (Vendidad I). Die baktrische Sprache ist uns seit der hellenistischen Epoche in griechischer Schrift erhalten und hat sich bis heute in den Tälern am oberen Oxus in einigen Pamirdialekten lebendig erhalten¹⁴⁶.
- Sogdien (altpersisch s-u-gu-u-d/Suguda) erstreckte sich über das östliche Uzbekistan, das nördliche Tajikistan und Teile von Kirgizien und Kasachstan. Die Länderlisten des Avesta rechnen es zum Ostiranischen Reich zusammen mit Gava als 2. Land (Vendidad I, in Yt.10 als 6. und 7. Land). Bereits zu Dareios' Zeiten waren die Sogder geschickte Kaufleute und vermittelten den Handel mit dem in Baktrien gefundenen Lapislazuli an die achämenidische Hauptstadt Susa. Seit hellenistischer Zeit wurden sie die wichtigsten Händler an der Seidenstraße, dort haben sich ansehnliche Reste des sogdischen Schrifttums erhalten, hauptsächlich in aramäischer Schrift. Außerdem ist die Sprache in dem Tal des Yagnob-Flusses in Tajikistan bis heute lebendig geblieben¹⁴⁷.
- Choresmien (altpersisch u-v-a-r-z-mi-i-š/Uvarazmiš) liegt am Unterlauf des Oxus im westlichen Uzbekistan und nördlichen Turkmenien. In der Länderliste des Avesta wird es als 8. Land des Ostiranischen Reiches aufgezählt (Yt. 10,

¹⁴⁴ Justi 1904: 402-404 zweifelt am Bestehen eines vorachämenidischen Reiches in Baktrien.

¹⁴⁵ Law 1976: 133, Baktrien/Vahlka wird erwähnt im Epos Ramayana, im Mahabharata gehören die Vahlka zu den Bundesgenossen der Kauravas in der großen Schlacht gegen die Pandavas.

¹⁴⁶ Herzfeld 1968: 322; Walser 1966: 88; Tourovets 2001: 241; Encyclopaedia Iranica III 1989: 340 s.v. Bactria (P. Leriche); Herodots Satrapie 12, es gäbe nur wenig archäologische Funde.

¹⁴⁷ Kleiner Pauly 1979, 5: 247 s.v. Sogdiana (Duchesne-Guillemin); Herzfeld 1968: 322; Walser 1966: 93.

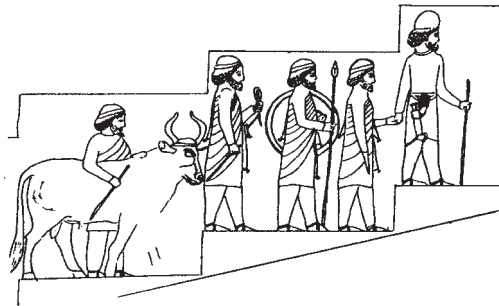
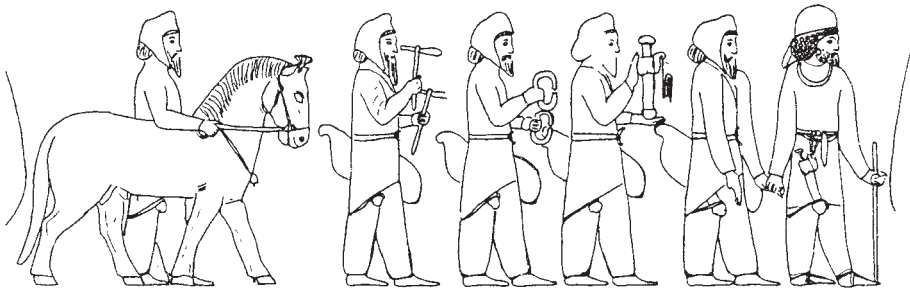


Abb. 8. d. Nordiran: Baktrien, Sogdien, Choresmien
(Delegationen 13, 17, 21) (nach Koch 1997).

es fehlt aber in Vendidad I). Man hat aus nachachämenidischer Zeit stammende Handschriften in aramäischer Schrift ausgegraben, und einige spätere, im 13. Jahrhundert in arabischer Schrift abgefaßte Texte sind in den Bibliotheken Istanbuls aufgetaucht¹⁴⁸.

e. Saken (Tracht IVb): Die von den Griechen als Skythen bezeichneten Bewohner der eurasischen Steppen waren vorwiegend nomadisch lebende Hirtenvölker, doch lassen neuere Forschungen erkennen, daß es auch städtische Siedlungen gab und vereinzelt Schriftdokumente. Erst Dareios I gelang es, einige Stämme zu besiegen, vorher waren sie erbitterte Feinde des Ostiranischen Reiches und für zwei Jahrzehnte Oberherren des Mederreiches. In den Länderlisten des Avesta werden sie nicht erwähnt. Nur die achämenidischen Vasallen kamen mit der zarathustrischen Religion in Berührung, die übrigen Stämme behielten die Grabsitte fürstlicher Bestattungen mit reichen Beigaben bis in die Spätantike bei. Die westlichen Saken lebten in Osteuropa und wurden Sarmaten genannt, in einem Avestatext ebenfalls Sairima. Deren Sprache hat sich bei den Osseten in zwei Tälern des nördlichen Kaukasus bis heute lebendig erhalten. (Abb. 9) Unsere Studie hat gerade für die Saken mehrere neue Lokalisierungsversuche ergeben (Abb. 14).

- Die Saka tigraxauda (altpersisch s-k-a t-i-g-r-x-u-d-a, akkadisch gimirra »Kimmerier«) wohnten nach Aussage der Inschrift DPh am Nordrand von Sogdien. Sie waren die Gegner des Reichsgründers Kyros II. und töteten ihn 530 v.Chr. in der Entscheidungsschlacht. Doch Dareios I. besiegte sie 519 v.Chr. und richtete deren Fürsten Skunxa hin. Man kann diesem Stamm die reichen Kurgane Uigarak, Cirik Rabat, Balandy und Tagisken in Kasachstan am Aralsee zuschreiben, die noch vor der achämenidischen Eroberung angelegt wurden, anschließend unter zarathustrischem Einfluß verzichteten sie auf Grabbeigaben¹⁴⁹.
- Die Saka haumavarga (altpersisch s-k-a h-u-m-v-r-g-a) haben wahrscheinlich östlich von den Saka tigraxauda gelebt und noch in achämenidischer Zeit einige Kurgane im Pamir/Tajikistan sowie den reichen Issyk Kurgan nahe Alma Ata/Kasachstan errichtet. Die in einigen Gräbern gut erhaltenen Gewänder lassen sich in Einzelheiten mit den Apadana-Reliefs vergleichen. Dareios I hat diesen Stamm um 500 v.Chr. besiegt, ihm aber erst 493 einen eigenen Satrapen gegeben. Sie scheinen nach Kashgar und Khotan im heute chinesischen Tarimbecken gewandert zu sein, dort wurde der reiche Kurgan von Urumqi/Sinjiang gefunden. Im 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr. eroberten sie das makedonische Reich in Baktrien und drangen bis nach Zranka vor, das nach ihnen

¹⁴⁸ Herzfeld 1968: 325; Encyclopaedia Iranica V 1992: 511-516 (520) s.v. Chorasmia (Yuri Aleksandrovich Rapoport).

¹⁴⁹ Kleiner Pauly 1979, 4: 1501-2 s.v. Sakai (Duchesne-Guillemin); Harmatta 1976; Hinz 1969: 98; Herzfeld 1968: 327: die Parikaniioi in Farghana, Walser 1966: 84; Tourovets 2001: 238; Sulimirski 1985 handelt vorwiegend von den Schwarzmeerskythen.

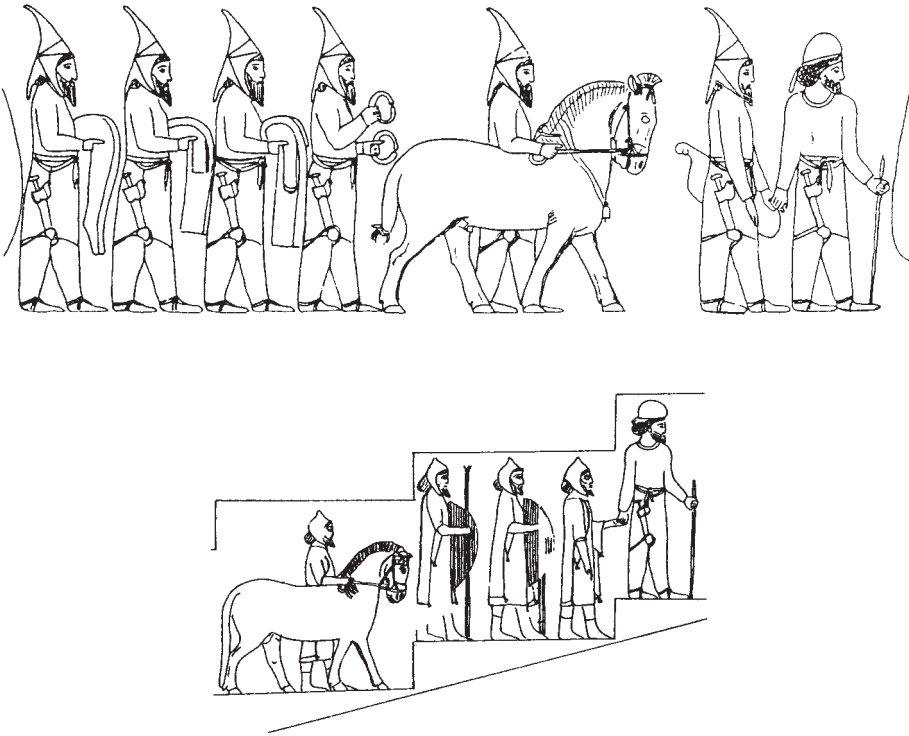


Abb. 9. e. Saken: Saka tigraxauda, Skudra (Delegationen 11, 19) (nach Koch 1997).

den Namen Sakastan/Seistan erhielt. Von dort aus drangen sie 70 n.Chr. als Vasallen des Arsakidenreiches in Nordwestindien ein, gründeten die Staaten der »Westlichen Satrapen/Mahakshatrapa« und traten zum Buddhismus über. Ihre Landsleute im Tarimbecken haben von ihnen Schrift und Religion übernommen, denn von ihnen stammen die buddhistischen Handschriften in Tums-huq- und Khotan-sakischer Sprache. Sie hatten vor ihrer Bekehrung zum Buddhismus eine Zeitlang der zurvanistischen Form des Zarathustrismus angehört, offenbar in der achämenidischen Epoche. Sakische Lehnwörter haben sich im Lokaldialekt der persischen Landschaft Seistan bis heute erhalten¹⁵⁰.

- Die Skudra (altpersisch s-ku-u-d-r) sind die Nachkommen der um 700 v.Chr. von der Krim nach Medien, Assyrien und in das Phrygerreich vordringenden Saken. Ein Teil von ihnen hatte sich im nordanatolischen Bergland festgesetzt und wurde von den Medern und frühen Achämeniden als Freistaat geduldet, bis Dareios I. 513 v.Chr. den Feldzug gegen die Schwarzmeerskythen plante.

¹⁵⁰ Kleiner Pauly 1979, 4: 1501-2 s.v. Sakai (Duchesne-Guillemin).

Da sie offenbar mit diesen weiterhin enge Kontakte über das Meer pflegten, konnte der König diesen Brückenkopf seiner Feinde im Hinterland nicht mehr dulden und hat sie unterworfen. Die Satrapie wird von Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5,5-6,1, Paphlagonien genannt, damals herrschte dort der Satrap Korylas und verhandelte in Sinope mit den griechischen Söldnern. Aus Skudra/Paphlagonien wurde der hellenistische Staat Pontos in Nordanatolien, dessen König Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysos (120-63 v.Chr.) der erbitterte Feind der Römer war und 107 v.Chr. die alten Beziehungen zu den Schwarzmeerskythen neu belebte und König des Bosporanischen Reiches auf der Krim wurde. Bisher hatte man die Satrapie Skudra mit Thrakien identifiziert, doch dazu steht die Inschrift DPh in Widerspruch¹⁵¹.

- Die Saka paradraya oder Daha (altpersisch s-k-a p-r-d-r-y, d-h-a) lebten nach dem Avestatext Yt.13 weit im Norden, offenbar an der Wolgamündung und dem Uralfluß, von wo sie in hellenistischer Zeit nach Parthien/Westturkmenien vordrangen. An ihren alten Sitzen liegen der Tribrata Kurgan an der Kalas westlich von Astrakhan und der Kurgan Bes Oba bei Orenburg am Uralfluß. In Orsk bei Orenburg hat man 1971 ein Alabastron mit viersprachiger Inschrift (altpersisch, elamisch, babylonisch, ägyptisch) des Artaxerxes I. gefunden. Dieser Stamm der Saken wurde erst in den letzten Regierungsjahren Dareios' I. den Achämeniden unterworfen, ohne daß Herodot oder andere griechische Historiker davon erfuhren. Nach den Daha erhielt Westturkmenien den heutigen Namen Dehestan. Die griechischen Geographen nennen sie Daoi und berichten von ihrer Wanderung nach Süden, als sie in Parthien die Dynastie der Arsakiden begründeten. Sakische Lehnwörter haben sich in den Lokaldialekten der Städte Semnan und Sangisar östlich von Teheran bis heute erhalten. Einen Stamm Daoi, d.i. Daha, zählt Herodot zu den 10 Stämmen der Perser, doch entweder hat er sie falsch eingeordnet oder es handelt sich um ein gleichnamiges Volk im Süden¹⁵².
- Akaufaciya (altpersisch a-k-u-f-c-i-y-a) war ein Stamm der Saken am Nordrand des Kaukasus. Dort hat das Land Qifcaq, das zwar erst im islamischen Mittelalter genannt wird, offenbar den alten Namen dieses sakischen Volkes bewahrt. Nach Ibn Battuta 2002 p.120 erstreckte sich die Qifcaq-Ebene vom Asowschen Meer zum Kaukasus. Xerxes hat diesen Stamm zu Beginn seiner Herrschaft unterworfen. Von diesem Stamm der Saken stammen vielleicht die Kurgane Nartan und Chut Stepnoj am Terek in Tshetshenien. Herzfeld wollte dieses Volk in der heutigen persischen Provinz Khorasan, dem alten Quhestan/

¹⁵¹ Gropp 2001. Andere Gelehrte lokalisieren Skudra in Thrakien: Walser 1966: 95; Balcer 1970; Balcer 1988; Alexandrescu 1986; Bülow 1981: 102-9; Castritius 1972; Hammond 1980; Pajakowski 1981; Pajakowski 1983. Über den Satrap Korylas von Paphlagonien: Klinkott 2005: 473, 486.

¹⁵² Dandamajev 1976: 36. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VI 1993: 581 s.v. Dahae (Francois de Blois und Willem Vogelsang): sie lebten nahe Margiana und Hyrkanien, heute Dehestan, kämpften in der Armee des Dareios III gegen Alexander und waren auch bei Alexander tüchtige Bogenschützen. Gropp 1995: 131 note 32; Nagel 1983: 171.

Kufs lokalisieren, doch die von ihm nicht als Abbildungen des Volkes erkannten Darstellungen an den Türreliefs des Hundesäulensaales Persepolis M zeigen deutlich, daß es sich um Saken handelt¹⁵³.

f. Inder (Tracht V): Zum Achämenidenreich und schon dem vorangegangenen Ostiranischen Reich gehörten auch die Länder des heutigen Pakistan. Wahrscheinlich empfanden die Perser noch die Verwandtschaft der mittelindischen Sprachen mit dem Iranischen, denn in den ethnisch geordneten Völkerlisten werden diese Völker meist zu den Iranern gerechnet. Am Ende der Achämenidenherrschaft entwickelten Schreiber dieser Völker aus der aramäischen Kanzleischrift die beiden indischen Schriften Kharoshthi und Brahmi, und letztere hat sich bis heute in mehreren Varianten über ganz Südasien verbreitet. (Abb. 10)

Hindu (altpersisch h-i-du-u-š) gehörte als 15. Satrapie Hapta Hendu («Sieben Fluß-Land» in Vendidad I) bereits zum Ostiranischen Reich, wurde aber erst von Dareios I. für das Achämenidenreich erworben. Es ist mit dem heutigen Pandjab («Fünf Flüsse») in Pakistan gleichzusetzen, denn außer den 5 heute namengebenden großen Flüssen sind dort noch zwei weitere nachzuweisen, deren Namen die indischen Puranas kennen. Hauptstadt war Taxila, wo achämenidische Besiedlung nachgewiesen ist. Die Eroberung muß auf diplomatischem Wege verlaufen sein, denn der einheimische König regierte neben dem Satrapen weiter und ist auf den Apadana-Reliefs dargestellt¹⁵⁴.

– Sattagydien (altpersisch th-t-gu-u-š) ist mit Sind im heutigen südlichen Pakistan gleichzusetzen. Es scheint nicht zu den in Vendidad I aufgezählten Ländern des Ostiranischen Reiches gehört zu haben. Die Alexander-Historiker kennen ein »Sogdien« am Indus, das ist wahrscheinlich aus Thatagush verhält. In dieser Satrapie lag der wichtige Bolan-Paß, der zweite bedeutende Zugang vom Hochland zur Indusebene. Die Hauptstadt war Rohri-Alor¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵³ Motzenbäcker 2000: 221; Encyclopaedia of Islam V 1986: 125-126 s.v. Kipcak (G. Hazai) behandelt das Turkvolk dieses Namens. Encyclopaedia of Islam II 1965: 85-89 s.v. Daghistan (W. Barthold + A. Bennigsen) erwähnen Qipcak nicht. Andere Gelehrte lokalisieren Akaufaciya in Khorasan: Schmitt 1978: 120 der Name Hakupiziya auf elamischen Tontafeln sei vielleicht mit Akaufaciya identisch; Encyclopaedia Iranica I 1985: 706 s.v. Akaufaciya (Rüdiger Schmitt), elam. Hakupiziya, akkad. Akupish. Schaefer 1942 und Junge 1944 verbinden den Namen mit mp. Kofec, np. Kufec, Qofs, d.i. Bashagerd, und lokalisieren das Volk in Baluchistan nahe dem Persischen Golf. Bosworth 1976 behandelt die mittelalterlichen Quellen. In sasanidisch/ frühislamischer Zeit wird Qufs am Persischen Golf in der Länderliste des Moses von Chorene aufgezählt. In der Achämenidenzeit gehörte Bashagerd zur Satrapie Maka und es gibt keine Hinweise darauf, dass diese zum Grundbestand des Achämenidenreiches zählende Satrapie geteilt wurde.

¹⁵⁴ Herzfeld 1968: 346; Walser 1966: 94; Tourovets 2001: 247; Schmitt 1978: 118 auf elamischen Tontafeln häufig, Dittmann 1984; Kleiner Pauly 1979, 2: 1388-1393 s.v. India (J.D.M. Derrett) beschäftigt sich erst mit der hellenistischen Epoche, p.89.

¹⁵⁵ Herzfeld 1968: 341; Walser 1966: 89; Tourovets 2001: 250.

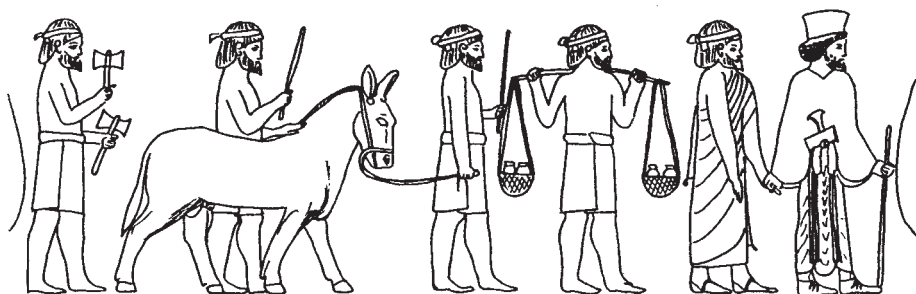


Abb.10. f. Inder: Hindu, Satattagydien, Maka
(Delegationen 18, 14, 12) (nach Koch 1997).

- Gandara (altpersisch g-d-a-r) gehörte nach Aussage der Puranas zu den 16 frühen Königreichen Indiens (Gandhara), Hauptstadt war Puskalavati/Peshawar im heutigen Pakistan am Khyber-Paß. Die Bewohner werden schon im Rgveda genannt und sprachen in achämenider Zeit Prakrit. In hellenistischer Zeit wurde dies, geschrieben in Kharoshthi-Schrift, in NW-Indien, Afghanistan und Zentralasien eine wichtige Kanzlei- und buddhistische Literatursprache. Ältestes Denkmal dieser Sprache ist die große Felsinschrift Ashokas in Shahbazgarhi nahe Peshawar. Heutige Nachkommen des Volkes sind die Darden. Die akkadische Version der Achämenideninschriften nennt das Land Paruparisaena, d.i. griechisch Paropamisos. Dies ist ein Wort der Avestasprache (»am Berg Uparisaena«) und gibt einen wichtigen Hinweis auf die Heimat der zarathustrischen Literatur. Einige Gelehrte halten Gandhara und Paropamisos fälschlicherweise für zwei getrennte Länder. Die Länderliste des Avesta (Vendidad I) nennt an Stelle von Gandara als Land 7 des Ostiranischen Reiches Vaêkereta, das in den buddhistischen Schriften Vaikrtika genannt wird. Henning 1947 konnte es mit Gandhara identifizieren (nach Vendidad I residierte hier der mythische König Hoshang). Am Berg Uparisaena lag auch das Land Iskata (in der Länderliste Yt.10: Land 2), wo wahrscheinlich König Vishtaspa residierte, der Gönner des Propheten Zarathustra. Und hier lag wohl auch das Kernland 1 des Ostiranischen Reiches, Airya.šayana/Airyana vaêjah (Vendidad I und Yt.10), das dem Großstaat seinen Namen gab. In den indischen Puranas wird an dessen Stelle unter den 16 frühen Königreichen Indiens das Land Kamboja genannt, ein Land mit iranischer Sprache und zarathustrischer Religion. Um 640 v.Chr. hatte offenbar Kyros I. eine Prinzessin aus Kamboja geheiratet und nach ihr seinen Sohn Kambujiya/Kambyzes I benannt. Die Kamboja beherrschten in hellenistischer Zeit den Fernhandel auf dem Indus und von dessen Hafen aus auf dem Indischen Ozean. So konnten sie auf Ceylon siedeln und in Südostasien den nach ihnen benannten Staat gründen. In der Satrapie Gandara lebten also mehrere Völker, darunter ehemals eminent wichtige altiranische Staaten, aber die Achämeniden übergaben die Leitung einem indischen Volk, ein Zeichen dafür, daß die Eingliederung in das Imperium Probleme bereitet hat¹⁵⁶.
- Maka (altpersisch m-k-a, m-c-i-y-a, griechisch Gedrosien, akkadisch Qa-du-u/»der Osten«) ist der pakistanische und südiranische Makran, das alte Magan, in dem noch heute das indische Volk Brahui lebt. Dazu gehörte wahrscheinlich auch die gegenüberliegende Halbinsel Oman. Die Brahui-Sprache ist dem

¹⁵⁶ Herzfeld 1968: 336 möchte Herodots Dadikai in Gandara ansiedeln, aber auch seine Vorschläge p. 341 für Sattagydien treffen auf Gandara zu: Hier lag die Ostgrenze des Imperiums und das Land der Kamboja. Encyclopaedia Iranica X 2001: 269-270 s.v. Gandhara (Willem Vogelsang); Humbach 1981; Schwartz 1985: 640-641; Law 1976: 52, 76 (Gandhara) und 53, 88 (Kamboja); Henning 1947: 52 (Vaikrtika); Bongard-Levin 1975; Bailey 1971; Harmatta 1990: 401 Kamboja: nach Yâska und Ashoka-Inschriften sind 56 Wörter der Sprache bekannt, die mit dem Avesta eng verwandt sind, Kuhn 1904 konnte nach den indischen Quellen die iranische Sprache und die zarathustrische Religion des Volkes der Kamboja feststellen.

nichtindogermanischen Südindisch-Dravidischen verwandt. Die iranischen Baluchen sind erst zur Zeit des Buyidenreiches um 950 n.Chr. vom Kaspischen Meer her eingewandert. In der Bronzezeit war Magan berühmt für seine reichen Erzminen¹⁵⁷.

g. Anatolier (Tracht II, IVb und VI): Kleinasien/Anatolien war ein Gebiet alter Kulturvölker, insbesondere der Hethiter, Lyder und Urartäer, in das bereits während der Mittleren Bronzezeit griechische Stämme eingewandert waren, um an der Westküste reiche Hafenstädte zu gründen, besonders Milet. Die iranischen Skudra (Abb. 9) gehörten zu den Einwanderern im 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr. Ebenfalls im 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr. unterwanderten die indogermanischen Armenier und Phryger die Gebiete Urartu und Kizwatna. Seit 600 v.Chr. eroberten die Meder diese beiden Länder, deren Völker danach die medische Tracht annahmen (Abb. 6). Nur an der Westküste, in Lydien, Jonien und Karien, hielt man an einheimischen Trachten fest. (Abb. 11)

- Die Armenier (altpersisch a-r-mi-i-n/Armina) haben die medische Tracht (II) übernommen, werden aber als Nichtiraner angesehen, wie die Zuordnung in den ethnisch gegliederten Listen zeigt. In der akkadischen Version der Achämenideninschriften heißt das Land Urashtu, d.i. Urartu. Die Sprache der urartäischen Keilinschriften des 9. - 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr. ist mit dem Hurritischen verwandt, einer von 2000 bis 1400 v.Chr. in Syrien verbreiteten isolierten Sprachgruppe. Die indogermanische armenische Sprache hat sich erst um 600 v.Chr. unter der Oberherrschaft der Meder durchgesetzt. Die Xerxes-Inschrift am Van-Felsen läßt erkennen, dass die alte urartäische Metropole Tushpa/Van als Satrapen-Residenz fortbestand. Die Urartäer sind berühmt für ihre Metall- und Steinmetzkunst und haben maßgebend an der Gestaltung der achämenidischen Hofkunst mitgewirkt. Ob der Entschluß Dareios' I., seine Inschriften dreisprachig abzufassen, auf urartäische Anregungen zurückgeht, ist noch ungeklärt. Aber die Anregungen zur Anlage seines Felsgrabes bekam er von den Urartäern¹⁵⁸.
- Die Kappadokier (altpersisch k-t-p-tu-u-k/Katpatuka) nahmen ebenfalls die medische Tracht (II) an. Sie gehörten seit der Schlacht am Halys 585 v.Chr. zwischen Kyaxares II. und dem Lyder Alyattes zum Mederreich. Da keine Inschriften aus achämenidischer Zeit erhalten sind, ist die Sprachzugehörigkeit ungeklärt. Die Satrapie Kappadokien mit den Metropolen Gordion, Angora/Ankara und Tyana erstreckte sich über die Gebiete des bronzezeitlichen Hethiterreiches und

¹⁵⁷ Eilers 1983; Herzfeld 1968: 332 Gedrosien; Schmitt 1978: 121 auf elamischen Tontafeln wird ein Satrap von Pura genannt; Geiger 1898: 394: Pura / Purush (heute Bampur) war Hauptstadt von Gedrosien/Maka, Kleiner Pauly 1979, 3: 906 s.v. Makai (Albert Dietrich) lokalisiert das Volk in Oman, Kleiner Pauly 1979, 2: 710-11 s.v. Gedrosia (Duchesne-Guillemin) bringt die Bevölkerung mit den Brahui in Verbindung.

¹⁵⁸ Herzfeld 1968: 313; Walser 1966: 74; Tourovets 2001: 244; Encyclopaedia Iranica II 1987: 417 s.v. Armenia (Rüdiger Schmitt): Herodots Satrapie 13, die Satrapen wurden bald erblich.



Abb.11. g. Anatolier: Lydien (Delegation 6) (nach Koch 1997).

Kizwatna, die im 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr. den Ostteil des Phrygischen Reiches Muski bildeten. In der Satrapenresidenz Gordion hat man ein prachtvolles persisches Gebäude ausgegraben. Die Tradition phrygischer Felsmonumente (7. Jahrhundert v.Chr.) in der Nähe von Gordion scheint in der Achämenidenzeit erloschen zu sein. Die Felsgräber für Dareios I und seine Nachfolger sowie einige Satrapen wurden wahrscheinlich von urartäischen Künstlern angeregt. Der Rebell Kyros d.Jg. eroberte nach Xenophon, *Anabasis* I,2, die Hauptstadt Tyana und tötete den Satrapen. Noch im 6. Jahrhundert n.Chr. hatte sich in einigen Dörfern Kappadokiens der zarathustrische Kalender in altmedischer Sprachform erhalten¹⁵⁹.

- Das Hellespontische Jonien (altpersisch y-u-n-a t-k-b-r-a oder y-u-n-a t-y-i-y d-r-y-h-y-a) wird von Herodot und Xenophon Phrygien genannt, es umfaßte außer dem griechisch besiedelten Aiolien/Troas mit den vorgelagerten Inseln Limnos, Lesbos und Chios die in hellenistischer Zeit als Bithynien und Mysien bekannten westlichen Teile des Phrygischen Reiches Muski. Auch die von Dareios I. und Xerxes eroberte Küste Thrakiens scheint dieser Satrapie angehört zu haben, denn die von vielen Gelehrten dort lokalisierte Satrapie Skudra lag in Nordanatolien. Die Westgrenze wurde 513/12 im Zuge des Skythenfeldzuges von Perinth am nördlichen Marmarameer bis nach Eion am Strymon in Makedonien vorgeschoben und blieb so bis nach dem Griechenlandfeldzug 480, erst 463 ging die Küste an die Griechen verloren und die Perser mußten sich auf die Südseite der Dardanellen zurückziehen. Es gab offenbar keine Befestigungswerke, die Vasallenvölker des Grenzlandes waren für die Verteidigung verantwortlich und erhielten viele Goldbecher als Geschenke, die in

¹⁵⁹ Herzfeld 1968: 311: das alte Kizwatna, Walser 1966: 83. Zur medischen Kopfbedeckung, der »phrygischen Mütze«, die im Römerreich zum Abzeichen der freigelassenen Sklaven und in der französischen Revolution zum Symbol der Unabhängigkeit wurde, siehe Metzler 1990: 723 und Wolle 1988: 199-200; Koch 1993: 117ff: »medische« Kappe. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* IV 1990: 780-786 s.v. Cappadocia (Michael Weiskopf); Tourovets 2001: 237.

den Thrakischen Hortfunden zu Tage kamen. Sehr unwahrscheinlich ist die Identifizierung der Satrapie »die im Meere (gelegenen Inseln)« mit Cypern, denn dort scheint der Satrap von Assyrien zuständig gewesen zu sein. Residenz des Satrapen von Hellespont war Daskyleion am Marmarameer, es ist durch Ausgrabungen und viele erhaltene Reliefstelen gut bekannt¹⁶⁰.

- Jonien (altpersisch y-u-n/Yauna) war seit mykenischer Zeit um 1400 v.Chr. griechisches Siedlungsgebiet an der anatolischen Westküste und wurde als Bund der 12 Jonischen Städte von Pausanias beschrieben. Satrapensitz war wohl unter Kyros II. Milet, nach dessen Zerstörung unter Dareios I. Magnesia. Nachdem Kyros II. Lydien erobert hatte, übernahm die zu Jonien gehörige Insel Samos unter Polykrates den Fernhandel zwischen dem Achämenidenreich und den Mittelmeerländern und gelangte zu seinem eindrucksvollen Reichtum. Der Heratempel als einer der ältesten Marmorbauten Griechenlands und die technische Leistung des Felsentunnels erweisen, daß der Reichtum die besten Spezialisten der damaligen Welt anzog. Von griechischen Historikern erfahren wir, daß Jonische Gelehrte am Achämenidenhof in Susa als Berater und Ärzte tätig waren. Auch die Reliefs von Persepolis sollen nach Ansicht einiger Archäologen von Jonischen Bildhauern geschaffen worden sein, doch dagegen sind schwerwiegende Bedenken erhoben worden. Die rhythmische Stilisierung der Wände läßt deutlich den Stil iranischer Goldschmiedekunst erkennen und ist ganz un griechisch¹⁶¹.
- In Lydien (altpersisch s-p-r-d/Sparda, d.i. die medische Form des von den Griechen in persischer Aussprache überlieferten Namens der Stadt Sardeis) hat sich eine Sprache der hethitischen Gruppe bis in die hellenistische Zeit erhalten. Lydien war als Handelsemporium zwischen dem riesigen Hinterland des Mederreiches und den Mittelmeerstaaten unter den Königen Alyattes und Krösos Vorläufer des Polykrates von Samos und gelangte zu ungeheurem Reichtum. Alyattes (610-561 v.Chr.) ließ als erster Herrscher Münzen prägen. Auch Krösos verwandte seinen Reichtum für ein Marmorbauwerk, den Arthemistempel in seiner Hafenstadt Ephesos, die später zu Jonien gerechnet wurde. In Sardes und anderen Städten haben sich mehrere Schmuckfunde erhalten, die den Wohlstand der Satrapie bezeugen. Der König von Lydien wurde nach der Eroberung 547 von den Achämeniden als Gast geehrt und ist auf den Apadana-Reliefs dargestellt¹⁶².
- Karien (altpersisch k-r-k-a/Karka) hat Dareios I. nach dem Jonischen Aufstand 493 als neue Satrapie eingerichtet, wie seine Inschriften erweisen. Um 390 wurde das Satrapenamt unter den Hekatomniden erblich, die wie vorher Alyattes und Krösos von Lydien und Polykrates von Samos den Handel zwischen

¹⁶⁰ Schmitt 1972; Kleiner Pauly 1979, 4: 825-826 s.v. Phrygia (Eckart Olshausen) beschäftigt sich vorwiegend mit der vorachämenidischen Epoche.

¹⁶¹ Herzfeld 1968: 309; Calmeyer 1983.

¹⁶² Herzfeld 1968: 310; Tourovets 2001: 240; Kleiner Pauly 1979, 3: 797-800 s.v. Lydia (Günter Neumann) beschäftigt sich vorwiegend mit dem vorachämenidischen Staat, Heichelheim 1966.

dem medisch-achämenidischen Asien und den Mittelmeerländern an sich zogen und dadurch zu so großem Reichtum gelangten, daß sie das einzigartige Grabmal des Maussolos errichten konnten. Pixodaros erwarb Lykien und ließ im Heiligtum von Xanthos wie ein Großkönig eine dreisprachige Inschrift anbringen, nennt sich aber bescheiden Satrap des Großkönigs Artaxerxes IV. In der karischen Hauptstadt Halikarnassos wurde Herodot als Enkel einer Fürstin geboren und hatte somit Zugang zu offiziellen Dokumenten der achämenidischen Staatsverwaltung¹⁶³.

h. Semiten (Tracht VII): Das uralte Kulturgebiet Mesopotamiens und Syrien-Palästinas mit seiner Keilschriftkultur wurde zu einem der Schwerpunkte des persischen Imperiums. (Abb. 12)

- Babylonien (altpersisch b-a-b-i-ru-u-š/Babiruš) hat bereits Kyros II. als altes Kulturland respektiert, als er sich zum Landeskönig krönen ließ und die Rituale des Gottes Marduk durchführte. Kyros II. und Dareios I. ließen mehrere Tempel restaurieren. Unter Dareios I. bekam das Volk für die gesamte asiatisch-europäische Kulturgeschichte eine einzigartige Bedeutung, als den dort tätigen aramäisch-sprachigen Beamten und Gelehrten die Kanzleiämter im Imperium übertragen wurden. Die babylonische Literatur und Wissenschaft wurde so an die Nachwelt weitergegeben, denn die Aramäer konnten auch die Keilschrifttexte lesen. Der babylonische Astronom Nabu-rimanni, Strabos Naburianus, regelte in Dareios' I. Auftrag den Kalender¹⁶⁴. Babylon blieb lange Zeit Residenz neben Susa und Ekbatana, denn Dareios I. ließ den Palast Nebukadnezars II. restaurieren und vergrößern. Die Kronprinzen und noch Alexander d.Gr. haben dort Hof gehalten. Babylonien blieb auch in hellenistischer und sasanidischer Zeit Teil des Perserreiches¹⁶⁵.
- Assyrien (altpersisch a-th-u-r-a/Athura) mit der Hauptstadt Arbeila im Norden dehnte sich bis Syrien (akkad. Ebir nari »jenseits des Flusses/Euphrat« in Inschrift DSf, im Gadatas-Brief: peran Euphratou) aus, wo in Damaskus die Residenz eines Fratarak lag. Die Südgrenze ist nicht deutlich erkennbar: Unter Artaxerxes II. scheint Palästina dem Satrapen von Ägypten unterstanden zu haben, doch vorher gehörte es wohl zur Satrapie Ebir nari. Assyrien wurde in hellenistischer

¹⁶³ Encyclopaedia Iranica IV 1990: 806-812 s.v. Caria (Michael Weiskopf), er scheint Karien mit Lykien zu verwechseln, das 540-390 zu Lydien gehörte und dann unter die Herrschaft der Hekatomniden-Dynastie gelangte. Kleiner Pauly 1979, 3: 118-121 s.v. Karer, Karia (Annelies Kammenhuber) befaßt sich vorwiegend mit der Sprache.

¹⁶⁴ Olmstead 1948: 202-206; Klengel 1989: 401; Schmökel 1961: 196.

¹⁶⁵ Herzfeld 1968: 304; Walser 1966: 77; Tourovets 2001: 233; Dandamayev 1972: elamische Arbeiter sind an Tempeln in Babylon und Borsippa beschäftigt (34-37); Schmitt 1978: 119; Babylonier auf elamischen Tontafeln erwähnt; Encyclopaedia Iranica III 1989: 330-332 s.v. Babylonia (M. Dandamayev), viele akkad. Tontafeln der Achämenidenzeit erhalten, Oppenheim 1985; Cagni 1985; Cameron 1941; Högemann 1992: 107; Widengren 1966; Zadok 1976.

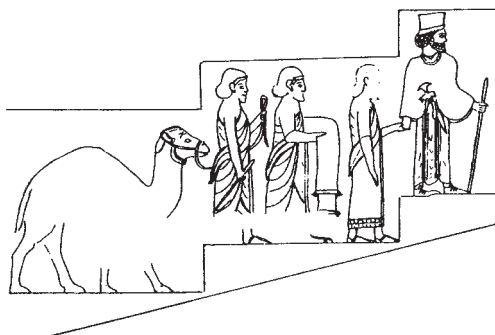
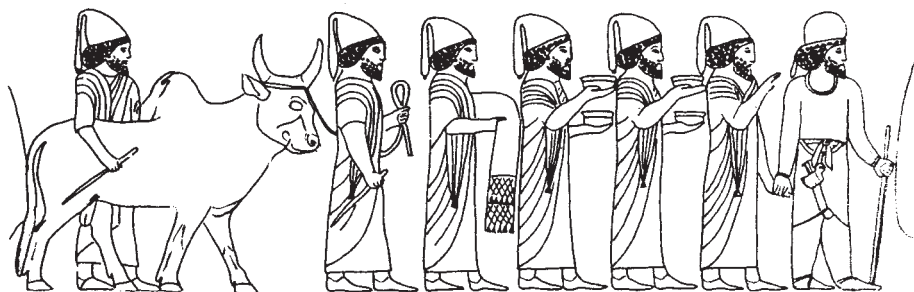


Abb.12. h. Semiten: Babylonien, Assyrien, Arabien
(Delegationen 5, 8, 20) (nach Koch 1997).

und sasanidischer Zeit ein wichtiger Brückenkopf im Kampf gegen die Römer. Die Bevölkerung mit aramäischer Sprache trat weitgehend zum Christentum über. Noch heute nennen sich die Nestorianer auch in Persien Assyrer¹⁶⁶.

- Die Satrapie Arabien (altpersisch a-r-b-a-y/Arabaya) umfaßte wahrscheinlich die von Nabonid 550 v.Chr. dem babylonischen Reich angegliederten 6 Städte von Taima bis Yatrib/Medina, allerdings sind achämenidenzeitliche Inschriften nur in Taima gefunden worden. Ob auch das von Arabern besiedelte Palästina mit dem nabatäischen Gaza und Petra anfangs zur Satrapie gerechnet wurde, ist unklar, aber von hier aus müssen Araber 526 v.Chr. die von Herodot erwähnten Vorbereitungen für den Angriff auf das ägyptische Delta unter Kambyses durchgeführt haben. Das von Herodot III,4-9 beschriebene Bündnis Kambyses' II. mit dem König der Araber hat dieser Satrapie besondere Vorrechte gesichert, und noch unter Dareios I. wird der König auf den Apadana-Reliefs abgebildet¹⁶⁷.

i. Afrikaner (Tracht VIII): Nach der Eroberung Ägyptens 525 unternahm Kambyses II. zwei schlecht geplante und fehlgeschlagene Feldzüge nach Nubien und Libyen. Erst 514 v.Chr. hat Dareios I. diese beiden Länder erworben. (Abb. 13)

- Ägypten (altpersisch mu-u-d-r-a-y/Mudraya) war neben Babylonien das zweite mächtige Kulturland, dessen Wissenschaft und Religion die Achämeniden bewundernd respektierten. Kambyses II. und Dareios I. ließen sich mit allen Ritualen zum Pharao krönen und nahmen die volle Titulatur der 5 Königstitel an. Dareios I. ließ mehrere Tempel restaurieren und den Suezkanal durchstechen, den bereits ein früherer Pharao zu bauen begonnen hatte. In den Tempelbibliotheken wurden wissenschaftliche Werke zu Handbüchern zusammengestellt und so für unsere heutige Kultur vor dem Vergessen bewahrt. Die Zarathustrier scheinen die Paradiesvorstellungen der Ägypter mit Anerkennung zur Kenntnis genommen zu haben und seit ihrer Ankunft im Lande das Totengericht außer in iranischer Weise mit der Cinvat-Brücke auch mit der Seelenwaage des Gottes Thot dargestellt zu haben. Seit Dareios I. mußten sich die seit Jahrtausenden schriftgewohnten Ägypter an die Verwaltungssprache Aramäisch gewöhnen, was wohl ein Hauptgrund für die vielen Aufstände war. In hellenistischer Zeit entstanden in Ägypten viele griechische Liebes- und Reiseromane, die jeweils in die Achämenidenzeit versetzt wurden und in denen die Perser als Vorbilder an Höflichkeit und Edelmut gezeichnet sind¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁶ Herzfeld 1968: 304; Tourovets 2001: 235; Schmitt 1978: 118; zu den elamischen Tontafeln, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* II 1987: 816 s.v. Assyria (M. Dandamayev) akkad. Ebir nari ~ Syrien, bei Herodot Satrapie V, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VII 1996: 654-655 s.v. Eber nari (M. Dandamayev); Amiran 1960; Chebab 1972; Galling 1947; Heichelheim 1966a; Hoglund 1992; Widengren 1966.

¹⁶⁷ Walser 1966: 97; Tourovets 2001: 248; *Encyclopaedia Iranica* II 1987: 201 s.v. 'Arab (C.E. Bosworth): Verbündete des Kambyses, *ibid.* p. 22 s.v. Arabaya (M. Dandamayev): Araber werden auf akkad. und elam. achämenidischen Tontafeln erwähnt. Beyer 1987.

¹⁶⁸ Herzfeld 1968: 308; Walser 1966: 84; Tourovets 2001: 237; Dandamayev 1972: Kambyses deportiert 6000 Ägypter nach Susa, darunter Psammetich III, Schmitt 1978:

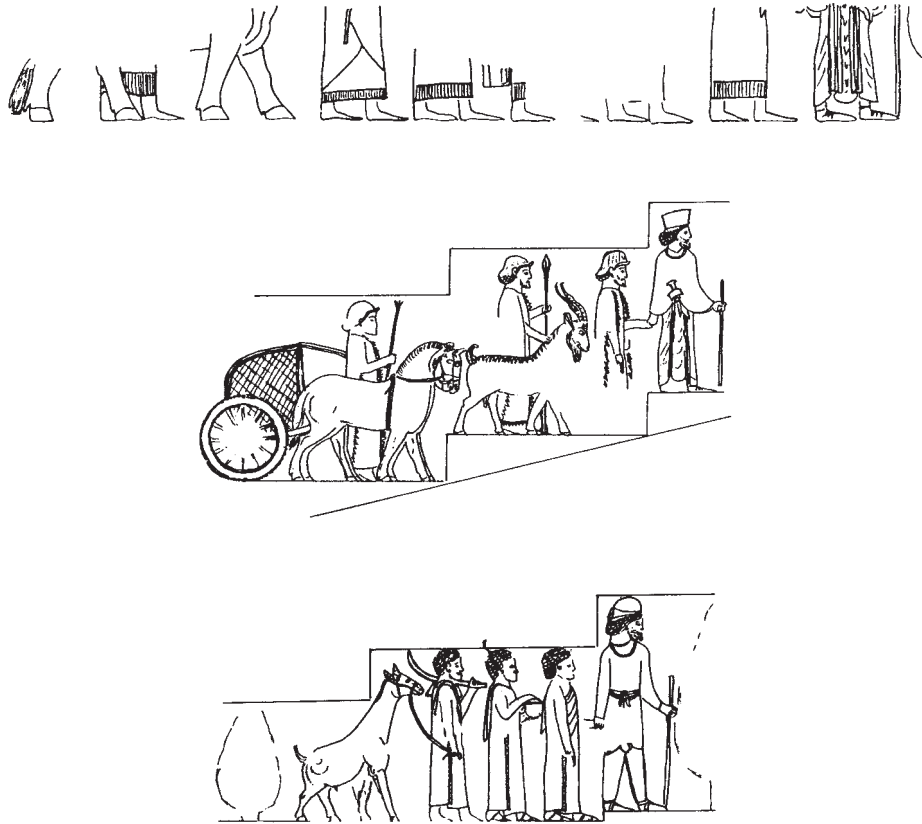


Abb.13. i. Afrikaner: Ägypten, Libyen, Nubien
(Delegationen 10, 22, 23) (nach Koch 1997).

- Libyen: Über die achämenidische Herrschaft in Libyen (altpersisch p-u-t-a-y-a/Putay, Punt, griechisch Ammonion) erfahren wir wenig außer bei Herodot IV,145-205. Die Libyer, deren nichtsemitische Sprache in hellenistischer Zeit niedergeschrieben wurde, waren seit dem Alten Reich oft als Feinde behandelte Nachbarn der Ägypter, haben aber offenbar nie einen größeren Staat gegründet. Die Generäle der als Söldner den Pharaonen dienenden Einwanderer ergriffen von 1075 bis 720 v.Chr. die Macht und stellten die Pharaonen der 21.-24. Dynastie. Kambyses' Angriff richtete sich aber schwerlich gegen diese Viehhirten der östlichen Sahara, sondern gegen zwei Siedlungsgebiete: die

118: auf elamischen Tontafeln wird Muziriya/Ägypten genannt, Encyclopaedia Iranica VIII 1998: 247 s.v. Egypt (Edda Bresciani). Bresciani 1985; Högemann 1992: 194; Ray 1987; Gropp 1990.

Oase Siwa mit dem Amun-Orakel (daher der griechische Name Ammonion) und die griechische Kolonie in der Kyrenaika, die unter der Dynastie des Batos seit 631 v.Chr. die Städte Kyrene und Barka zu Reichtum gebracht hatte. 514 v.Chr. wurde der Satrap Ägyptens von einer Fürstin dieser Dynastie um Hilfe in einem Erbstreit gebeten und konnte das Land erwerben. Vielleicht sind die großen Felsgräber der Stadt Kyrene nach persischem Vorbild geschaffen worden. Aramäische Dokumente der Satrapen haben sich offenbar nicht gefunden. Hintze 1966 stellte fest, daß unter Dareios I. ein Karawanenweg von Nubien durch die westlichen Oasen bis zur Kyrenaika angelegt worden ist und dafür Kamele aus Arabien eingeführt wurden. Die Perser haben demnach das Kamel in die Sahara gebracht. Herodot III,19 sagt, Kambyses habe auch noch Karthago (griechisch Karchedon) erobern wollen, doch weigerte sich die Flotte der Phönizier, gegen ihre Stammesangehörigen zu kämpfen. In dieser Mitteilung könnte ein Hinweis zur Erklärung des merkwürdigen Namens der Perser für Libyen liegen. Punt war für die Ägypter ein fernes Land, aber nicht Libyen, dagegen nannten sich die Karthager Punier. Haben ägyptische Offiziere dem Großkönig eingeflüstert, er könne auf der Kyrenaika einen Teil des Reiches der Punier erobern?¹⁶⁹

- Nubien (altpersisch ku-u-sh-i-y-a/Kušiya) war im Gegensatz zu Libyen ein mächtiges Reich, das sich 745 v.Chr. aus der ägyptischen Vorherrschaft befreit und eine eigene Dynastie gegründet hatte, deren zweiter Herrscher 721 v.Chr. Ägypten eroberte und dort mit seinen Nachkommen als 25. Dynastie regierte, die 664-640 v.Chr. vor den Assyren nach Süden weichen mußte. Dort regierten die Könige bis in das 4. Jh. n.Chr. weiter und erbauten große Tempel und Pyramiden. Von diesem ruhmvollen Reich hatten offenbar die Perser Kenntnis erlangt und daher ihre Eroberungspläne gefaßt. Nubien wurde nach dem verunglückten Feldzug Kambyses' II. unter Dareios I. erobert und stand wohl seit 514 bis 404 unter einem persischen Satrapen, neben dem aber das einheimische Königtum in Meroe weiter regierte. Daher ist auf den Apadana-Reliefs der König dargestellt. Die Könige konnten Tempel bauen und restaurieren, ohne den Großkönig in den Inschriften zu erwähnen (ähnliches kennen wir aus Phönizien). Auch in Nubien wurde gewiß die aramäische Verwaltungssprache eingeführt. Ob die meroitische Buchstabenschrift mit 23 Zeichen, die seit dem 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr. belegt ist, aus der aramäischen Schrift hervorgegangen ist, wird von den damit befaßten Gelehrten für unwahrscheinlich gehalten. Hintze 1966 erklärt die Restaurierung des Tempels von Kawa durch König Amani-nete-yerike mit dem Ende der persischen Oberherrschaft, die demnach nur 42 Jahre von 473 bis 431 gedauert hätte. Möglicherweise haben nach der toleranten Religionspolitik Dareios' I.

¹⁶⁹ Walser 1966: 99; Tourovets 2001: 250; Kleiner Pauly 1979, 3: 628-632 s.v. Libye (Hans Volkmann). Die Ausgrabungen in Kyrene haben unter anderem eine Felswand mit Grabkammern freigelegt, denen Säulenportikus vorgelagert sind, wie sie aus Griechenland nicht bekannt sind: White 1984; Goodchild 1971, bei den Ausgrabungen in der Oase Siwa wurde der große Orakeltempel des Gottes Amun restauriert, den auch Alexander d.Gr. besucht hat, er war in der Perserzeit (30. Dynastie) vergrößert worden: Kuhlmann 1988.

dessen Nachfolger Xerxes und Artaxerxes den Tempeln keine Aufmerksamkeit mehr geschenkt und sogar die einheimischen Könige an der Bautätigkeit behindert. Auf den Apadana-Reliefs erscheinen die Nubier im Vergleich zum voranschreitenden Satrap pygmäenartig klein, weil an den Treppenstufen das Bildfeld unterschiedlich hoch ist. Aber die Reliefs im kürzlich wiederentdeckten Grab des Haremhab (1322-1295 v. Chr.) beweisen, daß es auch hier sehr hochgewachsene Männer gab¹⁷⁰.

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¹⁷⁰ Beschreibung Nubiens bei Herodot III 17-29. Walser 1966: 100; Tourovets 2001: 251; Kleiner Pauly 1979, 1: 201-203 s.v. Aithiopia (Wolfgang Helck) erwähnt die persische Eroberung nicht; Hofmann 1971: 72 hält eine »lockere Bindung an Persien« für möglich, Hofmann 1979: 148 dagegen hält die Berichte über Nubien bei Herodot und die Darstellung am Apadana für eine »fertige Schablone«, das Land sei von Dareios nie beherrscht worden. Kienitz 1953: 131 hält den Anspruch Dareios' I. auf das Land für fragwürdig, Hintze 1966: 21 beschränkt die Perserzeit auf wenige Jahre. Martin 1994 über die Reliefs mit Nubiern im Grab des Haremhab.

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LES LIVRES 41-42 DES *HISTOIRES PHILIPPIQUES* DE TROGUE-POMPÉE RÉSUMÉES PAR JUSTIN

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Abstract: This article «A Study of the Books 41-42 of Justin's *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*» is an attempt to determine, through the study of the books 41-42 of the *Philippic History* of Pompeius Trogus, what kind of knowledge a learned Roman living in Augustus' era had about the Parthians. It deals essentially, once again, with the question of Trogus' sources. The analysis of the text lets appear that Trogus combines informations coming from a Greek work specifically dedicated to Parthian history and civilization, probably the *Parthica* of Apollodorus of Artemita, with elements deriving from Roman observations and with his own personal reflexions. This is true for the historical chapters as well as for the ethnographical ones. In consequence, one should consider this text as expressing Trogus' own vision of the Parthians, and not as simply reflecting a lost source.

Keywords: Parthians; Justin's *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*; Apollodorus of Artemita; Strabo

Les livres 41 et 42 des *Histoires Philippiques*, ouvrage composé par Trogue Pompée aux alentours de l'époque d'Auguste et résumé par Justin à la fin du deuxième siècle ap. J.C. (sur cette date voir Develin-Yardley 1994: 4 et Yardley 2003), constituent pour qui s'intéresse aux Parthes un document très important. Il s'agit en effet du seul texte ancien contenant une histoire suivie du royaume parthe depuis sa fondation par Arsacès I en 239 av. J.C. jusqu'au règne de Phraate IV, contemporain d'Auguste (38-3/2 av. J.-C.). Il propose également le seul excursus ethnographique consacré aux Parthes que nous ait légué l'Antiquité. D'autres auteurs anciens s'étaient intéressés aux mœurs des Parthes: quelques fragments des *Histoires* de Posidonios portant, pour deux d'entre eux, sur les banquets des rois parthes (Athénée 152f-153b = Edlestein-Kidd F. 57 et F. 64) et pour le troisième, sur le fonctionnement des institutions des Arsacides (Strabon 11, 9, 3 = Edlestein-Kidd F. 280), indiquent ainsi que l'on trouvait dans les livres que cet

historien consacrait aux guerres entre Séleucides et Parthes un développement sur les usages parthes (Jacoby 1926: 164-165) tandis que Strabon, dans ses chapitres sur la Parthyène (11, 9), déclare renoncer à exposer une nouvelle fois les coutumes des Parthes (τῶν Παρθικῶν νομίμων) parce que, rappelle-t-il, il en a déjà abondamment parlé dans ses *Commentaires Historiques* (11, 9, 3). Les *Histoires* de Posidonios et les *Commentaires* de Strabon ayant toutefois presque entièrement disparu, le texte de Trogue reste bien le seul, pour nous, à évoquer la civilisation des Parthes de façon extensive.

Si ce texte est important pour l'historien, c'est certes parce qu'il offre sur les Parthes des renseignements qu'on ne trouve pas ailleurs, mais également parce qu'il permet de savoir quel était l'état des connaissances sur les Arsacides dans le monde gréco-romain à l'époque d'Auguste. C'est à ce second aspect que nous nous proposons de nous intéresser dans ce travail en reprenant l'examen des deux questions centrales qui se posent à son propos. D'abord, celle des sources. La question des sources est pertinente pour toute l'œuvre de Trogue, qui ne cite jamais de noms d'auteurs: on sait seulement, grâce à la Préface de Justin, qu'il a utilisé les œuvres des «historiens grecs» (*historici Graecorum*) (*Praef.* 3). Cette question a déjà été posée pour les livres parthes des *Histoires Philippiques* (voir surtout Altheim 1947 t. 1: 2-23 et, pour le livre 41, Liebmann-Frankfort 1969); il me semble toutefois qu'elle mérite d'être considérée une nouvelle fois. L'autre question, liée au fait même que l'œuvre de Trogue nous est parvenue sous forme de résumé, concerne la part d'intervention de l'abréviateur dans l'œuvre qui nous est parvenue. On sait que Justin a moins cherché à «résumer» les *Histoires Philippiques* qu'à en sélectionner les passages qui lui semblaient les plus intéressants (*Praef.* 4), ce qui l'a conduit à mutiler l'original de façon importante: Justin, par ses choix, est très présent dans les *Histoires Philippiques* telles que nous les connaissons (sur les rapports entre l'œuvre de Trogue et le résumé de Justin voir entre autres Seel 1955; Ferrero 1957; Forni 1958; Forni et Angeli-Bertinelli 1982; Jal 1987; voir aussi, plus généralement, Brunt 1980). Reconnaît-on dans l'excursus parthe des *Histoires Philippiques* des déformations qui appartiennent à l'époque de Justin plutôt qu'à celle de Trogue?

Pour répondre à ces questions, il est essentiel de prendre en compte deux facteurs: d'abord, la place des livres 41 et 42 dans l'économie générale des *Histoires Philippiques*. On ne peut étudier ces livres en les isolant du contexte dans lequel ils apparaissent. Ensuite, l'existence des Prologues, ces

textes très courts qui ont été rédigés avant que l'œuvre de Trogue ne soit abrégée et qui permettent de reconstituer, ne serait-ce que sommairement, le contenu des 44 livres tels qu'ils se présentaient à l'époque de leur rédaction: leur lecture est indissociable de celle du résumé.

Nous allons commencer notre étude par une présentation des livres 41 et 42 et par une rapide analyse de leur contenu.

Les livres 41-42 dans les *Histoires Philippiques*.

Les livres 41 et 42 se situent à la fin des *Histoires Philippiques*, qui en comptent 44. Ils sont suivis d'un livre consacré aux origines de Rome et à l'histoire de Marseille (le Prologue indique que Trogue racontait également l'histoire de la Ligurie), tandis que le livre 44 propose une description de l'Espagne et de ses habitants ainsi qu'une esquisse de son histoire jusqu'à sa conquête par Auguste.

Ces livres 41 à 44 ne s'intègrent pas dans le récit chronologique que mène Trogue depuis le début des *Histoires Philippiques*, récit qui commence avec l'histoire de l'Orient ancien (Assyriens, Mèdes, Perses), se poursuit avec l'histoire grecque classique puis hellénistique et s'achève, au livre 40, avec la réduction de la Syrie en province romaine: désormais, affirme Trogue, la domination romaine s'étend sur tout l'Orient (40, 2, 5). Après le livre 40, Trogue rompt avec la narration chronologique pour s'intéresser à des peuples qui n'ont pas été évoqués précédemment.

Ces peuples toutefois ne sont pas choisis au hasard: beaucoup d'entre eux ont à voir avec la conquête romaine, que les Romains aient simplement remporté une victoire sur eux ou qu'ils les aient conquis. Le livre 42 s'achève sur le récit victorieux de la reddition des enseignes et de l'envoi d'otages à Auguste par l'Arsacide Phraate IV puis sur la proclamation qu'Auguste, «par la grandeur de son nom, fit plus que n'eût pu faire par ses armes aucun autre général» (42, 5, 12). L'histoire des origines de Rome se conclut sur l'idée qu'après avoir soumis les peuples voisins, la Ville subjuguait l'Italie et ensuite l'univers (*orbis imperium*) (43, 3, 2); dans le récit consacré à Marseille Trogue insiste sur l'alliance tôt nouée par les Marseillais avec Rome et sur leur fidélité à cette alliance, qui leur vaut un traitement de faveur de la part des Romains (43, 5, 3; 43, 5, 9-10); enfin, l'histoire de l'Espagne se clôt avec sa réduction en province par Auguste, succès sur lequel se ferment d'ailleurs les *Histoires Philippiques* dans leur ensemble. Les Prologues indiquent par ailleurs que l'on trouvait au livre 41

une digression sur l'Arabie, région dans laquelle Auguste avait envoyé une expédition en 26-25 av. J.-C., ainsi qu'une histoire de Carthage, à la fin du livre 44. Il est donc manifeste que Trogue a cherché, dans ces derniers livres, à compléter l'histoire de la conquête romaine du monde grec en évoquant les peuples non-grecs sur lesquels les Romains avaient également étendu leur domination afin de donner de l'Empire à l'époque d'Auguste une image conforme à la réalité (Seel 1955). Il est vrai que le livre 41 contient également un développement sur la Bactriane (41, 6, 1-5) et que Trogue, au livre 42, avait consacré une longue digression aux Scythes, qui n'ont pas été touchés par la puissance romaine (voir le Prologue); si Bactriens et Scythes sont présents toutefois, c'est essentiellement parce que leur histoire est mêlée à celle des Parthes. Ce qui intéresse Trogue dans ces livres, c'est avant tout d'achever l'histoire de la conquête romaine. Comme dans ceux qui précèdent toutefois, cette histoire n'est pas menée du point de vue des Romains, mais du point de vue des peuples soumis: de même que la conquête du monde grec par les Romains était présentée comme un élément de l'histoire grecque, de même ici elle n'est qu'un élément de l'histoire des Parthes ou des Espagnols (Jal 1987: 202-203: la *novitas* de l'œuvre de Trogue, vantée par Justin dans sa Préface, consiste essentiellement en ce que cet historien refusa de retracer les événements déjà relatés par Tite-Live et privilégia dans son récit les *res non Romanas*, faisant voir à son lecteur latin l'histoire «par l'autre bout de la lorgnette»). Les *Histoires Philippiques* ne proposent d'ailleurs pas d'histoire de Rome: les quelques chapitres qui, au livre 43, sont consacrés aux origines de Rome s'arrêtent alors que la Ville est encore dirigée par des rois, l'auteur se contentant d'indiquer que par la suite elle conquiert l'univers, sans donner davantage de précisions. Certes, Justin a considérablement coupé dans l'histoire romaine de Trogue, qui contenait par exemple une histoire de la Ligurie; il est évident toutefois qu'on n'y trouvait pas une histoire de la conquête romaine menée du point de vue romain.

Retenons donc cette idée, importante pour la suite: si les Parthes figurent dans les *Histoires Philippiques*, c'est parce qu'ils appartiennent à l'histoire romaine et que leur évocation vient rehausser la gloire de Rome et d'Auguste. Le fait que deux livres entiers leur soient consacrés montre l'importance que l'auteur leur accorde, ce qui reflète fidèlement l'époque d'Auguste qui, pendant tout son règne, accorda une place centrale, dans son discours officiel, aux Parthes.

Nous pouvons maintenant nous pencher plus spécifiquement sur le contenu des livres 41-42.

Analyse des livres 41 et 42

Le premier chapitre du livre 41 contient des généralités sur les Parthes (41, 1, 1-9), puis un rappel de leur expansion progressive (41, 1, 10-12). Les chapitres 2 et 3 consistent en une description ethnographique des Parthes. A partir du chapitre 4 commence l'histoire des Parthes depuis la mort d'Alexandre: sort du «royaume des Parthes» jusqu'à ce qu'il fasse défection à la tutelle séleucide (41, 4, 1-5), arrivée et règne d'Arsacès (41, 4, 6-41, 5, 6), règne de ses successeurs Arsacès, Priapatius et Phrahate, jusqu'à la désignation de Mithridate I (41, 5, 6-10). Le chapitre 6 contient une digression sur la Bactriane (41, 6, 1-5) et le récit des exploits de Mithridate I (41, 6, 6-9). Il se ferme sur la mort de ce roi. Le Prologue indique que l'on trouvait également au livre 41 une digression sur l'Arabie, le récit de la conquête de la Bactriane et de la Sogdiane par des peuples scythes, et une histoire de l'Inde «sous les rois Apollodote et Ménandre».

Dans le livre 42 se poursuit l'histoire des règnes successifs des Arsacides, depuis le règne de Phraate II jusqu'à celui de Phraate IV, qui rend les enseignes à Auguste en 20 av. J.-C. et lui envoie ses fils et petits-fils en otages en 10 av. J.C. Ce récit est entrecoupé par une digression sur l'Arménie (42, 2, 7-42, 3). Il contenait en outre, d'après le Prologue, une «histoire de la Scythie» évoquant entre autres les Tochariens et les «Saraucès».

Deux aspects du livre 41 ont particulièrement retenu l'attention des commentateurs et alimenté la discussion sur les sources de Trogue. Il s'agit des généralités sur les Parthes que l'on trouve dans le premier chapitre de ce livre, et des passages consacrés aux origines des Parthes et de leur roi Arsacès. C'est à ces aspects que nous allons nous intéresser en tout premier lieu, en les distinguant l'un de l'autre. Nous étudierons ensuite les chapitres traitant de l'histoire des Parthes à partir du règne d'Arsacès, qui s'étendent sur les livres 41-42, et enfin reviendrons sur l'exkursus ethnographique du livre 41.

Les généralités sur les Parthes: 41, 1, 1-9.

Les généralités sur les Parthes s'étendent sur les neuf premiers paragraphes du livre 41. L'idée maîtresse de ces généralités est celle de la fulgurante progression des Parthes: eux qui étaient au départ des «exilés scythes» (*Scytharum exules*) et qui restèrent sous la domination des Assyriens, des Mèdes et des Perses «les plus obscurs des peuples orientaux» (*inter Orientis*

populos obscurissimi) (41, 1, 3) commandent désormais à ceux auxquels ils étaient soumis et sont devenus les «maîtres de l'Orient» (*Parthi... penes quos... nunc Orientis imperium est...*). L'exposé de la progression des Parthes est sous-tendu par la constante comparaison de leur puissance avec celle de Rome: le livre s'ouvre sur l'affirmation selon laquelle les Parthes «semblent avoir partagé avec les Romains l'empire du monde» (*velut divisione orbis cum Romanis facta*), et l'une des manifestations de leur force est qu'ils sont les seuls, non seulement à avoir tenu tête aux Romains, mais également à les avoir battus (41, 1, 7). Ces succès sont dûs à la «valeur» (*virtus*) des Parthes, qualité dont on retrouve plusieurs fois mention dans les livres 41-42.

Ces généralités ont surpris les historiens contemporains et l'appréciation positive des Parthes ainsi que l'affirmation de l'égalité entre empires romain et parthe que l'on trouve chez Trogue ont servi à étayer la thèse, longtemps admise, selon laquelle la source des *Histoires Philippiques* était l'ouvrage considéré comme hostile à Rome de Timagène d'Alexandrie (à l'origine de cette thèse on trouve Gutschmid 1882: 548-555). Thérèse Liebmann-Frankfort a montré qu'il n'était nul besoin d'invoquer la lecture d'une source anti-romaine pour expliquer les propos de Trogue: chez Strabon, contemporain de Trogue peu susceptible d'hostilité à Rome, on trouve également l'accent mis sur le contraste entre la modestie des origines des Parthes et la puissance à laquelle ils sont parvenus (11, 9, 2), l'explication de ce succès par leurs qualités propres (11, 9, 2: le mode de vie (*ὁ βίος*) et les mœurs (*τὰ ἔθη*) des Parthes contiennent «les qualités nécessaires à la domination (*ἡγεμονίαν*) et aux succès militaires (*τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κατόρθωσιν*)»), et surtout, la comparaison avec les Romains: Strabon affirme ainsi que les Parthes, à son époque, «dominent tant de territoires et de peuples qu'ils sont en quelque manière les concurrents de Rome (*ἀντίπαλοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις*) pour l'étendue de leur empire» (11, 9, 3). Un autre contemporain de Trogue, Velleius Paterculus, dans son récit de la rencontre qui eut lieu en 2 av. J.-C. entre Gaius César et le roi parthe Phraatacès, décrit ces derniers comme «les deux chefs les plus éminents non seulement des empires qu'ils représentaient, mais de l'humanité» (*eminentissima imperiorum et hominum ... capita*) (2, 101): l'idée selon laquelle Parthes et Romains étaient à la tête d'empires égaux en taille était bien une idée répandue à l'époque d'Auguste et, quelle que soit l'interprétation qu'on en donne, elle ne peut être considérée comme une marque d'hostilité envers l'Empire.

En deux passages propres aux *Histoires Philippiques* et dont on ne trouve pas d'équivalent ailleurs incitent toutefois Mme Liebmann-Frankfort à retenir, pour ces cas précis, l'hypothèse Timagène d'Alexandrie. Il s'agit d'abord du passage dans lequel Trogue affirme :

«Les Romains firent trois fois la guerre (aux Parthes) sous la conduite de leurs plus grands capitaines (*per maximos duces*) et aux temps les plus florissants de leur empire: seuls de tous les peuples, les Parthes non seulement leur tinrent tête, mais encore les battirent» (41, 1, 7).

Je ne crois pas, pour ma part, qu'il faille considérer cette phrase comme hostile à Rome: le fait de présenter la victoire des Parthes sur les Romains comme preuve de leur valeur militaire exceptionnelle me semble au contraire être la meilleure reconnaissance possible de la puissance romaine. D'autres barbares, comme Hannibal, présenté comme un des trois plus grands capitaines du monde et décrit comme celui qui «fit trembler l'Italie comme un tonnerre en faisant la guerre à Rome» (32, 4, 9-10), ou le roi Mithridate du Pont, sont également jugés à l'aune de la résistance qu'ils ont opposée aux Romains, sans que l'on puisse considérer que Trogue leur est favorable: Trogue, dans des termes très proches de ceux qu'il emploie à propos des Parthes, explique ainsi au sujet de Mithridate que

«pendant quarante-six ans, il fit la guerre aux Romains et leur disputa la victoire (*bellaque... varia victoria gesserit*). Les plus grands capitaines (*summi imperatores*), Sylla, Lucullus et les autres, enfin Cn. Pompée le battirent, il est vrai; mais il se relevait toujours plus grand et plus illustre, d'autant plus terrible qu'il avait été défait. A la fin, il périt chargé d'années, non sous les coups de l'ennemi, mais par une mort volontaire» (37, 1, 8-9).

Contrairement aux Parthes, Mitthridate a été battu par les généraux romains, mais ces victoires n'ont servi à rien puisqu'il s'est toujours relevé plus fort: sa situation est donc comparable à celle des Arsacides. La suite des *Histoires Philippiques* (voir par exemple 38, 1) montre bien que Trogue n'éprouve pas de sympathie pour Mithridate; s'il évoque ses succès sur les Romains, c'est parce que c'est la plus grande preuve possible de sa valeur militaire.

On pourrait se demander toutefois pourquoi Trogue éprouve ainsi le besoin de rappeler la puissance des ennemis de Rome. La réponse se trouve dans la Préface des *Histoires Philippiques*: Trogue, y explique Justin, «a composé l'histoire de la Grèce et de l'univers tout entier (*Graecas et totius orbis historias*)» (*Praef.* 1), a raconté les faits et gestes «de tous les siècles, de tous les rois, de toutes les nations et de tous les peuples (*omnium saeculorum, regum, nationum populorumque*)» (*Praef.* 2). A partir du moment où l'historien choisit un sujet, il doit en montrer l'intérêt, susciter la curiosité de son lecteur, l'étonner, même: le meilleur moyen d'inciter un lecteur romain à lire l'histoire d'un peuple barbare est de lui annoncer, dès le départ, qu'il s'agit d'un peuple tellement puissant qu'il a été capable de résister à Rome. Les passages que nous avons cités à propos des Parthes et de Mithridate du Pont sont ainsi situés juste avant que Trogue n'entame son récit. On a vu en outre que dans les *Histoires Philippiques* Trogue cherchait à raconter l'histoire du point de vue des peuples qu'il évoque: le célèbre discours qu'il prête à Mithridate et qui rassemble tous les thèmes de la propagande anti-romaine est un des meilleurs exemples de cette attitude (38, 4-7). En cela on doit voir un parti-pris d'historien, un souci intellectuel de présenter l'histoire sous un jour nouveau dont Hérodote peut être considéré comme le lointain inspirateur; d'anti-romanisme il n'est pas question. Trogue n'est d'ailleurs pas le seul historien romain à faire figurer dans son œuvre des discours anti-romains, comme l'indique, par exemple, la «Lettre de Mithridate» rédigée par Salluste (*Histoires* 4): il s'agit là avant tout de morceaux de bravoure (voir Jal 1987: 203 et 204 note 45).

L'autre passage considéré par Mme Liebmann-Frankfort comme anti-romain vient immédiatement après cette affirmation selon laquelle les Parthes sont les seuls barbares à avoir repoussé les Romains; Trogue ajoute en effet immédiatement:

«au reste, il est plus glorieux encore d'avoir pu s'élever entre les royaumes des Assyriens, des Mèdes et des Perses, naguère si fameux, et les mille cités du riche empire bactrien, que d'avoir vaincu dans des guerres étrangères d'autant plus que, continuellement en butte aux redoutables attaques des Scythes et de leurs voisins, ils étaient pressés par des dangers de toute sorte» (41, 1, 8-9).

Doit-on considérer que Trogue ici dévalorise les Romains et les présente comme bien moins dangereux que les autres ennemis des Parthes, s'inspi-

rant, là encore, d'une source hostile à Rome? Je ne le pense pas. D'abord parce que la victoire sur les Assyriens, Mèdes et Perses ne peut être de même nature que celle que les Parthes ont remportée sur les Romains, dans la mesure où ces peuples, lorsque les Parthes entamèrent leur expansion, avaient cessé de régner sur l'Orient depuis longtemps: les Parthes ont simplement réussi à se «faire un nom» dans cette région déjà riche en grands empires (Trogue écrit qu'ils sont parvenus à «s'élever parmi eux» (*emergere potuisse*)); de cette phrase on ne peut conclure à une dévalorisation de la valeur militaire des Romains. Ensuite parce que la mention des Assyriens, des Mèdes et des Perses, peuples connus et auréolés de prestige, apparaît surtout comme un moyen de faire rejaillir ce prestige sur les Parthes, leurs successeurs, et donc, de nouveau, d'éveiller l'intérêt du lecteur au moment où Trogue s'apprête à leur consacrer deux livres entiers. Enfin, pour ce qui concerne l'importance accordée aux guerres menées par les Parthes contre les Scythes et autres peuples voisins, elle correspond à une tendance récurrente dans l'œuvre de Trogue qui accorde un rôle essentiel, dans la construction d'un empire, aux guerres remportées sur les «voisins» par opposition aux guerres lointaines (voir 1, 1, 5 et 1, 1, 8: l'Assyrien Ninus parvint à soumettre tout l'Orient parce qu'il avait compris qu'il fallait d'abord «s'assurer de ses voisins» (*domitis proximis*); 7, 2, 6 (sur les Macédoniens); 43, 3, 1 (sur Rome)...); les guerres lointaines ne viennent que dans un second temps. Du point de vue des Parthes, les Romains sont bien des ennemis lointains, et les victoires remportées sur eux n'ont pas joué un rôle décisif dans la constitution de l'empire. Une fois de plus, Trogue tente donc de se placer du point de vue parthe, sans qu'il faille en conclure à l'usage sans discernement de sources hostiles à Rome.

En réalité, je crois que pour ces généralités sur les Parthes par lesquelles Trogue Pompée entame le livre 41 il n'est pas nécessaire de chercher une ou des sources en particulier. Ces généralités reprennent des éléments issus de la source que Trogue a suivie dans les livres 41-42 (qui accorde notamment une grande importance aux relations des Parthes avec les Scythes), auxquels elles mêlent des affirmations typiques de l'époque de l'auteur (Parthes et Romains se partagent l'empire du monde) ainsi que des jugements personnels issus de son souci de mettre son sujet en valeur et de présenter l'histoire des Parthes de leur point de vue.

Parmi les généralités figurent des éléments sur les origines des Parthes et d'Arsacès Ier. C'est à cette question que nous allons maintenant nous intéresser.

La question des origines des Parthes et d'Arsacès Ier.

Les développements de Trogue sur les origines des Parthes et de leur premier roi Arsacès ont également fait couler beaucoup d'encre car on peut — ce qui est rare pour l'histoire des Parthes — les comparer avec une autre source, contemporaine des *Histoires Philippiques*, les chapitres parthes de Strabon. Les deux textes présentent des différences et des points communs qui incitent les uns à affirmer qu'ils découlent d'une source commune (voir surtout Altheim 1947, t. 1: 2-23), les autres que Trogue a fait appel à un auteur qui lui est propre (Tarn 1951). Pour ma part j'inclinerais à penser que leur source est commune, mais qu'elle a subi de la part de l'un et l'autre auteur de fortes déformations.

Avant d'en venir à la question des sources toutefois, il faut mener une analyse des propos tenus par Trogue sur les origines des Parthes et sur les premiers temps de leur histoire (sur cette question, voir Lerouge 2007: 173-194, avec toutes les références utiles).

Trogue évoque cette question en plusieurs passages du livre 41. D'abord dans les paragraphes 1-5 du chapitre 1, dans le cadre des généralités: les Parthes sont présentés comme des exilés scythes arrivés depuis très longtemps (au moins depuis les Assyriens) sur leur territoire, et restés faibles et obscurs pendant de nombreux siècles puisqu'ils étaient encore les «esclaves des Macédoniens». Quelques paragraphes plus loin (41, 1, 10-12), Trogue revient sur les conditions dans lesquelles les Scythes ont quitté leur territoire et se sont installés sur leurs nouvelles terres: «chassés de Scythie par des séditions domestiques», ils occupèrent d'abord des déserts, puis reculèrent leurs frontières à la faveur de guerres avec leurs voisins et en vinrent à occuper un grand territoire composé de plaines et de montagnes. Après l'interruption des chapitres 2-3 à contenu ethnographique, Trogue au chapitre 4 reprend l'histoire de la Parthyène à partir de la mort d'Alexandre, développant la brève mention selon laquelle les Parthes avaient été les esclaves des Macédoniens: aucun des diadoques ne voulant de l'obscur «royaume des Parthes» (*Parthorum imperium*), il fut donné à un allié étranger, puis passa de main en main jusqu'à ce que les Parthes se soulèvent, au même moment que les Bactriens, profitant de la discorde entre Séleucides. Arsacès, un «homme d'une origine douteuse (*incertae originis*) mais d'un courage éprouvé, habitué à vivre de brigandage et de rapines (*solitus latrociniis et rapto vivere*)», entra alors chez eux «avec une troupe de pillards», tua «leur chef» (*eorum praefectum*) Andragoras et se rendit

maître du royaume (*imperium gentis invasit*). Il s'empara ensuite de l'Hyrkanie, s'allia avec les Bactriens puis remporta une victoire sur Séleucos venu «châtier les révoltés»; «les Parthes», explique Trogue, «célébrèrent ce jour-là comme le premier jour de leur liberté» (*velut initium libertatis*). A partir du chapitre 5 commence l'histoire des règnes d'Arsacès et de ses successeurs, qui peu à peu agrandissent le royaume des Parthes.

Cette analyse fait rapidement apparaître une incohérence dans le texte de Trogue. Les paragraphes 1-5 du chapitre 1, puis le chapitre 4 déroulent une histoire des Parthes dans laquelle ils sont décrits comme des Scythes arrivés depuis une époque très ancienne sur leur territoire, restés obscurs pendant des siècles et qui ne commencèrent à prendre de la puissance que lorsqu'Arsacès fut entré chez eux et eut, à la faveur de guerres, agrandi leur territoire. Comment insérer dans ce récit les paragraphes 10-12 du chapitre 1, où il apparaît que les Parthes entamèrent leur expansion sitôt installés dans leur nouveau territoire? Certes, cette expansion est décrite comme longue et difficile; le schéma déroulé par Trogue dans ces paragraphes semble toutefois incompatible avec la vision d'un peuple confiné dans son petit territoire pendant une très longue période.

Doit-on considérer que Trogue, sur la question des premiers temps de l'histoire des Parthes, a fait appel à deux sources différentes qu'il aurait collées ensemble sans discernement? J'incline plutôt à penser qu'il n'a utilisé qu'une seule source, mais qu'on la trouve ici résumée de façon trop rapide, au point d'aboutir à une incohérence. Pour le prouver, le détour par la comparaison avec l'œuvre de Strabon s'avère nécessaire.

Le chapitre que Strabon consacre à la Parthyène au livre 11 de la *Géographie* est plus historique que géographique et une place importante y est accordée à la question des débuts de l'histoire des Parthes: la comparaison avec Trogue est donc aisée. Il en ressort que les deux textes présentent de grandes similitudes (dont beaucoup ont déjà été notées par Altheim 1947, t. 1: 2-23). Comme Trogue, Strabon commence son exposé en affirmant que la Parthie, petit pays, le resta à l'époque des Perses ainsi que «sous la domination des Macédoniens, qui dura longtemps» (11, 9, 1). Comme lui il établit un synchronisme entre la défection des Parthes et celle des Bactriens et impute ces défections aux querelles entre Séleucides («Quand les peuples des territoires situés au-delà du Taurus se révoltèrent, profitant de ce que les rois de Syrie et de Médie, dont ils étaient les sujets, se faisaient la guerre... (11, 9, 2)). Comme lui également il présente les Parthes comme un peuple d'origine scythe auquel toutefois il donne un nom: les

Sparnes (11, 9, 2) (les Modernes, qui admettent l'origine scythe des Parthes, préfèrent parler de «Parnes»). Il marque lui aussi une incertitude sur l'origine d'Arsacès, à propos de laquelle il exprime les opinions divergentes des historiens (11, 9, 3: Arsacès est soit un Sparne, soit un Bactrien chassé du royaume par Diodote). Comme le fait Trogue en 41, 1, 10-12, Strabon décrit l'expansion des Parthes comme lente mais entamée très peu de temps après leur arrivée en Parthyène: au début, explique-t-il, ils manquaient de puissance, mais «ils en acquirent à la longue tellement, en s'emparant continuellement de territoires voisins du leur à la faveur de leurs succès militaires, qu'ils finirent pas se rendre maîtres de tout le pays situé entre eux et l'Euphrate» (11, 9, 2). Enfin, Strabon comme Trogue, dans leur récit de l'expansion des Parthes, mentionnent le fait qu'ils conquièrent la Bactriane (Strabon, 11, 9, 2/Trogue 41, 4, 8-9).

Les deux textes présentent également, toutefois, d'importantes différences, portant en particulier sur le personnage d'Arsacès: chez Strabon Arsacès, au lieu d'être accompagné uniquement par quelques «brigands», est un chef nomade qui fait entrer les Sparnes, futurs Parthes, sur leur nouveau territoire; l'histoire des Parthes, loin de remonter aux Assyriens, commence donc à l'époque hellénistique et apparaît comme relativement récente -ce qui correspond à la réalité admise par les historiens. Par ailleurs, c'est Arsacès qui, chez Strabon, affranchit les Parthes de la tutelle séleucide alors que chez Trogue, il entrait dans un territoire ayant déjà pris son indépendance: Strabon omet totalement le personnage d'Andragoras, ce gouverneur gréco-macédonien historiquement attesté par ses monnaies, qui se détacha des Séleucides avant de se faire renverser par Arsacès et les Parnes (l'épisode est daté de 239; sur Andragoras, voir Luther 1999).

Ces différences toutefois ne me paraissent pas irréductibles: il s'agit avant tout, me semble-t-il, de différences dans la façon dont Strabon et Trogue, chacun de leur côté, résumèrent la source qu'ils avaient sous les yeux, y introduisant des erreurs qui leur sont propres et sélectionnant les informations selon leurs centres d'intérêt particuliers. Ainsi par exemple, lorsque Trogue consacre plusieurs paragraphes (41, 4, 1-4) à l'histoire de la Parthyène sous la domination séleucide, Strabon, lui, se contente de noter que la Parthyène, petit pays à l'époque perse, le resta plus tard sous la domination des Séleucides, «qui dura longtemps» (11, 9,1): ne peut-on penser ici que sa source racontait cette domination séleucide, mais que Strabon, lui, s'abstient de le faire, car cela ne présente pas d'intérêt pour son propos? Il se contente de faire allusion à la période macédonienne en

rappelant — de façon assez vague — qu'elle fut longue; cela ne signifie pas que sa source n'était pas plus prolixe sur le sujet, et ne le met donc pas en contradiction avec Trogue. On peut en dire autant du personnage d'Andragoras. Le fait que Strabon ne le cite pas n'implique pas que sa source n'en faisait pas état non plus: Andragoras ne s'est pas maintenu longtemps au pouvoir, puisqu'il en fut évincé par Arsacès, et que c'est ce dernier qui conforta l'indépendance parthe et donna la puissance à son peuple; dans l'histoire parthe, le rôle d'Arsacès est bien plus important que celui d'Andragoras. Il n'y aurait rien d'étonnant à ce que Strabon, qui cherche à résumer en quelques paragraphes l'histoire des Parthes, ait oublié de mentionner le nom de ce personnage au sujet duquel sa source était nécessairement rapide (voir Luther 1999: les historiens romains oublièrent rapidement le personnage d'Andragoras). On remarque d'ailleurs que dans les *Histoires Philippiques*, l'auteur ne cite Andragoras que pour dire qu'il est assassiné par Arsacès, mais ne mentionne pas son nom dans le récit de la défection des Parthes, dont il fut pourtant l'instigateur: il est probable qu'Andragoras, en réalité, ne jouissait pas d'une grande importance dans les sources les plus anciennes. Cela peut expliquer la différence que présentent les textes de Strabon et Trogue sur ce point.

Leur divergence dans le traitement du personnage d'Arsacès me paraît elle aussi explicable. Reprenons le texte des *Histoires Philippiques*: il présente Arsacès comme un «homme d'une origine douteuse mais d'un courage éprouvé, habitué à vivre de brigandage et de rapines (*solitus latrocinii et rapto vivere*) », qui entra en Parthyène «avec une troupe de pillards» (*cum praedonum manu*). On en conclut que, dans les *Histoires Philippiques*, Arsacès n'est pas un chef nomade mais un simple «pillard». On sait toutefois que, dans les sources anciennes, les termes de «pillards» et «nomades» sont souvent synonymes (ce qui s'explique par le fait que les nomades se livraient effectivement au pillage): Strabon explique par exemple la pauvreté de l'Hyrcanie par sa proximité avec un désert dans lequel «pullulent pillards et nomades» (ληστῶν καὶ νομάδων μεστή) (Str. 11, 7, 2). Trogue par ailleurs présente Tchandragupta, qui chassa les Gréco-Macédoniens hors d'Inde dès la fin du 4^e siècle et fut le fondateur du premier grand empire indien, comme un homme qui poussa les Indiens à faire une révolution après s'être mis à la tête d'une «bande de brigands» (*contractis latronibus*) (15, 13, 18). En réalité, Tchandragupta dirigeait une armée d'Indiens indigènes: ils deviennent à leur tour des «brigands». De toute évidence, les termes de «pillards» et «brigands» recouvraient différentes

réalités et leur emploi remplace une analyse précise de situations complexes et mal connues. Une assimilation fallacieuse entre bandes de nomades et bandes de pillards ne pourrait-elle être à l'origine d'une déformation de la source originelle qui elle, serait exacte? Si l'on admet cette hypothèse, alors tout s'éclaire: dans la source de Trogue, ces Parthes restés si longtemps obscurs, c'était les Parthes originels, indigènes, et non les Scythes Parnes que, par la suite, on a également appelé «Parthes» — ce qui favorise évidemment la confusion; Arsacès arrivait ensuite à la tête d'une troupe de nomades et là commençait l'histoire des «nouveaux» Parthes. Dans les *Histoires Philippiques*, l'auteur oublie qu'Arsacès fut à l'origine d'un mouvement de population et confond, par conséquent, Parthes et Parnes; il n'oublie pas que les Parthes sont d'origine scythe mais renvoie cette origine à des temps très anciens. La version développée par la source subsiste toutefois à l'état de traces: les paragraphes dans lesquels, en 41, 1, 10-12, est rappelée la lente expansion des Parthes une fois qu'ils eurent été chassés de Scythie, dont nous avons vu qu'ils ne pouvaient s'intégrer dans le cours général du récit de Trogue, sont un souvenir du texte qu'a suivi l'auteur des *Histoires Philippiques*. On explique de la même façon le passage dans lequel Trogue explique que le jour où Arsacès remporta une victoire définitive sur Séleucos fut célébré par les Parthes comme «le premier jour de leur liberté»; pourquoi les Parthes seraient-ils si joyeux si Arsacès n'était qu'un pillard venu prendre le pouvoir chez eux, alors même qu'ils avaient déjà conquis leur indépendance sous la houlette d'Andragoras? La joie des Parthes n'est compréhensible que si l'on considère que les Parthes dont il est ici question ne sont pas les Parthes originels, mais les Parnes installés en Parthyène et qui ont pris le nom du peuple qui les précédait dans cette province (sur cette confusion entre Parthes et Parnes, voir Luther 1999).

La question que l'on peut se poser alors est celle-ci: est-ce Trogue qui a déformé sa source, ou Justin qui a déformé Trogue? Même s'il est toujours difficile d'avoir des certitudes absolues sur ce point, je crois qu'ici on peut affirmer qu'on se trouve en présence de déformations introduites par l'abréviateur lui-même. Les Prologues nous apprennent en effet que Trogue accordait une grande importance aux Scythes et aux bouleversements qu'ils introduisirent en Asie à l'époque hellénistique: dans l'histoire de la Bactriane, au livre 41, il racontait comment «les Sarauces et les Asians, peuplades scythiques, conquièrent Bactres et la Sogdiane»; au livre 42, on l'a vu, prenait place «l'histoire de la Scythie» et un développement sur les «rois asians de Tocharie et la ruine des Sarauces». Trogue semble donc

bien renseigné sur les différentes branches du peuple scythe. Les noms qu'il leur donne sont précis et, à quelques déformations près, on les retrouve chez Strabon à propos, également, de la conquête de la Bactriane (Strabon 11, 8, 2). Ces indices laissent à penser que Trogue, fidèle à sa source, connaissait relativement bien les Scythes et il est probable dans ces conditions qu'il ne décrivait pas Arsacès comme accompagné par une bande de pillards mais bien comme un chef nomade. On retrouve d'ailleurs l'idée selon laquelle les Parthes sont des Scythes arrivés à une époque tardive dans leur territoire chez Quinte Curce, un contemporain de Trogue et Strabon, ce qui laisse à penser que cette version des événements était bien connue à l'époque d'Auguste (4, 12, 11 et 6, 12, 13). Il reste que la tradition relative à Arsacès était confuse : Strabon rappelle que les historiens ne sont pas unanimes sur la question et il présente lui-même deux versions des événements (11, 9, 3). Ces hésitations, on devait les retrouver chez Trogue ; on peut facilement imaginer que Justin, qui a supprimé de son abrégé des livres 41-42 tous les passages concernant les Scythes parce qu'il devait estimer qu'ils n'intéresseraient pas son lecteur, a, de même «résumé» les différentes versions que présentait Trogue à propos d'Arsacès en se contentant de décrire ce dernier comme un «homme d'une origine douteuse»...

L'intervention de Justin est d'autant plus probable qu'elle correspond dans son contenu à l'époque à laquelle il écrit. Si les hésitations étaient aussi nombreuses à propos des origines des Parthes et d'Arsacès, c'est en effet parce que les Arsacides cherchèrent rapidement à faire oublier leur passé de nomades et diffusèrent à propos de leurs origines différentes versions gommant cet aspect de leur histoire ; on trouve ainsi dans un des livres des *Histoires Philippiques* consacrés à Alexandre le Grand l'idée selon laquelle les rois parthes sont les descendants du gouverneur perse Andragoras qu'Alexandre avait mis à la tête de la Parthyène après l'avoir conquise (12, 4, 12) — affirmation totalement fantaisiste mais qui permet aux Arsacides de se présenter comme successeurs à la fois des Achéménides et d'Alexandre le Grand (Wolski 1975 et Wiesehofer 1994). Arrien, auteur au second siècle de *Parthica* dont il ne reste que quelques fragments, explique ainsi que les Scythes émigrèrent en Parthyène «au temps où Sésostris régnait en Egypte et Iandysès en Scythie» — à une époque donc très lointaine dans laquelle légende et histoire se confondent encore (*Parthica* F. 1). La façon dont Justin abrège le texte de Trogue sur les débuts des Parthes et d'Arsacès est un écho de ces conceptions.

Oubli de l'idée que les Parthes sont des envahisseurs et vision stéréotypée des nomades et de leurs chefs comme de simples pillards se conjuguent donc pour aboutir, chez Justin, à une version des événements très déformée par rapport à celle que proposait Trogue. Ce dernier était probablement plus proche de Strabon que ne le laisse supposer l'abrégé des *Histoires Philippiques*: il est probable que l'on peut reconnaître une source commune entre Strabon et Trogue, et que Trogue avait eu recours à une source unique. Peut-on savoir quelle est cette source?

L'examen du texte de Strabon semble fournir des éléments de réponse. Strabon dans les chapitres qu'il consacre à la Parthyène cite deux auteurs: d'abord Apollodore d'Artémida, à propos de la distance entre les Portes Caspiennes et Rhagae, puis, à deux reprises, Posidonios, à propos des séismes ravageant la région de Rhagae (11, 9, 2) et à propos des institutions des Parthes (11, 9, 3). Apollodore d'Artémida, auteur de *Parthica* ayant vécu au premier siècle av. J.-C., fait partie de ces historiens gréco-parthes grâce auxquels, affirme Strabon, les Romains ont appris l'histoire de l'Hyrkanie et de la Bactriane (2, 5, 12: «nous avons reçu des auteurs d'*Histoires Parthes*, Apollodore d'Artémida et autres, des informations plus précises que généralement jusque-là sur l'Hyrkanie et la Bactriane»); il est le seul dont il nous ait préservé quelques fragments (sur Apollodore voir notamment Altheim 1947 t. 1: 2-23; Tarn 1951; Chaumont 1987). Posidonios avait écrit des *Histoires* faisant suite à l'œuvre de Polybe; on sait, grâce aux fragments transmis par Athénée et grâce à Diodore de Sicile qui s'en inspirait pour les derniers livres de la *Bibliothèque Historique*, qu'il y faisait le récit des guerres ayant opposé Parthes et Séleucides au second siècle et proposait, à l'occasion de ce récit, une description ethnographique des Parthes et un aperçu de leur histoire (Athénée 152f-153b = Edlestein-Kidd F. 57 et F. 64; Diodore de Sicile, *Bibliothèque historique* 33, 18; 33, 28, 1; 34, 15-19; 34, 21).

Certains identifient la source principale de Strabon avec Apollodore (Altheim 1947, Tarn 1951, Lasserre 1975), d'autres avec Posidonios (Liebmann- Frankfort 1969: Strabon n'utilise Apollodore que pour les notations géographiques). La première hypothèse me paraît la plus probable. On sait avec certitude que Strabon a utilisé Apollodore pour le passage qu'il consacre à l'histoire du royaume gréco-bactrien, puisqu'il le cite à deux reprises en cette occasion (11, 9, 1). Or, ce passage présente d'importantes similitudes avec le chapitre consacré à la Parthyène. Les deux passages commencent ainsi par une mention de la taille du pays et de ses richesses (la Parthyène «n'est pas un grand pays» (ἡ δὲ Παρθυαία μὲν

πολλή οὐκ ἔστι), la Bactriane est un «grand pays» (πολλή δέ ἐστι)); la première ne dispose d'aucune richesse naturelle (elle est montagneuse, couverte de forêt, pauvre (ἄπορος)), la seconde «produit de tout (πάμφορος) sauf de l'huile d'olive» (11, 9, 1 et 11, 11, 1). On trouve ensuite, dans des termes souvent similaires, un développement sur l'expansion de la province originelle une fois qu'elle est devenue un royaume: Arsacès et ses successeurs «acquirent à la longue une telle puissance (οὕτως ἴσχυσαν), en s'emparant continuellement de territoires voisins du leur à la faveur de leurs succès militaires (διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κατορθώσεις), qu'ils finirent par se rendre maître de tout le pays situé entre eux et l'Euphrate (ὥστε τελευτῶντες ἀπάσης τῆς ἐντὸς Εὐφρατου κύριοι κατέστησαν)»; ils acquirent également une partie de la Bactriane (11, 9, 2). Parallèlement, les rois gréco-bactriens «acquirent une telle puissance (τοσοῦτον δ' ἴσχυσαν) du fait de la richesse du pays (διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας) qu'ils devinrent les maîtres (ὥστε ... ἐπεκράτουν) et de l'Ariane et de l'Inde». Ce fut l'œuvre essentiellement de Ménandre et de Démétrios, fils d'Euthydème; ils possédèrent également une partie de la Patalène et étendirent leur empire jusqu'aux Sères et aux Phrynes (11, 11, 1). Dans les deux cas Strabon précise à qui revient la gloire de l'extension du royaume, quels facteurs ont permis cette extension, et quelles furent ses limites ultimes. Le schéma narratif paraît très proche. On le retrouve d'ailleurs chez Strabon à propos de l'Arménie qui, petit pays au départ (μικρὰν οὖσαν), «s'agrandit sous l'impulsion d'Artaxias et de Zariadris ainsi que de leurs partisans»; ces anciens généraux d'Antiochos le Grand, une fois devenus rois, «avaient accru ensemble leurs royaumes en s'appropriant des terres aux dépens des peuples qui les entouraient»; suit la liste des territoires qu'ils enlevèrent aux Mèdes, aux Ibères et à divers peuples voisins (11, 14, 5).

Il me paraît peu douteux que, pour retracer l'histoire de la Parthyène, de la Bactriane et de l'Arménie hellénistiques, Strabon a fait appel à une même source, et que cette source est Apollodore, même s'il ne le cite qu'à propos de la Bactriane. Strabon a également lu Posidonios, qu'il cite, mais ce n'est pas à son ouvrage qu'il a emprunté la trame de son histoire de la Parthyène.

La source commune à Strabon et Trogue pour ce qui concerne les premiers temps de l'histoire des Parthes me semble donc être Apollodore d'Artémida.

L'étude des chapitres historiques suivants –je laisse de côté pour le moment les deux chapitres ethnographiques du livre 41– confirme cette hypothèse de l'usage d'Apollodore par Trogue, du moins pour une partie d'entre eux.

L'histoire des Parthes dans des livres 41-42.

A partir du chapitre 5 du livre 41 débute l'histoire des Parthes, qui se présente comme l'histoire des règnes successifs des Arsacides depuis Arsacès I (41, 5, 1-6) jusqu'à Phraate IV, contemporain d'Auguste.

On distingue très clairement une césure dans cette histoire des Parthes: si, jusqu'à la mort de Mithridate II, évoquée en 42, 2, 6, les règnes sont évoqués à travers leurs faits les plus marquants (très sommairement résumés), à partir du règne d'Orodès (58/57-38 av. J.-C.), au cours duquel prend place la bataille de Carrhes, le récit ne s'intéresse plus qu'aux rapports entre Parthes et Romains. Il est manifeste qu'à compter du moment où Parthes et Romains sont en contact, Trogue a utilisé des sources romaines qui ne s'intéressaient aux affaires parthes que dans la mesure où elles interféraient avec celles des Romains. De ce changement de sources résulte un «trou» de trente ans dans la chronologie des Arsacides puisqu'on passe directement de Mithridate II (124/123-88/87 av. J.-C.), dernier roi évoqué par la première source, à la guerre entre Mithridate III et Orodès, qui se déroule en 58/57 av. J.-C. (voir Altheim 1947, t. 1: 8 et Ferrero 1957: 128-145). Ces années sont d'ailleurs très mal connues des historiens contemporains qui les désignent depuis G. Rawlinson comme «The dark Period of Parthian History» (Rawlinson 1873).

Dans les chapitres «romains», les épisodes que narre Trogue sont tous connus par ailleurs et le récit qu'il en fait, mis à part des détails peu significatifs, ne se distingue pas de ce que l'on trouve dans d'autres sources: guerre civile entre les frères Orodès et Mithridate, bataille de Carrhes, invasion de la Syrie par les Parthes au lendemain de Carrhes et succès contre eux de Cassius, alliance des Parthes avec les Pompéiens, invasion de la Syrie et de l'Asie par Labienus et Pacoros et succès contre eux de Ventidius, expédition d'Antoine, rivalité entre Phraate IV et Tiridate, tous ces éléments sont connus des sources gréco-romaines. La façon dont ils sont racontés, très négative pour les Parthes, est également typique des évocations romaines des Parthes: despotisme et cruauté sont les deux ressorts permettant d'expliquer les affaires des Arsacides (Lerouge-Cohen 2005 et Lerouge 2007: 260-266). Mithridate II est ainsi détrôné «à cause de sa cruauté», avant de se faire massacrer par son frère Orodès (42, 4, 1-2); ce même Orodès est tué par son fils Phraate, qui assassine ensuite ses trente frères ainsi qu'un de ses fils, mais se fait à son tour chasser du trône, «à cause de sa cruauté». On retrouve chez Tacite et Flavius Josèphe le recours aux mêmes facteurs d'explication

(Tacite, *Annales* 6, 31, 1; 6, 36, 2; 6, 41, 2; 11, 8, 2; 11, 10, 3; Flavius Josèphe, *Antiquités Juives* 18, 44). Par ailleurs, la valeur militaire des Parthes, à travers le récit du succès de Ventidius (42, 4, 8-10), est rabaissée, ce dont on trouve d'autres exemples chez les auteurs ayant raconté cet épisode (Frontin, *Stratagèmes* 2, 5, 36; Dion Cassius 48, 40 et 49, 40). Certes, ces chapitres marquent une bonne connaissance des affaires intérieures parthes; les ouvrages de Flavius Josèphe ou de Tacite sont toutefois la meilleure preuve que les Romains, parce qu'ils cherchèrent souvent à en tirer profit, se tenaient au courant des affaires des Arsacides (Tacite, *Annales* 2, 1-4; 2, 56-58; 6, 31-37; 6, 41-45; voir aussi aux livres 12-15 le récit de la guerre entre Parthes et Romains en Arménie; Flavius Josèphe, *Antiquités Juives* 18, 39-52). Les derniers chapitres du livre 42 des *Histoires Philippiques* ne sont qu'un des exemples de cet intérêt romain pour les Parthes sous l'Empire et ne supposent pas la lecture d'une source spécifiquement consacrée aux Arsacides.

Il en va autrement pour les chapitres précédents. Ces chapitres offrent des informations dont on ne trouve nulle trace ailleurs et sont empreints d'un ton positif pour les Arsacides: le fondateur de la dynastie fait construire une citadelle sur un mont «si avantage par la nature qu'on ne peut rien voir de plus fort ni de plus agréable» (41, 5, 3); son fils combat «avec un courage admirable» (*mira virtute*) contre Antiochos (41, 5, 7); Mithridate I, «homme d'un courage signalé» (*insignis virtutis viro*) (41, 5, 10), porte l'empire des Parthes du mont Caucase jusqu'au fleuve de l'Euphrate» (41, 6, 8) et meurt dans «une vieillesse glorieuse» (41, 6, 9); Mithridate II «surpassa la célébrité (de ses ancêtres) par son génie» (*animi magnitudine*) (42, 2, 3). Pas de meurtre familial dans ces chapitres, mais de nombreux exploits guerriers. Ils présentent en outre une unité qui incite à penser qu'ils ont été tirés d'une source unique, déroulant l'histoire des Parthes, règne par règne, depuis les débuts de leur histoire; ils sont, de toute évidence, en continuité avec le chapitre consacré à l'histoire ancienne de la Parthyène et aux origines d'Arsacès. Trogue semble bien avoir eu des *Parthica* sous les yeux. Dans la mesure où nous avons reconnu Apollodore comme source principale de Trogue sur la question des premiers temps des Parthes, la tentation est forte de voir en lui la source principale des livres 41-42 dans leur ensemble, jusqu'à 42, 4 en tout cas.

Les historiens toutefois ne sont pas unanimes sur ce point: Thérèse Liebmann-Frankfort incline ainsi à penser, comme pour Strabon, que la source de Trogue dans le livre 41 est Posidonios, et que l'historien romain

n'a utilisé Apollodore que pour le passage consacré à Mithridate I (41, 6, 6). Son argumentation repose sur le fait que les Séleucides sont très présents dans ce livre, ce qui signifie selon elle que Trogue a utilisé une source intégrant l'histoire des Parthes dans celle des Séleucides, comme le faisait Posidonios (Liebmann-Frankfort 1969: 917-918). Cela ne me paraît pas totalement convaincant: l'histoire des Parthes, au départ, est bien celle de leur lutte contre les Séleucides désireux d'imposer de nouveau leur autorité sur eux et il est normal que ces derniers occupent une place importante dans des *Parthica*. De plus, l'intérêt pour les Séleucides faiblit au fur et à mesure qu'on avance dans le texte: si les règnes d'Arsacès et de son successeur Arsacès II sont principalement caractérisés par les succès qu'ils remportèrent respectivement sur Séleucos II et Antiochos III (voir 41, 4, 9 et 41, 5, 7), l'expédition menée par Démétrios II contre Mithridate I en 140/139 n'est en revanche pas évoquée du tout, tandis que celle d'Antiochos VII contre Phraate (130/129) n'est qu'allusivement mentionnée au début du livre 42 —du point de vue parthe de surcroît (elle est décrite comme «la tentative d'Antiochos sur le royaume des Parthes») (42, 1, 1). Certes, l'intervention de Justin doit être prise en compte: parmi les succès de Mithridate I, résumés de façon vague en 41, 8, figurait probablement chez Trogue son succès contre Démétrios, et l'expédition d'Antiochos devait être racontée avant d'être simplement évoquée au début du livre 42. Il reste que Trogue, de toute évidence, n'avait pas insisté sur ces événements dans le livre 41. Cela correspond à une réalité historique: les Parthes doivent d'abord conforter leur indépendance par rapport aux Séleucides, mais à partir du moment où ils se lancent dans des conquêtes, leurs victoires éclipsent les succès remportés sur les rois gréco-macédoniens qui essaient de les contenir. Que la première étape apparaisse en bonne place dans une histoire des Parthes n'a donc rien d'étonnant et ne suppose pas l'usage d'une source centrée sur les Séleucides. Le désintérêt pour les expéditions de Démétrios et d'Antiochos semblerait même prouver le contraire.

On sait en revanche que Posidonios, lui, racontait abondamment ces expéditions: les fragments tirés d'Athénée nous le prouvent (Athénée 152f-153b = Edlestein-Kidd F. 57 et F. 64: Posidonios les évoquait aux livres 5 et 16), de même, surtout, que les livres 36 et 38 des *Histoires Philipippiques*, pour lesquels il est admis que Trogue a utilisé Posidonios comme source (Santi-Amantini 1972; Salomone 1973; Angeli-Bertinelli 1982; Richter 1987: 169-172; 193-195). Au livre 36 prend ainsi place le récit de la guerre

de Démétrios (36, 1, 1-6) et au livre 38 deux longs chapitres sont consacrés à la captivité de Démétrios II en Hyrcanie, puis à l'expédition lancée par Antiochos VII pour libérer son frère (38, 9-10). Aucun élément de ces récits n'est repris dans le livre 41: les livres 36-38 d'une part, et 41-42 d'autre part, ont été manifestement puisés à deux sources distinctes. Un détail semble le confirmer: dans les livres 36 et 38, Mithridate I n'apparaît que sous le nom dynastique (transmis de façon fautive) d'«Arsacide» (36, 1, 3; 38, 9, 3; 38, 9, 4; 38, 9, 6). Cet usage se retrouve dans les fragments de Posidonios transmis par Athénée, qui désigne Mithridate et Phraate sous le nom générique d'«Arsacès», de même que chez Diodore de Sicile: il s'agit donc d'un usage posidonien. Dans les livres 41-42 en revanche, Trogue n'utilise jamais ce nom dynastique dont l'emploi conduit à une confusion entre les différents rois: cela pourrait signifier que sa source n'est pas Posidonios.

Enfin, il paraît logique, si Trogue s'est fondé sur Posidonios pour raconter l'histoire des relations entre Parthes et Séleucides, qu'il ne reprenne pas la même source au moment où il s'intéresse aux Parthes en particulier, mais qu'il privilégie alors l'usage d'un ouvrage qui leur soit spécifiquement consacré.

Je ne crois donc pas, pour ma part, que Posidonios soit la source des chapitres dans lesquels Trogue Pompée raconte l'histoire des Parthes aux livres 41-42 des *Histoires Philippiques*.

Bien des indices en revanche viennent confirmer l'hypothèse selon laquelle Trogue Pompée a utilisé pour ces chapitres, comme il le fait à propos des origines des Parthes, l'œuvre d'Apollodore d'Artémite.

D'abord on trouve, dans le livre 41 des *Histoires Philippiques*, un développement sur l'histoire de la Bactriane à l'époque du royaume gréco-bactrien (41, 6). On l'a vu plus haut, Apollodore avait raconté l'histoire du royaume gréco-bactrien, et Strabon l'a reprise dans sa *Géographie* (11, 11, 1). Certes, il est difficile de comparer le chapitre des *Histoires Philippiques* avec les notations historiques qu'on trouve dans la *Géographie* de Strabon sur la Bactriane, car dans l'un et l'autre ouvrage, l'histoire gréco-bactrienne est racontée de façon lacunaire: Strabon n'évoque que les conquêtes menées par Ménandre en Inde et sa connaissance de la succession des rois gréco-bactriens paraît très confuse (voir notamment 11, 9, 2), tandis que dans les *Histoires Philippiques* ne sont évoqués que le règne d'Eucratidès, l'avant-dernier roi gréco-bactrien, ainsi que la chute du royaume. Dans les *Histoires Philippiques* toutefois cette vision réductrice

de l'histoire bactrienne provient très clairement du résumé de Justin qui élimina la quasi-totalité de ce que l'on trouvait chez Trogue: le Prologue du livre 41 indique ainsi que Trogue racontait l'histoire du royaume depuis sa formation sous le règne de Diodote (évoquée également, quoique de façon erronée, par Strabon en 11, 9, 2) jusqu'à la conquête de la Bactriane par les Scythes (à laquelle Strabon fait allusion en 11, 8, 2), et qu'il s'intéressait également à l'histoire du royaume indo-grec d'Apollodote et Ménandre (évoqué, de façon imprécise là encore, par Strabon en 11, 11, 1). Le nom des peuples scythes qui mirent la main sur la Bactriane, nous l'avons vu plus haut, paraît également être le même chez Strabon et chez Trogue (Prologue). Par ailleurs, s'il est faux d'affirmer, comme le fait Justin, que les Bactriens, à la fin du règne d'Eucratidès, «tombèrent sous le joug des Parthes, jusqu'à plus faibles qu'eux», l'idée (juste) selon laquelle les Parthes conquièrent une partie de la Bactriane à l'époque de ce même Eucratidès se trouve répétée à deux reprises chez Strabon (11, 9, 2 et 11, 11, 2): on peut penser que Justin, dans son résumé et par souci de marquer fortement le contraste entre la puissance grandissante des Parthes et la déchéance progressive des Gréco-Bactriens, simplifie et exagère ce qu'il lisait dans sa source, mais que cette source est la même que celle de Strabon et qu'elle datait bien du règne d'Eucratidès l'expansion des Parthes au détriment des Bactriens.

Par ailleurs Trogue portait un grand intérêt aux peuples scythes: dans les livres 41-42 ils sont à plusieurs reprises mêlés à l'histoire des Parthes (41, 1, 9; 42, 1; 42, 2, 1-5), et, surtout, un excursus leur était consacré au livre 42, dont Justin n'a rien gardé. Or, on sait qu'Apollodore lui aussi accordait de l'importance aux Scythes et aux relations qu'ils entretenaient avec leurs voisins: c'est probablement à Apollodore que pense Strabon lorsqu'il explique que les Parthes ont familiarisé leurs contemporains «avec l'Hyrcanie, la Bactriane et les pays voisins, ainsi qu'avec les peuples scythes qui leur font suite, beaucoup moins connus précédemment» (1,2,1), et lorsqu'il se félicite, plus loin, que la domination des Parthes ait permis de beaucoup mieux connaître les peuples de la Mer Hyrcanienne puisque «ceux qui écrivent leur histoire parlent des lieux et des peuples où se sont déroulés les événements avec plus d'autorité que leurs devanciers, les ayant plus souvent qu'eux vus de leurs propres yeux» (11, 6, 4). Strabon témoigne effectivement d'une bonne connaissance des peuples nomades proches de l'Hyrcanie et des incursions auxquelles ils se livrent dans les territoires voisins, notamment chez les Parthes (11, 8, 3). Cela constitue un nouveau point commun supplémentaire entre lui et Trogue Pompée.

Enfin, la digression arménienne de Trogue (42, 2, 7-3), uniquement centrée sur les origines de ce pays, présente des convergences avec l'histoire ancienne de l'Arménie que propose également Strabon dans un chapitre considéré comme issu d'Apollodore (11, 14, 12): chez les deux auteurs on trouve l'idée selon laquelle l'Arménie, comme de nombreux royaumes d'Orient, fut fondée par un compagnon de Jason, Arménios/Armenos en l'occurrence, lors de l'expédition des Argonautes (Trogue 42, 2, 10 et 42, 3, 1) et tous deux en allèguent comme preuve le fait que Parménion, un compagnon d'Alexandre, dut faire détruire les nombreux sanctuaires dédiés à Jason qu'il avait trouvés en arrivant en Orient (pour qu'il n'y ait pas de nom plus révérent que celui d'Alexandre, explique Trogue) (Trogue 42, 3, 5).

Il est donc probable que Trogue Pompée, dans une grande partie des chapitres historiques des livres 41-42, utilisa Apollodore d'Artémite plutôt que Posidonios comme sa source principale. Une question toutefois subsiste. Elle concerne le premier chapitre du livre 42 (voir Altheim 1947, t. 2: 15). Ce chapitre, consacré à Phraate II (139/138-128 av. J.C.), diffère d'abord des autres par sa longueur. Au lieu de résumer en quelques lignes les événements les plus marquants du règne de Phraate, l'auteur choisit de développer un épisode bien précis: alors qu'il s'apprêtait à porter la guerre en Syrie, le roi fut rappelé à la défense de son royaume par les Scythes réclamant un salaire pour l'aide qu'ils lui avaient fournie contre Antiochos VII; cet épisode entraîne deux conséquences: la régence d'Himéros à qui Phraate confie son royaume pendant la guerre et par la mort du roi, assassiné par les soldats grecs composant l'armée qu'il avait emmenée avec lui combattre les Scythes. Ce chapitre se caractérise par une tonalité hostile aux Parthes et par une caractérisation négative de leurs rapports avec leurs sujets: Himéros se comporte «comme un tyran cruel» et maltraite rudement les Babyloniens ainsi que d'autres peuples (42, 1, 3). Si Phraate, de son côté, est assassiné par son armée de Grecs, des soldats faits prisonniers pendant la guerre d'Antiochos VII, c'est parce qu'il les avait exaspérés en les traitant «avec hauteur et cruauté (*superbe crudeliterque*)» et en leur infligeant des «vexations révoltantes (*injuriarum indignitas*)» (42, 1, 4-5). Cette insistance sur la *crudelitas* et la *superbia* des Parthes évoque de près les livres 36 et 38, dans lesquels elle est invoquée pour caractériser la façon dont les Parthes se comportent envers les peuples soumis (36, 1, 3; 38, 10, 5; voir aussi 39, 1, 3). Or ces livres, on l'a dit, sont tirés de Posidonios. Par ailleurs, Diodore de Sicile atteste que l'on trouvait chez Posidonios comme chez Trogue l'idée selon laquelle

Phraate II avait l'intention de marcher contre la Syrie mais qu'il ne put mener son projet à bien (34, 18: «Arsacès, le roi des Parthes, après avoir écrasé Antiochos, conçut le projet de marcher sur la Syrie, espérant s'en rendre maître facilement. Il n'eut pas la possibilité de faire cette expédition, mais, à cause de la grandeur de ses succès, la Fortune plaça sur son chemin de très nombreux périls et malheurs») –Trogue se montre plus précis que Diodore en expliquant que ce sont les mouvements des Scythes qui l'empêchèrent de le faire. Le récit du «règne» du cruel Himéros (42, 1, 3) apparaissait également chez Posidonios (Edelstein-Kidd F. 65; Diodore de Sicile 34, 21), qui en outre présentait Phraate comme un roi terrible pour les populations grecques récemment soumises (Diodore de Sicile 34, 19: il annonça aux habitants de Séleucie que tous auraient les yeux arrachés). Ne peut-on penser que Trogue, ici, abandonne un instant Apollodore pour raconter un épisode qu'il a trouvé chez Posidonios, et qui par son aspect spectaculaire ne pouvait qu'intéresser le lecteur? On objectera qu'il aurait pu, dans ce cas, le narrer au livre 38 ou 39, dans le cadre de son récit de l'expédition d'Antiochos. Ces livres toutefois sont consacrés aux Séleucides, alors que l'épisode en question concerne les Parthes: Trogue estima peut-être qu'il n'avait pas sa place au livre 38 et choisit de le raconter plus tard, dans ses livres parthes, où ils viennent enrichir la narration d'Apollodore. Ce qui est sûr en tout cas, c'est que ce chapitre diffère de celui qui le précède et de celui qui le suit et qu'il semble tiré d'une source autre, plus hostile aux Parthes et mettant l'accent sur les mauvaises relations qu'ils entretenaient avec les Grecs de leur royaume.

Les chapitres ethnographiques.

Maintenant que nous évoqué la question des chapitres historiques des livres 41-42 des *Histoires Philippiques*, il nous reste à étudier les deux chapitres ethnographiques (41, 2-3) qui les précèdent. C'est leur caractère unique, bien plus que leur qualité, qui explique l'importance qu'on leur accorde: du point de vue du contenu en effet, ces chapitres, tels qu'ils nous sont parvenus en tout cas, se caractérisent par une certaine pauvreté. Ils se composent d'un ensemble de remarques que l'on peut classer en trois catégories: celles qui décrivent les mœurs et coutumes des Parthes; celles qui portent, plus particulièrement, sur l'armée et les tactiques des Parthes; celles qui concernent le caractère de ce peuple. Il est inutile de se demander quelle est la source de l'exkursus ethnographique de Trogue: plus que le reflet d'une

source unique, ces chapitres constituent un véritable patchwork dans lequel on retrouve des influences diverses. C'est de l'ensemble de ces influences que se compose la vision romaine des Parthes à l'époque d'Auguste (sur l'ethnographie romaine des Parthes, voir Lerouge 2007: 323-360).

Les remarques d'ordre proprement ethnographique se trouvent au début du ch. 2 (41, 2, 1-4) puis au ch. 3; quoique très succinctes et souvent frustrantes, elles couvrent un nombre de domaines assez important. Trogue évoque d'abord les institutions des Parthes: «après la puissance royale», explique-t-il, c'est l'ordre des conseillers (*probulorum ordo*)¹ qui tient le plus haut rang: c'est de cet ordre qu'ils tirent leurs chefs en temps de guerre, et leurs magistrats en temps de paix» (*ex hoc duces in bello, ex hoc rectores in pace habent*) (41, 2, 1-2); il caractérise ensuite rapidement leur langue: elle est un mélange de scythe et de mède (41, 2, 3); puis leur costume: ils portaient autrefois un «costume particulier» (*vestis sui moris*), mais depuis qu'ils sont riches ils portent, comme les Mèdes, des «habits transparents et légers» (*perlucida ac fluida*) (41, 2, 4). Du point de vue des coutumes matrimoniales, les Parthes, «pour varier leurs plaisirs», ont chacun plusieurs femmes, et «aucun délit n'est puni chez eux plus rigoureusement que l'adultère»: les femmes doivent chez eux être totalement soustraites aux regards des hommes (41, 3, 1-2). Ils «ne mangent d'autre viande que celle que leur fournit la chasse» (41, 3, 4) et passent toute leur vie à cheval, en temps de guerre comme en temps de paix; seuls les esclaves marchent à pied (41, 3, 4). Enfin, «leur sépulture ordinaire consiste à être déchiré par les oiseaux ou par les chiens. Ils ne mettent les os en terre que lorsqu'ils sont nus» (41, 3, 5), et «dans leur pratiques religieuses comme dans le culte qu'ils rendent aux dieux, ils ont tous une remarquable piété» (41, 3, 6).

Ces remarques, dans l'ensemble, correspondent à la réalité parthe. Ainsi, dans la description des institutions parthes, si les termes de «conseillers» (*proboulorum*), d'«ordre» (*ordo*) et de «magistrats» (*rectores*) sont impropres, on reconnaît facilement derrière les propos de Trogue le royaume arsacide dans lequel une aristocratie toute-puissante fournit aux rois leurs généraux et leurs gouverneurs. Ce passage peut être rapproché du fragment de

¹ La leçon la plus couramment admise par les manuscrits, *probulorum*, posant problème pour le sens à donner à la phrase, Altheim 1947 suggère d'adopter la leçon *propiquorum*, les «proches», terme qui pourrait être une transcription latine du mot grec «Parents» (συγγενεῖς), titre aulique en usage chez les Parthes. La suggestion est intéressante mais comme elle n'a pas été couramment admise, je m'en tiens ici à la leçon des manuscrits.

Posidonios que transmet Strabon, selon lequel les Parthes disposent d'un double sénat, composé d'une part de Parents, d'autre part de Sages et de Mages, qui établit les rois² (11, 9, 3): si, là encore, le propos est inexact (les rois parthes ne sont pas choisis par un sénat mais désignés par le roi en place), la situation décrite, celle d'une royauté dans laquelle les grands nobles occupent une place centrale, est conforme à la réalité et semblable à celle que l'on trouve chez Trogue. L'affirmation selon laquelle le parthe est un mélange de scythe et de mède correspond également à une certaine réalité, puisque le parthe appartient, comme le mède, au groupe des langues iraniennes du Nord-Ouest, mais contient également des mots d'origine parne (selon Altheim 1947, t. 1: 4-5, la situation décrite par Trogue témoigne d'une époque bien précise, celle au cours de laquelle le parne, langue originelle des Parthes, commença à se transformer en un dialecte du nord-ouest proche du mède; il la date de la première moitié du premier siècle. Je ne suis pas sûre toutefois que l'on puisse être aussi précis). Il est vrai par ailleurs que les Parthes sont polygames, et, semble-t-il, que leurs femmes se cachaient le visage en public (voir Dion Cassius 63, 2, 3). On sait également que le cheval occupe une place importante dans la civilisation de ce peuple de cavaliers; l'idée selon laquelle les Parthes se déplacent à cheval tandis que leurs «esclaves» marchent à pied provient d'une mauvaise compréhension de la société parthe (dont on retrouvera un exemple à propos de l'armée): chez les Arsacides, la grande majorité de la population est dépendante des grands nobles, c'est-à-dire qu'elle est attachée à la glèbe et doit payer des redevances; Trogue n'a pas compris ce statut de dépendance et l'a traduit par le terme d'«esclavage», qui est impropre (voir sur ce passage l'analyse de Koshelenko 1980, qui étudie également les quelques autres occurrences que l'on trouve dans les sources gréco-romaines à propos des «esclaves» parthes). Il reste que, même si elle est exprimée de façon fautive, cette observation marque une certaine connaissance de la société parthe: à l'époque achéménide il était impensable pour un noble de se déplacer à pied (Xénophon, *Cyropédie* 4, 3, 23, cité par Koshelenko 1980: 183), et il en allait de

² Ce fragment de Posidonios a suscité de nombreuses discussions, que je ne reprends pas ici (ou peut se reporter en revanche à Lerouge 2007: 245-255). Je me contenterai d'indiquer que je n'adopte pas le texte grec choisi par F. Lasserre dans la CUF, mais préfère celui que donnent les manuscrits et qu'ont retenu Aly 1957: 425 note 38) et Kidd 1988, t. 2: 957-959 (le verbe «établir» est à l'actif, καθίστησιν, et non au passif (καθίσθασθαι)). La traduction que j'adopte est donc semblable à celle que donnent les deux savants, pour le premier en allemand, pour le second en anglais.

même sous les Sassanides (voir les références que donne pour cette période Koshelenko 1980); il est probable que les Parthes eux aussi respectaient cette convention. Par ailleurs, les Parthes pratiquent bien le décharnement des cadavres, coutume typiquement zoroastrienne. Enfin, l'assertion selon laquelle les Parthes, autrefois, portaient un «costume particulier» qu'ils ont troqué depuis qu'ils sont riches pour des habits «transparents et légers» correspond à l'enseignement des monnaies, qui montrent que le costume des Arsacides s'est considérablement enrichi et orné au cours du temps. Malgré leur birèveté et les nombreuses lacunes qu'elles présentent (en matière de religion notamment), les notations ethnographiques de Trogue semblent provenir d'une source ayant une bonne connaissance de la société parthe.

On est en même temps frappé par les similitudes que présente l'exposé de Trogue avec les descriptions classiques des Perses. Dans sa formulation, l'affirmation selon laquelle les os des cadavres ne sont pas mis en terre avant d'être nus rappelle ainsi de très près le texte d'Hérodote, qui écrit dans son excursus perse: «le cadavre d'un Perse ne serait pas enseveli avant d'avoir été déchiré par un oiseau ou par un chien» (1, 140). On trouve également dans les sources classiques l'explication de la pratique perse de la polygamie par la recherche du plaisir (idée sous-entendue chez Hérodote (1, 135) mais ouvertement exprimée chez Euripide (*Andromaque*, v. 177-180)); les Perses sont en outre eux aussi présentés comme très jaloux de leurs femmes (Plutarque, *Artaxerxès* 27, 1 et *Thémistocle* 26, 4-5). Enfin, chez Hérodote apparaît l'idée, plusieurs fois reprise ensuite, selon laquelle les Perses ont adopté le costume des Mèdes, parce qu'ils le jugeaient «plus beau» que le leur (Hérodote 1, 135; voir aussi Xénophon, *Cyropédie* 1, 3, 2; 1, 3, 3; 8, 8; Strabon 11, 13, 9).

De ces similitudes on doit conclure, non que Trogue s'est uniquement inspiré, pour décrire les Parthes, de sources anciennes consacrées aux Perses, mais plutôt que, lorsqu'il reconnaissait entre les pratiques perses et parthes des points communs, il décrivait les secondes sur le modèle des premières et les expliquait comme l'avaient fait avant lui, pour les Perses, les historiens grecs. Son intérêt pour les Parthes lui est en outre dicté par sa connaissance des sources anciennes sur les Perses: parmi les traits parthes Trogue choisit ceux qu'il reconnaît, qui lui «parlent» comme ils «parlent» à ses lecteurs romains. Doit-on faire remonter cette attitude à la source qu'il a utilisée, ou a-t-il lui-même effectué une sélection parmi les informations qu'il avait recueillies? On ne peut répondre avec certitude à cette question. J'incline à penser pour ma part que la source de Trogue faisait bien appel à

des réminiscences classiques, mais qu'elle proposait des coutumes parthes un exposé beaucoup plus complet que celui qui se trouve dans les *Histoires Philippiques* et mettait davantage l'accent sur les traits distinguant les Parthes des Perses. On en a des témoignages dans notre texte: pour ce qui concerne les institutions des Parthes on ne trouve pas de précédent perse, par exemple. L'auteur des *Histoires Philippiques* a opéré une sélection parmi les éléments que contenait sa source pour ne retenir que ceux qui pouvaient frapper un esprit romain bon connaisseur des textes grecs. Le fait que, d'une manière globale, l'ethnographie gréco-romaine des Parthes soit pauvre et largement inspirée du modèle perse m'incite à penser que cette sélection avait déjà été opérée par Trogue à l'époque d'Auguste et qu'on ne doit pas l'imputer — ou pas totalement en tout cas — à Justin.

Peut-on maintenant savoir de quelle source Trogue s'est inspiré pour ses remarques d'ordre ethnographique? Là encore, la certitude n'est pas permise. On peut déceler un certain nombre de points communs entre les remarques de Trogue et la description ethnographique que l'on trouve chez Strabon à propos des Mèdes (Strabon 11, 13, 9-11): importance accordée au costume (11, 13, 9); insistance sur la passion des Mèdes pour le tir à l'arc et l'équitation (11, 13, 9); remarque sur le fait que les Mèdes ne mangent comme viande que du gibier et ne pratiquent pas l'élevage (11, 13, 10). Or, on considère généralement que ces chapitres de Strabon viennent d'Apollodore: Apollodore, utilisé pour les chapitres historiques, pourrait donc également être la source de Trogue. Même si les deux passages renvoient à une même réalité, le propos de Trogue sur les institutions parthes est trop différent, dans sa formulation, de celui que Strabon nous a transmis sous le nom de Posidonios pour que l'on puisse en conclure que Trogue a utilisé Posidonios dans son ethnographie. Quel que soit l'auteur dont il s'est inspiré, il s'agit en tout cas d'une source imprégnée de culture grecque et bien renseignée sur les Parthes, même si les coupes qu'elle a subies de la part de Trogue ou de Justin empêchent d'en connaître la véritable valeur.

L'ethnographie parthe de Trogue Pompée consiste en grande partie, nous l'avons dit, en une description de l'armée des Arsacides et de leurs pratiques militaires (41, 2, 5-10). Trogue décrit l'armée des Parthes comme essentiellement constituée d'esclaves (*maiores partem servitiorum habent*) auxquels les Parthes apprennent, «tout comme à leurs enfants, à monter à cheval et à tirer à l'arc». Ces esclaves ne peuvent être affranchis. Par ailleurs, en temps de guerre, chacun fournit des cavaliers au roi selon sa

fortune. Suit une liste des tactiques observées par les Parthes sur le champ de bataille.

La contradiction qu'on note entre les propos de Trogue sur la composition de l'armée des Parthes, qui indique que des «esclaves» montaient à cheval, et la remarque, commentée plus haut, selon laquelle seuls les nobles parthes pouvaient se déplacer à cheval, est le signe, selon G. A. Koshe-lenko (Koshelenko 1980: 182), que Trogue a fait appel à plusieurs sources pour son ethnographie parthe: ici, les «esclaves» désigneraient les membres des tribus parthes conquérantes qui étaient placés dans une situation de dépendance vis-à-vis de la haute aristocratie et leur fournissaient la cavalerie légère — mais n'étaient en rien des esclaves. L'origine de cette erreur remonte, visiblement, aux observations auxquelles se livrèrent les Romains lorsqu'ils furent confrontés militairement aux Parthes: Trogue cite en effet à l'appui de ses propos l'expédition d'Antoine, au cours de laquelle, affirme-t-il, le général romain dut affronter 50 000 hommes dont 400 seulement étaient des hommes libres (41, 2, 6).

Les remarques qui suivent et qui portent sur les tactiques des Parthes proviennent elles aussi, de manière certaine, d'observations romaines: refus de combattre de près, incapacité à soutenir des sièges et à prendre des villes, fuite simulée, usage du tambour et non de la trompette, présence de cavaliers cuirassés dans l'armée parthe... toutes ces notations se retrouvent dans les récits que nous avons de la bataille de Carrhes (Plutarque, *Crassus*, 16-34 et 37-38; Dion Cassius 41, 12-27), ainsi que dans d'autres textes décrivant les Parthes au combat, comme chez Tacite par exemple (voir par exemple *Annales* 13, 40; 15, 4...). La description de l'armée arsacide et de l'attitude des Parthes sur le champ de bataille est proprement romaine et on ne peut y trouver de précédent grec; elle est totalement issue du contact direct avec les Parthes et constitue un champ proprement romain de la description ethnographique de ce peuple.

Dernier aspect de la description des Parthes: leur caractérisation psychologique. Dans cette caractérisation — sommaire — des Parthes figurent, c'est évident, des éléments issus de la tradition grecque relative aux Perses et aux peuples d'Orient en général: les Parthes sont fourbes («leur caractère est fourbe», (*ingenia... fraudulenta*) (41, 3, 7); «ni leurs paroles ni leurs promesses ne méritent confiance, à moins que leur intérêt soit en jeu» (41, 3, 10)), et ils obéissent aux chefs «moins par devoir que par crainte», attitude considéré au moins depuis Hérodote comme caractéristiques des Perses (Hérodote 7, 103-104). Ils sont également, comme les

Perses, «ardents à la débauche» (41, 3, 10), ce qui rappelle leur pratique de la polygamie.

L'image d'un peuple «séditieux» (*ingenia... seditiosa*), (41, 3, 7) «toujours remuant (*inquieti*), soit au dehors, soit au-dedans, naturellement taciturne (*taciti*), plus prompt à agir qu'à parler», capable de «taire aussi bien les succès que les revers» (41, 3, 8), et à la fois «ardent à la débauche» et «sobres de nourriture» (*in cibum parci*) (41, 3, 10) est toutefois inédite et ne rappelle en rien l'image grecque forgée au sujet des Perses. Les qualités ainsi prêtées aux Parthes évoquent en revanche un autre peuple décrit dans les *Histoires Philippiques*: les Espagnols. Eux aussi, d'après Trogue, font preuve de sobriété (*parsimonia*) (44, 2, 1), savent se taire («ils ont plus de soin et de courage à se taire (*taciturnitatis*) qu'à préserver leur vie» (44, 2, 3)), aiment la guerre (44, 2, 2) et ont «l'esprit remuant» (*inquiēs animus*) (44, 2, 5). Les points communs entre la description des Parthes et celle des Espagnols, deux peuples qui ont longuement résisté à Rome avant de rendre hommage à sa puissance, sont évidents. Ils incitent à penser qu'on se trouve ici face à un type de caractérisation psychologique forgé par les Romains eux-mêmes pour décrire des peuples qui, dans la tradition grecque, n'avaient pas d'image. On comprend d'ailleurs que les Romains, qui furent défaits à Carrhes, n'aient pu se contenter, pour décrire les Parthes, de reprendre en tout point les textes grecs consacrés aux Perses: la mollesse et la lâcheté imputées à ces derniers ne rendaient pas compte de la réelle force des Parthes. Les Romains prêtèrent donc aux Parthes les traits qui, selon eux, caractérisaient les peuples valeureux (sobriété, capacité à se taire, esprit «remuant»). Ils ne renoncèrent pas toutefois à certains aspects importants de la description des Perses: les Parthes sont toujours décrits comme débauchés; leur débauche toutefois ne les affaiblit pas: c'est le mélange entre ces traits apparemment incompatible que sont le goût pour la débauche d'une part, et la sobriété et le courage d'autre part, qui devient la caractéristique fondamentale de la description des Parthes. On remarque également, dans le même ordre d'idée, que les Parthes sont à la fois riches (leur costume en témoigne), et «sobres de nourriture», paradoxe qui met bien en lumière l'aspect duel de leur image. Faut-il chercher une source en particulier pour expliquer les propos de Trogue? Je ne le crois pas. Les ressemblances que présentent sa description des Espagnols et celle des Parthes portent plutôt à croire qu'il est lui-même, Romain nourri de sources grecques, l'auteur de ces chapitres (sur l'ethnographie de Trogue: Von Wickevoort-Crommelin 1993)

S'il subsiste à propos des livres 41-42 des *Histoires Philippiques* de lourdes incertitudes, l'étude que nous avons menée permet d'arriver, je

crois, à quelques conclusions. D'abord, ces livres ne sont pas issus en bloc d'une même source mais puisés chez des auteurs différents, aussi bien pour les chapitres historiques que pour les chapitres ethnographiques. L'une de ces sources est très probablement Apollodore d'Artémida, lu également par Strabon. Certaines des différences que l'on a pu constater entre les *Histoires Philippiques* et la *Géographie* à propos des premiers temps de l'histoire des Parthes s'expliquent par des déformations que Justin a introduites en abrégant le texte. La fin des chapitres historiques et une partie de la description ethnographique des Parthes proviennent de sources romaines — je pense même que la caractérisation psychologique des Parthes a été élaborée par Trogue lui-même, comme celle des Espagnols. Nul antiromanisme dans ces livres qui s'achèvent sur le triomphe d'Auguste. Ils sont plutôt le signe qu'à l'époque d'Auguste s'élabora à Rome une image complexe des Parthes: héritée de l'image grecque des Perses, elle comporte des traits qui sont antinomiques avec celle-ci mais permettent de rendre compte de l'histoire des relations romano-parthiques. La représentation des Parthes subsistera sous cette forme contradictoire pendant de nombreux siècles.

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NEW EVIDENCE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE “ANAHITA TEMPLE”

BY

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Abstract: Partly standing-partly excavated remains of a monument in Kangavar, a town in western Iran between Hamadan and Kermanshah, have been dated to the Seleucid and/or Parthian periods. In an article published in 1981, nevertheless, M. Azarnoush argues in favour of a late Sasanian date for this site. The discovery of a brick under the massive masonry of the western platform of the monument in the course of later excavations provided the possibility for thermoluminescence dating of this sample. The TL reading of the brick confirms the Sasanian date of the monument. The present article intends to assess this and some other new information about the site.

Keywords: W-Iran, Kangavar, Anahita Temple, Sasanian, chronology

I- Introduction

In an article published in 1981, I argued in favour of a late Sasanian date for the monument of Kangavar, frequently labelled the “Anahita Temple” (Azarnoush 1981: 69-94, Pl. 12-19). By that time I had completed two seasons of excavations on this site, following five seasons of work headed by Seyfollâh-e Kâmbakhsh-e Fard, another Iranian archaeologist of whose expeditions I am certainly honoured to have been a member.

Reasons backing the new chronology may be outlined in the following:

- Isidor of Charax is the oldest author who mentions the presence of an Artemis Temple in Concohar, most probably the Greek pronunciation for the Iranian Kangavar.

For the reasons explained in my article (Azarnoush 1981: 82-84) I have suggested that the identification of the Artemis Temple of Concohar with that of Anahita is a misinterpretation of Isidor’s writings.

In addition, there is not a single piece of evidence in favour of an identification of the remains under discussion as those of the Artemis Temple mentioned by Isidor.

- Unlike Kambakhsh-e Fard, the excavator of the Parthian-early Sasanian cemetery on the eastern slopes of the hill — next to the eastern platform of the monument, who considers the presence of this graveyard as a proof of the sanctity of the site, I have argued that this cemetery was not different from other cemeteries of this period. Parthian cemeteries so far excavated in the region, from Hamadan to Kermanshah, have been established on wastelands. There is therefore no reason why this cemetery should have been different. During the Parthian-early Sasanian periods, therefore, this place must have been a desolate land (Azarnoush 1981: 82-84)

- Texier, Flandin and Coste are at the head of a long list of authors who date the monument to the Seleucid and/or Parthian periods. They consider the style of masonry in Kangavar to be Greek, albeit to varying degrees — from “exceptionally close to the Attic order” to “impure and degenerate”. The date of the monument, therefore, was basically established on stylistic considerations.
 I argued that these stylistic comparisons and conclusions do not withstand more rigorous study. The style of the masonry in Kangavar may be more closely compared with that of Taq-e Garrâ, a small monument usually attributed to the late Sasanian period and the horseshoe arch which is narrowly comparable to those of sixth-seventh century Syrian works (Azarnoush 1981: 78-82, 90).

- While the proportions between various elements of the Greek orders, including those of the height and diameter, of the base, shaft, and the capital, are of utmost importance to their “Greekness”; in the columns of Kangavar these proportions are so dissimilar to the Greek orders proportion that no real analogy is conceivable.
 The proportions of the columns of Kangavar are akin to the pillars in some late Sasanian-Early Islamic excavated monuments (Azarnoush 1981: 89-90).

- A considerable number of stone pieces, both worked and untouched, bear mason marks. Some of these are single words, in Middle Persian, inscribed on the inner faces of masonry blocks. These are dated on the scripts’ stylistic characteristics, by Richard Frye and Vladimir Lukonin, respectively, to the Middle and Late Sasanian periods.

For Kambakhsh-e Fard, the excavator, these inscriptions are proof of the reparations that the "Anahita Temple" underwent during the Sasanian period (Azarnoush 1981: 91-92). This is an unlikely possibility, since marking the repaired parts in a monument, in a way that it would be distinguishable from the original parts of the monument under reparation, is an extremely new idea, almost certainly unknown in the Sasanian period¹.

- Last but not least, Iranian and Arab historians/geographers unanimously date the monument to the reign of Khosrow II (A.D. 590-628) (Azarnoush 1981: 69-70, 84-85). Although this point in itself may be of little weight in the present discussion, yet, added to the abovementioned, it provides additional arguments in favour of my suggestion.

Mainly for these reasons, and in disagreement with previous opinions, I concluded that:

- 1- The monument in Kangavar should be dated to the late Sasanian period, most probably to the reign of Khosrow II.

In addition:

- 2- I suggested a hypothetical reconstruction. On the basis of one impost block discovered in the southwest corner of the monument and belonging to the hance of an arch, I proposed that arches similar to that of Taq-e Garrâ may have spanned the spaces between columns/pillars, creating an arcade (Azarnoush 1981: 82, figs. 8-9).

This point, too, was in disagreement with the flat roof suggested by Texier and accepted unanimously.

¹ It would imply that the Sasanians were so familiar with modern conceptions of reparation and reconstruction of ancient monuments that they respected all modern standards in this regard; that is, when they repaired the "Anahita Temple" in Kangavar they carefully dismantled the platforms, made the necessary reparations while putting their marks on the new pieces of masonry so that the new pieces would be distinguishable from the old ones, and then put the Greek styled columns back on their original locations!

3- Finally, in a lecture delivered to a colloquium organized by the fourth expedition in Kangavar (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 254-257) I argued that the construction might have remained incomplete².

II- New Evidence

Once my excavations came to an abrupt end in 1979, in 1985 a third expedition was organized, headed by Ali-e Valinouri and lasting one season. Afterwards, a fourth expedition, this time under the joint supervision of architect Mohammad-e Mehryâr and archaeologist Ahmad-e Kabiri, worked for several years, from 1988 to 2001. Alongside several seasons of excavations they also concentrated on conservation and reconstruction works. A report of their activities was subsequently published (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004). This publication includes new evidence in favour of the triple conclusions I had reached, as mentioned above. Here I intend to assess the new information.

II-1- Chronology

While making the preliminary investigations and damage evaluation on part of the western platform, in 1999 the fourth expedition came across a brick firmly embedded in gypsum mortar and situated, under the heavy stone blocks and gypsum masonry of the platform, directly on the bedrock. It was located at the end of a test trench (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 297) about 4.20 to 4.90 m. east of the still standing blocks of the platform's façade (figs. 1-3). The discovery of this brick provided the expedition with an unexpected opportunity to go beyond the relative, and disputed, chronology of site. The brick, therefore, was sent to the laboratories of Research Center for Conservation of Cultural Relics, ICHTO, for thermoluminescence dating.

The TL reading on the brick gave an age of 1570 ± 140 .

If we add the 140 years of deviation to the proposed age of the brick we obtain a date within the ruling years of the Sasanian king Khosrow I (A.D. 531-578), but if we subtract the deviation we will obtain a date within

² In this lecture I also suggested that a strong influence of Late Antique "Syrian" craftsmanship can be detected in the masonry of the monument in Kangavar. Unfortunately the proceedings of this gathering remain unpublished.

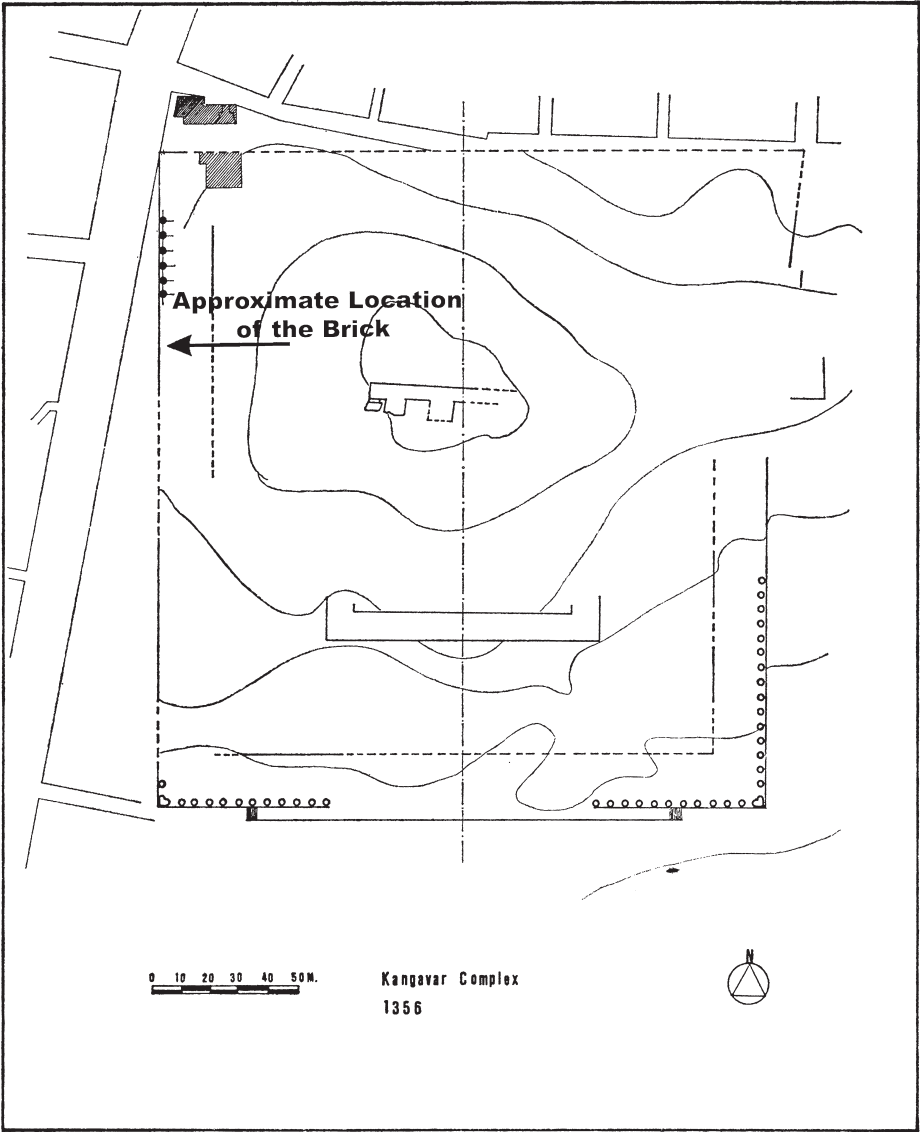


Fig. 1. Kangavar. General plan of the complex (Azarnoush 1981).

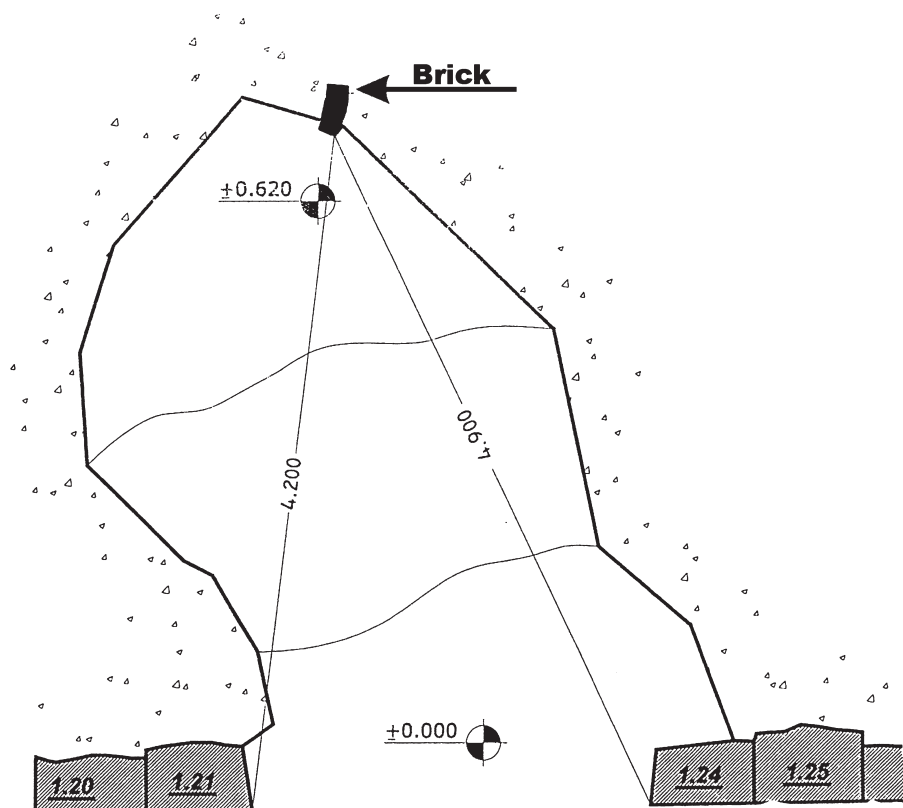


Fig. 2. Kangavar. Plan of test trench (based on Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: Plan 13a).

the ruling years of the Sasanian king Bahram II (A.D. 276-293) (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 115-116, 296-297; Bahrololoumi 2004: 297-298).

It is obvious that this would be the date of burning the brick and may not be extended to the entire monument. In addition dating tests on only one sample would be hardly conclusive (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004). We certainly need more samples, if available, to be tested. Nevertheless, the whole range of probable ages of the tested brick fall well within the Sasanian period, from A.D. 276 to A.D. 578, and if we consider the result reliable, the reign of Bahram II may be taken as *terminus a quo* for the construction of the monument of Kangavar.

The brick may have found its way to this location quite accidentally and embedded in mortar during the construction of the platform. Yet,

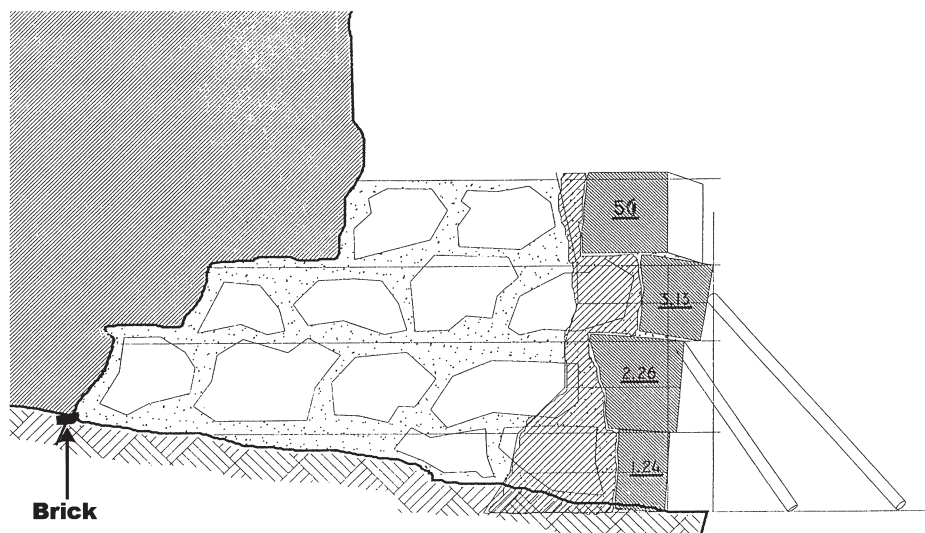


Fig. 3. Kangavar. Section of the test trench (based on Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: Plan 13).

there is another probability. This discovery, understandably, surprised the excavators (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 297). Usually buildings in masonry are not erected on brick foundations. In addition, there was only a single brick, or piece of brick. In this case one may equally conclude that this brick, firmly sat in gypsum mortar, may have been the remains of an earlier construction. If so, there is a remote possibility that at one time or another during the Sasanian period, from the ruling years of Bahram II onward, there was a building in brick in this area, replaced, at a later time, by the one, in stone and gypsum, still standing.

One way or another, there is little doubt that the discovered brick was made during the Sasanian period, and since it is found on the bedrock and under the platform masonry, so it means that the Kangavar monument was erected during the Sasanian period, and certainly not in the Seleucid or Parthian periods. At the earliest, the construction of the “Anahita Temple” may have begun during the ruling years of Bahram II and, given the suggested date of the brick; this action may have taken place at any time after the reign of Khosrow I as well, perhaps during the ruling years of Khosrow II.

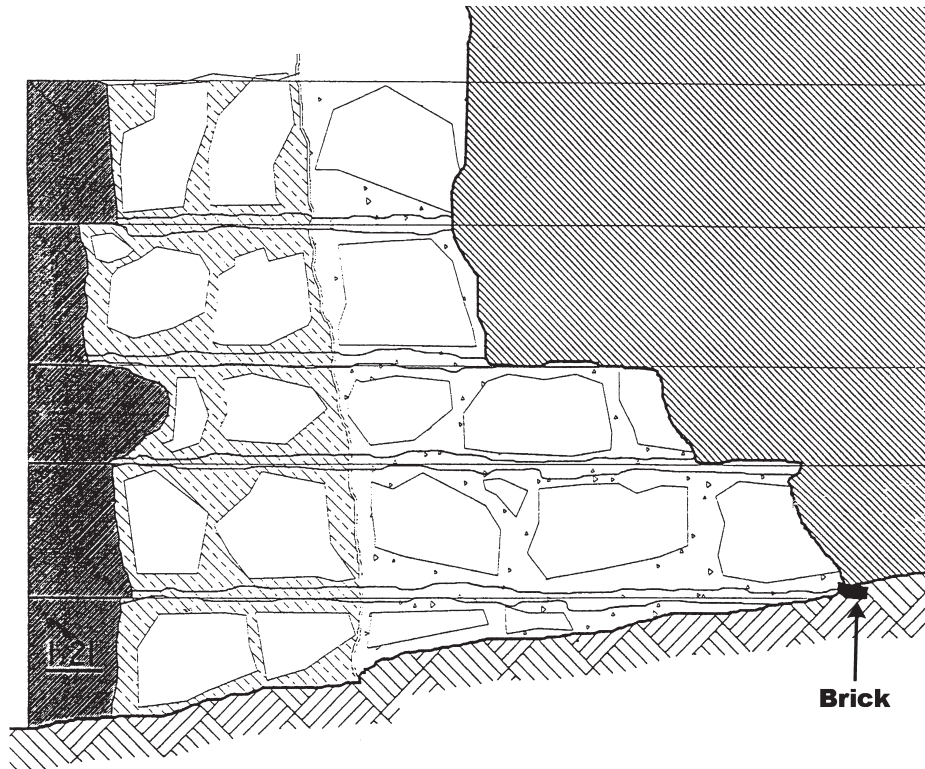


Fig. 4. Kangavar. Section of the test trench
(based on Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: Plan 13b).

II-2- Hypothetical Reconstruction

My hypothetical reconstruction of an arcade on the edge of the southern platform, and most probably on all three sides where columns have been found, was based, on the one hand, on a right turn impost block found at about 20 m. from the southern platform, not far from the southwestern corner of the monument, and on the other hand, on the close resemblance of this impost block with those of Taq-e Garrâ.

The fourth expedition unearthed several other stone blocks to add to the single one mentioned in my article of 1981. These include:

- 1- A complete impost block, belonging to both right and left hances and, showing the proper size for covering the entire surface of a capital (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 134, 158, 243, fig. 44a).

- 2- Another impost block, from a left turn hance of an arch (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 153, 158, 243, fig. 51).
- 3- A key stone (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 150, 243, fig. 48) and
- 4- A piece of a second key stone (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 150, fig. 48a).

Based on these elements, the fourth expedition has suggested a hypothetical reconstruction of an architectonic unit, with quite an exotic function³ and, situated near the southern corner of the western platform, comprising only two arches (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 161-162). Thus, the reconstruction of a long arcade on the edge of the southern platform is rejected (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 163) and, in agreement with previous opinions, a flat roof for the rest of the pillar/column rows is confirmed (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 136).

It should nevertheless be noted that the reported elements of the two reconstructed arches were found scattered far apart. Almost all of them were unearthed at a distance some 10 to 17 m. from the proposed place of the arched construction (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 276). The authors provide no convincing explanation for the dispersion of these heavy stone blocks⁴. In addition, one should also take into account the total absence of any block that could back the existence of flat stone roofing. Of course one may suggest that the flat roof may have been made of wood. In this case it would equally be necessary to explain why such heavy infrastructure, that is columns/pillars required for construction of heavy stone arches, was erected if they were to support only a light wooden flat roof.

The discovery of various elements of two complete arches, the wide range dispersal of these elements from the southwestern corner of the monument to the middle of the central platform, and the total lack of evidence for any alternative solution add weight to my hypothetical reconstruction of an arcade along the outer edge of the platforms of the monuments.

³ The authors suggest that these two arches were, probably, erected "... under the cornice, in a short distance from it, near the southwestern angle of the monument, and in an inaccessible location. Probably symbols of the two beliefs then in vogue, that is Mithraism and another unknown belief, were installed in them, in a way that they could be seen from without the building, even from far distances." (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 162)

⁴ The authors conclude that the dispersion of the architectonic elements has been caused by an earthquake along the Dinavar-Nahavand fault (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 275-276).

II-3- Incomplete State of the Monument

In 1994 a block was identified and described in the report of the fourth expedition under the title: "Identification of a particular block" (Mehryâr & Kabiri 2004: 169).

Found inside the area of the monument, behind the western platform, this block was probably to be used in the construction of the facade of the platform near which it has been discovered. This cubic block, which has been in the process of being shaped, is remained rough and only parts of it, including the surface and about 10 cm. on the edges of its four sides, are finely cut. Abundant stone chips scattered around the block are additional reasons to suggest that, not only the final stages of stone cutting took place in situ, but it also demonstrates that the stone cutting, at least in this case, was suddenly abandoned. If so, my suggestion about the incomplete state of the monument may be confirmed.

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**INVESTITURE OR *MITHRA*.
TOWARDS A NEW INTERPRETATION OF
SO CALLED INVESTITURE SCENES IN
PARTHIAN AND SASANIAN ART**

BY

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Abstract: It is commonly accepted among scholars that the investiture or coronation scenes appear regularly in Parthian and Sasanian art. A key to this interpretation lies in the presence of a ring. Deemed to be a symbol of royal power, the ring is, however, mentioned as the insignia of royal power in no textual sources. A review of the ring involving scenes, provided that the symbol concerned retains its meaning irrespectively of context, permits to believe that the ring should be perceived as a symbolic expression of a contract or covenant (*mithra*). The noun *mithra* has a strong ethical tinge and is closely relating to Mithra, the divinity who not only presides over contracts but also warrants their inviolability.

Keywords: Parthian and Sasanian periods, rock reliefs, numismatics, glyptic, investiture, *mithra*.

Ten out of twenty eight Sasanian rock reliefs are commonly interpreted as showing a royal investiture (De Waele 1989: 811-823). They depict a deity, either standing or mounted on horseback, presenting a beribboned ring to, and facing, standing or mounted king. The earliest scenes of this kind are on reliefs commissioned by founder of the dynasty, Ardashir I. Two of them portray the king and the deity, both standing and facing each other (Firuzabad I, Naqsh-e Rostam III), while one shows the monarch and the deity, each mounted on horseback (Naqsh-e Rostam I). The date for the reliefs has been subject to a scholarly dispute. W. Hinz contended that the Firuzabad relief is the earliest “investiture” scene of Ardashir I, executed soon after the king’s coronation at Ctesiphon in 226. The relief at Naqsh-e Rostam was considered chronologically the second by the scholar, and followed by the scene carved at Naqsh-e Rostam (Hinz 1969: 123). G. Herrmann shares the view of W. Hinz (Herrmann 1969: 65-74), while W. Lukonin, comparing Ardashir’s crowns pictured on coins with those

on the reliefs, asserted all reliefs concerned commissioned by Ardashir were not carved before the 30s of the third century, with the Nasqsh-e Rajab relief being the earliest, and the Naqsh-e Rostam sculpture being the latest (Loukonin 1968: 106-17).

Accepting the chronological sequence proposed for the “investiture” reliefs of Ardashir I by W. Lukonin, D. Shepherd was the first to note that the Naqsh-e Rostam relief was actually executed many years after the coronation of Ardashir, and, thus, the return to the investiture theme almost at the end of the king’s rule appears somewhat surprising, if not unreasonable (Shepherd 1983: 1079-80). D. Shepherd suggested that the scenes should be perceived as a sort of apotheosis of the ruler rather than the illustration of any specific event (Shepherd 1983: 1080-1082). D. Shepherd’s interpretation has been criticized by J. K. Choksy arguing that no evidence is in place to support the view that Sasanian monarchs were treated as gods. However, J. K. Choksy sustains the traditional interpretation of the reliefs and regards them as visual representations of one of most significant events of the ruler’s political and religious life, i.e. moment of being endowed by the deity with supreme power and authority to rule the material world (Choksy 1988: 47).

L. Vanden Berghe pointed out that the scenes of the “investiture” depict the king wearing his characteristic crown, and, therefore, it is likely that the coronation event already took place. As one cannot imagine any more suitable moment for the deity than the coronation ceremony to transfer the symbol of royal power, the scholar asserted that the scenes which show a deity extending its hand with a beribboned ring toward the king illustrate the endowment of the already crowned king with *xwarrah*, a symbol of royal glory (Vanden Berghe 1988: 1511-1531). Though worth consideration, Vanden Berghe’s view has gained no supporters.

The traditional interpretations rest on the assumption that, received by Sasanian rulers, the ring with large ribbons was a symbol of royal power. Attention should be, however, given to a somewhat carefree and interchangeable use of such terms as: ring, diadem or wreath, for objects shown in scenes commonly interpreted as the investiture. This approach is particularly striking in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* where authors of the *Investiture* entry use the term ‘diadem’ to describe a round object presented by a deity to a Sasanian king, an oval beribboned piece, a ribbon around a royal crown as well as a wreath carried by Nike hovering above a king’s head on Parthian coins (see Curtis 2005; Rose 2005).

To make this examination exact, we decide to use the term *ring* for a round object made most probably of any hard material, and the term *diadem* for a ribbon usually gracing the king's forehead. The diadem as a symbol of kingship is known already from the Achaemenid art where it appears worn by the king and his closest circles, i.e. 'relatives' (Ritter 1965: 6-18). The diadem as a symbol of royalty continued to be used by Alexander the Great and Diadochi (Fredricksmeyer 1997: 97-1080), and, subsequently, under Mithridates I and his successors, following the conquest of Seleucia-Tigris in 141 BC (Sellwood 1980: 130). While describing the power of Surena, Plutarch wrote that "The honour had long belonged to his family, that at the king's coronation he put the crown upon his head." (Crassus ii, 290). And, as evidenced in textual sources and on coins, wherever Roman Emperors were placing their protégés on the Armenian throne, the respective ceremony used to consist in placing the crown on the head of the king-to-be, and not in presenting any ring to him (Cassius Dio, LXIII, 3, 4: Suetonius, *Nero* 13). This is probably a diadem in the hand of a deity iconographically similar to Tyche and depicted on Parthian coins struck starting with Phraates IV (Sellwood 1980: 50.2-3). Though widely depicted on coins struck in mints of the western part of the Empire (Pl. 1:1), similar representations rarely occur at Ecbatana (Sellwood 1980: 69.1-6) and remains yet unknown from Margiana regions. Are those scenes really illustrating the symbolic investiture of the Parthian king by the city-goddess? On some coins of Orodes II and Phraates IV, there is Tyche depicted kneeling before the king (Pl. 1:2) (Sellwood 1980: 45.1) and it is generally accepted that the gesture of kneeling was a sign of submission, respect and obedience. These were probably invoked by scenes on tetradrachms of Artabanus II, where a standing female figure offers a palm branch to the enthroned king, and a male figure in Parthian attire is shown standing behind her and holding a diadem (Pl. 1:4) (Sellwood 1980: 62.1). D. Sellwood has identified the man as Vonones. Probably the same person was depicted kneeling in front of Artabanus and presenting a diadem to the king, on a coin issued in Susa (Pl. 1:3) (Sellwood 1980: 62.8). This interpretation appears to be confirmed by texts touching upon Cinnamus who presented his diadem to the king, as an act of recognition of Artabanus' right to the crown (Josephus, *AJ* 20.65). Accordingly, it appears plausible that the Tyche-involving scenes described above should be interpreted as the ruling king's power and authority recognition rather than illustrations of his coronation.

As a primary emblem of king's authority, a diadem was adopted also by Sasanians. 'Dydimy' is referred to both by Narse in his inscription at Paikuli (Humbach & Skjærvø 1983: 93), and by Kavad II in his letter to Heraclius (Petrusi 1971: 610). Cologne Mani Codex reads as follows: (Ardashir I) "subjugated the city of Hatra and King Shapur I, his son, placed on his head the great (royal) diadem" (see Sundermann 1990: 295). Therefore, textual sources clearly indicate that the coronation is an act of putting a diadem on a head of a new ruler. Sasanian rock reliefs show the diadem tied in a bow with long, wavy ends, adorning bases of royal crowns, while the ring adorned with long ribbons is held in hands of either the monarchs or Ahuramazda.

The motif of a ring held in hands of deities is known already from the Mesopotamian iconography of the 3rd millennium B.C., where it served as a symbol of divine authority. Retaining its meaning, the ring was adopted by the Achaemenids and shown in hands of a male figure emerging from a winged disk (Shahbazi 1990: 134-144). In Parthian art, the ring is present in hands of both rulers and their vassals. As such, it appears on the relief at Hung-e Yar Alivand carved at the northern end of the Izeh-Malamir valley (Kawami 1987: 126-128, pl. 62). Regrettably, the relief is both damaged and uninscribed; its precise dating is thus prevented. Nothing but outlines of two standing figures survived, one seeming to hold a small ring in his hand kept down. This scene cannot be thus interpreted differently but as a non-investiture illustration, at least as far as a feudal meaning of the investiture ceremony is concerned. Similar in terms of interpretation is the Parthian relief at Sar-e Pol-e Zohab, which shows a rider, identified with a "great king" by the accompanying inscription, facing a standing male figure who seems to hold a ring in his right hand bent at elbow (Kawami 1987: 45-48, Pl. 6). In this scene, therefore, the ring is seen held by a vassal and not by a senior.

The scene carved on NE-side of Block II at Tang-e Sarvak, shows a male figure holding a ring in his right hand, and reclining on *kline* in the presence of three other persons. Although identification of the figures remains unsure, the relief is usually regarded as illustrating the investiture with the ring being a deciding element here (Curtis 2005; see also Vanden Berghe & Schippmann 1985: 68-70). A similar banquet scene appears on the rock relief of Kuh-e Tina (Bard-e But), also in Elymais. Here a reclining male figure holds a ring in his right hand and behind him stands a figure with a stylised *cornucopia* or fan (Vanden Berghe 1984: 122, fig. 8).

As the above-mentioned scenes do not involve the gesture of handing over the ring, their interpretation as illustrations of the investiture may be safely rejected. Same cannot be applied to the commemorative stela of Kwasak, satrap of Susa, where the ring is held both by the official and his sovereign, Artaban (Kawami 1987: 48-51, Pl. 7). The question, however, remains open what a symbolic meaning of the ring is in the Parthian period when the ring started to be employed in Iranian art again after a several century interruption. Obviously, it was not longer deemed to serve as a divine attribute, a function adopted under the Achaemenids.

In Sasanian art, scenes with the presentation of a ring may be classified into the following two categories:

- 1) scenes with the presentation of a ribbonless ring. A rock relief from Salmas may serve as an example here, this showing Ardashir I and his heir designate, Shapur, both mounted on horses and presenting the ring to vassals standing in front of them (Hinz 1965)
- 2) scenes with the presentation of a beribboned ring. This group includes all rock reliefs showing a deity handing a beribboned ring to a king (Pl. 2) and glyptic images of couples.

In contrast to the second category where main figures are rendered in iscephaly, the first category manifests differences as far as height of a king and a vassal is concerned. Apparently, this was the method for emphasizing a different status of the ring receivers; it is likely, however, that the message communicated by both categories was similar. But are these scenes really illustrations of the investiture of the vassal by the king, or the king by the deity?

The relief commissioned by Narseh at Naqsh-e Rostam shows the king receiving a beribboned ring from a female wearing *corona muralis*. Until recently, it has been commonly accepted, in view of special devotion of Narseh to Anahita, that the scene illustrates the monarch receiving the investiture from the goddess. It was Sh. A. Shahbazi to notice that the left hand of the female is concealed inside the sleeve of her garment. Since the concealment of a hand inside a sleeve is an old Iranian sign of subordination, one can hardly imagine that this is really Anahita depicted and not the king's spouse, for example (Shahbazi 1983: 255-268). The latter interpretation turns our eyes towards Sasanian glyptic scenes representing couples. They are most probably married for inscriptions that accompany the scenes sometimes mention names of both a male and a female. Besides depictions of couples holding a beribboned ring, there are also scenes showing couples

holding a ribbonless ring or shaking hands (Horn & Steindorff 1891: no. 1110; Göbl 1973: Taf. 8; Gignoux & Gyselen 1982: no. 11.3, 22.3).

Therefore, if we assume the ring motif retains its meaning across various contexts in which it is shown, the interpretation of the married couples involving scenes as the illustrations of the investiture lacks reasonable grounds. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that the scenes show the act of performing the solemnization of the marriage since there is no evidence whatsoever that the ring played any role during the marriage ceremony. Here, an Avestan hymn to Mithra (*Yašt* 10) demands quotation, with its particularly interesting paragraphs 115-118 giving a sketch of moral hierarchy: *mithra* between friends is 20-fold, 30-fold between fellow-citizens, 40-fold between partners, **50-fold between husband and wife**. Certainly, the most sanctity, 10 000-fold, is the *mithra* of religion.

Though scholarly debates on and about an exact meaning of the common noun *mithra* have failed to yield any deciding conclusion, the commonly accepted meaning is “pact, contract, covenant” (Boyce 1989: 24-26). If, therefore, glyptic depictions do not illustrate the solemnization of marriage, the beribboned or ribbonless ring held by the husband and the wife may be regarded as most directly expressing the notion of contract (*mithra*) made between a husband and a wife.

The same meaning may be attributed to the scenes showing the man and the woman shaking hands as *Vendidat* mentions two methods for entering into contracts: a *mithra* concluded by word and one by handshake (*Vd.* 4.2). It is likely that Hāthevārō, modern Zoroastrian ceremony of uniting hands of newlyweds, is reminiscence of the old tradition. Moreover, *Vendidat* refers to numerous connections between the marriage ceremony and Mithra, Lord of Covenant. Furthermore; one of Sogdian documents dated to the 9th century A.D. includes a marriage contract made before Mithra, Judge of Creation (Gershevitch 1959: 34-5).

A handshake motif was widely observed both in the Greek (Davies 1985) and Near Eastern world (Orthman 1985: Pl. 208). As far as Iranian tradition is concerned, a handshake appears to be a sign of an agreement or treaty made, i.e. *mithra*. Such interpretation of the handshake appears to be confirmed by classical authors, especially Nepos writing as follows: “for Mithridates promised the king that he would kill Datames, if the king would allow him to do with impunity whatever he wished, and would give him a pledge to that effect with his right hand after the manner of the Persians” (*Datames* 10,1.).

If the above-presented interpretation of the scenes where the ring is presented by one person to another as illustration of the act of making the *mithra* is accepted, there is, however, one more problem that needs to be addressed as far as Sasanian rock reliefs are concerned: a kind of *mithra* made between the king and his deity, Ahuramazda. The explanation is offered by the relief commissioned by Ardashir I at Naqsh-e Rostam. Both the king and the deity are shown mounted on horses trampling over dead bodies of enemies (Pl. 2:1). Thanks to his specific headgear, the male figure being stepped upon by the king's horse is easily identifiable as Artaban IV, last ruler of the Parthian dynasty. The male figure trampled by Ahuramazda's horse is Ahriman, evil spirit, God of Darkness and Wickedness. Ahriman's curls look like bodies of snakes, but only in the front is a snake head clearly recognizable, indicating the sculptor's intent.

Ardashir I is, therefore, represented as victorious over Artaban, with his success compared to a victory won by Ahuramazda over Ahriman. The king is thus shown exercising same functions in the material world as Ahuramazda, universal ruler of material and spiritual worlds, does (Choksy 1988: 37). We can, therefore, assume that the relief of Ardashir I illustrates not only a political but, and first of all, religious victory of the king, shared with Ahuramazda, highest deity worshipped by him. The victory was closely associated with an eschatological role the monarchy was to play in the future Renovation of the world (*Dēnkard*, 293.1). Winning from the last representative of the dynasty which Sasanian propagandists attempted to present neglectful of Iranian cultural and religious traditions, Ardashir both fulfilled his obligation imposed by his religion, and contributed to the final Renovation. As Ahuramazda is to protect *aša* in the universe, the Iranian king is to maintain *aša* in his kingdom. To retain *aša*, fighting against a lie and evil is a priority. Through combating evil in his monarchy, the king brings a victory over the Spirit of Evil closer, and contributes to the Renovation. *Aša* which means the harmonious order of the universe consists in the preservation of contract, so a lie is the violation of contract and the denial of the Mithra who personifies the contract.

A beribboned ring is likely to symbolize a covenant here, an alliance, *mithra* on religion, made between the deity and the king, and, as such, the most inviolate one under Mithra Yasht which reads as follows: "*mithra* is ten thousandfold when connected with the Law of Mazda, and then he will be every day of victorious strength" (*Yašt* 10.117).

If I am correct in the above-presented interpretation of reliefs showing the king receiving the ring from the deity, repetition of the same motif to emphasize a specific and constant relationship between two persons is no longer surprising.

Two other reliefs commissioned by Ardashir I (Firuzabad and Naqsh-e Rostam) show the king receiving a beribboned ring, accompanied by his family and members of his court. Given the significant role of the royal family in dynastic monarchies, inclusion of the family and court members into a symbolic act of entering into a covenant with the deity gives no rise to amazement. The scenes concerned perfectly match royal power and authority propaganda.

Mithra as Lord of the Covenant or *mithra*, was both a natural enemy of a contract-violating sinner, *mithro.druj*, and a friend of a good man. Thus, it is not surprising to see Mithra in his specific ray crown presented beside Ardashir II and a mural crown wearing figure on the late 4th century relief (Pl. 2:3) (Fukai & Horiuchi 1972: Pl. LXXIV). Because Ardashir II was not a natural successor of Shapur II, R. Frye suggested that the reason for portraying Mithra on the king's relief was the recognition of the deity as presiding over a contract made between Ardashir II and Shapur II, on returning the throne to Shapur III in due time (Frye 1977: 209).

As already mentioned in this paper, a separate category of representations is created by scenes showing a ribbonless ring being presented by a superior to a person having a lower rank. Assuming that the symbol retains its meaning notwithstanding the context, and having in mind the evidence brought to light by G. Widengren to prove that Iranian texts relating to the feudal investiture mention that the rite was connected with the presentation of a felt hat, *kulah*, and a belt, *kamar* (Widengren 1956: 260), it is likely that the scenes concerned do not illustrate the investiture but any agreement or covenant rather between the ruler and his subject. This interpretation seems to be valid also for the Parthian reliefs at Hung-e Yar Alivand, Sar-e Pol-e Zohab, Tang-e Sarvak as well as for the above mentioned stele of Kwasak from Susa.

Presumably, the investiture understood to mean a ceremony of formal enthronement of a king-to-be through presenting him with the royal insignia must have been a significant moment for a new ruler. A scant number of textual sources referring to this ceremony is thus surprising. However, this phenomenon is not restricted to Sasanians only and occurs for earlier ruling dynasties as well, either Mesopotamian or Iranian. Moreover, the

topic is hardly touched upon by ancient Near Eastern art. We actually know none but one depiction, this showing the goddess Ishtar putting the crown on the head of an Assyrian monarch, that can be undoubtedly interpreted as the coronation scene (Bron & Seidl 1995: Abb. 22). To explain this issue, some more dedicated studies are required though scholars dealing with ancient concepts of royal power would certainly oppose here. Further investigation is also needed to understand an Iranian concept of royal power which had apparently nothing in common with the Mesopotamian one. While examining the role of religion in the Achaemenid imperial ideology, B. Lincoln has reached the conclusion that there appears to have been the “theology of empire, in which the king is theorized as God’s chosen, who reunites the world and restores its perfection” (Lincoln 2008: 233). Indubitably, under the reign of Sasanians, the already existing inter-relationship between royal power and religion became stronger than ever. The role of the covenant between the king and the deity significantly increased, ultimately reaching an eschatological level. Consequently, it appears reasonable to assume that not the moment of enthronement itself, which seems to be less important for dynastic monarchies with strictly defined rules of succession, but the covenant (*mithra*) rather constituted a topic readily dealt with by and illustrated in art of ancient Iran. This covenant was not, however, understood as a one-off act but a constant relationship between the king and his deity. In the society adhering to Zoroastrian values, the role of *mithra* was therefore underscored, on my opinion, not only by religious texts but also by iconography.

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Pl. 1. Parthian coins

1. Phraates IV (source: http://www.parthia.com/pdc_19015.jpg. Pars coins)
2. Orodes II (source: <http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=40134>)
3. Artabanus II (source: http://www.parthia.com/pdc_13652.jpg. Collection Sadollah Vadavi)
4. Artabanus II (source: http://www.parthia.com/pdc_20895.jpg)



1



2



3

P.2. Sasanian rock reliefs

1. Relief of Ardashir I at Naqsh-e Rostam
2. Central part of Ardashir's I relief at Naqsh-e Rostam
3. Relief of Ardashir II at Taq-e Bostan

THE VOCABULARY AND SYNTAX OF ICONOGRAPHY IN SASANIAN IRAN*

BY

Abolala SOUDAVAR

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to establish that Sasanian functionaries had to develop a sophisticated iconographical language to propagate a political propaganda aimed at a mostly illiterate population. This iconographical language not only complements the written word, but stands on its own merits in shedding some light on information not easily understood in texts. It also provides a testing ground for the interpretation of complex slogans and philological guessing.

Keywords: finger signs, Tishtrya, *afš*, *čih*r, Arrān, *gao-čithra*

Introduction

There seems to be among historians and art-historians alike, the tendency to accept the written word as solid evidence, and to treat images as decorative elements devoid of documentary value. And if one tries to derive a meaning out of the latter, the usual question is: where is the text to support it? Yet, if one looks back to the Sasanian period, one can readily understand that the political propagandists of that era faced a real dilemma: how could they propagate political slogans if the population was mostly illiterate? The only effective mean to convey their propaganda was to develop an iconography that would be easy to understand, and almost intuitive. Even though illiterate in its majority, the Iranian population was nevertheless endowed with an oral tradition, rich in poetic and heroic imagery. A well-developed sign language could tap into this rich imagery and evoke the beliefs embedded in them.

* I am indebted to Rika Gyselen and Philippe Gignoux who have kindly sent me copies of their publications. Their painstaking efforts in deciphering inscriptions provided me with a basis that I could have never reached on my own. But once confronted with their initial reading, my familiarity with later Persian texts, and scribal practices, prompted me to seek a better understanding for some of them.

As I shall try to demonstrate in this paper, Sasanian functionaries developed a full-fledged iconographical language by adopting well-defined conventions, by creating a precise vocabulary, and by introducing expanded rules of syntax. This iconography not only complements the written word, but stands on its own merits in shedding light on information not easily understood in texts. Among these is the graphic demonstration of Sasanian knowledge concerning the etymology of Avestic terms such as *afš-čīθra* and *gao-čīθra*. It is also hoped that my arguments will finally lead to an understanding of the basic architecture of Sasanian coinage, which has remained unexplained despite the multitude of publications on the subject.

Conventions

Convention 1: The right facing king – In a sharp departure from Parthian practices, in which the king was represented on coins either full face or left looking (figs. 1, 2), Sasanians portrayed their kings facing rightward (figs. 4, 5). Ardashir I (r. 226-242) instituted this rule after having followed at first the Parthian model (fig. 3). This often-cited simple convention allowed illiterate onlookers to immediately distinguish a Sasanian coin from a Parthian one.

To avoid confusion and facilitate recognition, conventions had to be continuously maintained. Thus, with a few minor exceptions, Sasanian coinage followed the right-facing rule until the very end of their dynasty.

Convention 2: Special headgear – To distinguish the coinage of a new ruler from that of his predecessor, a second — also well-known — convention was adopted: the effigy of each ruler had a special crown or headgear (figs. 4, 5). The need to have a distinct headgear for each stemmed out of the time-honored Iranian practice of depicting people in a stylized manner. If the effigy was not a real portrait, a pointer to the king's identity was needed. There was of course the name of the king stamped in small characters on the coin, but since very few could read it another indicator was necessary: thus the special headgear. The prominence of the iconographical identity pointer, in comparison to the textual one, clearly shows that iconography was more relevant.

Convention 3: The king is tallest – Like on their coinage, the inscriptions on Sasanian rock reliefs were minutely written and did not carry much

weight next to the grandiloquent rock reliefs. Since the rock reliefs were carved to glorify the king, he had to be recognized at first glance, even from afar. As deities were also crowned (to project majesty), and as distinguishing one crown from another from afar was not an easy task, the Sasanian designers adopted a very simple rule to identify the king: the tallest person on the scene (including headgear) was the king (fig. 10). This simple rule — applied without exception to every Sasanian kingly rock relief — has also the merit to emphasize another aspect of the Persian kingly ideology: unlike the Greek world, deities were only accessories to the glorification of the king. Thus, their size was not of importance. Their presence was symbolic, and a sign of their support and approval of the king.

Convention 4: The designated position – What we have seen so far is a clear policy to conventionalize iconography for the sake of clarity and ease of recognition. It stands to reason that in pursuit of the same goal, mortals and deities would be allocated fixed positions on coins (where there is very little room to identify them with multiple indices). Switching the position of mortals with those of deities would have indeed been confusing, and counterproductive for the political message that one hoped to convey. This rule applies, for instance, to the reverse of the Sasanian coinage where two crowned figures flank a fire altar. I shall argue that on account of both continuity and iconographical evidence, the figure on the left is the king, and the one on the right is a deity.

The reverse of Sasanian coinage is clearly a modified version of the composition of Persis coins such as the one from Autophradates I (3rd century BC), in which the figure standing next to the fire altar has not only the exact same features as the king on the obverse (fig. 7), but also holds a bow, which was a sign of sovereignty going back to Darius I (522–485 BC) in Bisotun. Continuity in design, therefore, vouches for the figure on the left of the Sasanian fire altar to be a king as well. On Sasanian coins, the latter has either a generic crown (which I shall explain in Appendix I), or when it wears a specific crown it is the exact crown of the king on the obverse (see for instance figs. 5, 9, 13). The left position is therefore clearly one reserved for the king.

Same is true for the figure on the right: when it is not wearing a generic crown, is identifiable with a deity. On the coinage of Bahrām II (276–93) for instance, the figure on the left is a female deity, presumably Anāhitā (fig. 13), because she is brandishing a beribboned ring of investiture to the

king standing on the opposite side¹; also, as Michael Alram has pointed out, the figure on the right of the fire altar of Ohrmazd I (272-73) is Mithra since he wears a crown with pointed solar rays, and is brandishing the beribboned ring of investiture as well². The right position is thus for deities.

A second application of this rule concerns the coinage that bears on the obverse a small bust opposite the king. Regrettably, four years after I had demonstrated that the bust represented not a prince but a deity, numismatic experts still advance various hypotheses why it embodies a beardless boy prince or a “throne successor.”³ Yet the mere analysis of coins through the lens of iconographical conventions negates such a possibility. First, we are clearly dealing with deities when the bust is handing the king a beribboned ring of investiture. Such is the case of Zāmāsb (r. 497-99) for which the bust has been recognized as Ahuramazdā (fig. 8)⁴, and such is the case of Bahrām II where the bust has been acknowledged as Anāhitā (fig. 13)⁵. To switch the identity of the bust from deity to boy, would simply be in contravention of the spirit of conventionalized representation that is the staple of Sasanian iconography. Second, in many cases the “boy” is clearly a woman: in fig. 12 the bust on the obverse has fully developed breasts, and in fig. 13 it has the exact same features as those of Anāhitā on the reverse. In fig. 16 the bust is handing out a special diadem or headband similar to those given by a *woman* (Anāhitā) to a king in a composition engraved on a silver dish (figs. 17)⁶. Third, the comparison of the coinage of Ardashir I with Bahrām II (r. 276-93) shows how incongruent the “boy-prince” theory can be⁷: (a) the busts in figures 14 and 15 are both beardless and wear the same type of tiara with earflaps, which would then entail the impossible notion that Ardashir I and Bahrām II had the same crown prince (or favorite prince); and (b), in comparing figures 12, 13 and 15 we would have to surmise that Bahrām II not only often changed his favorite prince, but also switched his choice from a prince to a princess. More importantly, this “boy” theory begs a question: why would kings, who were otherwise

¹ Soudavar 2003: 68-70, Alram 2008: 25

² Alram 2008: 24.

³ Alram 2007: 236-38 (I am indebted to Michael Alram for giving me an offprint of his article); Gyselen 2004: 53.

⁴ *Cambridge History of Iran*, III(1): 328 and pl. 27, no. 5.

⁵ Choksy 1989: 117-35,

⁶ For more on this dish see Soudavar 2003: 36

⁷ Alram 2002: 132.

hailed and supported by deities, suddenly accept to *downgrade* their stature by having a mere mortal in front of them? The fact is that every Sasanian iconographical composition was devised to enhance the glory of the king. To think that the effigy of a prince would convey added prestige for the king, or symbolize a co-ruler, is to confound the Iranian situation with Byzantine practices. The simple solution to all the above explained problems is that the bust represents a deity: mostly Anāhitā, and occasionally, Ahuramazdā.

Political Slogan And Continuity

Considering the effectiveness of iconographical representation in a mostly illiterate society, it is almost *impossible* for the Sasanians not to have devised a symbolic imagery for the ubiquitous political slogan “*ki čīhr az yazdān*” that characterized the king. As suggested elsewhere, this slogan should be translated: “who reflects the gods (in power and glory)”⁸; and it finds its iconographical expression in the reflective positioning of the king with deities (which includes the two above mentioned cases of king and deities on the obverse and reverse of Sasanian coins)⁸. Unfortunately, two reevaluations of the meaning of the word *čīhr*, one by Anotonio Panaino and the other by Prods Oktor Skjaervo, have once again brought confusion to the issue⁹. I shall deal with them at length in Appendix I by showing that the primary meaning of *čīhr* in this context is “brilliance/radiance,” while “image” only offers a secondary or derivative meaning, and by arguing that *čīhr* was in essence the manifestation of the king’s *farr* through radiance. But at this juncture, suffice it to say that the translation proposed by Panaino and accepted by Skjaervo — “whose image is from the Gods” — has one major iconographical inconvenience: it can no longer serve to explain the juxtaposition of kings with deities, because when the deity is Anāhitā, the king can obviously not be in the “image” of a woman.

Skjaervo also suggests oblivion, and lack of understanding for past formulas, when Sasanians adopted their new slogan. A careful comparison with the Persis coins, however, shows that the Sasanian slogan was not radically different from those of their predecessors, but simply presented it in a new garb. The analogy becomes perceptible if some misconceptions

⁸ Soudavar 2003: 48-49.

⁹ Panaino 2004: 555-85; Alram, Blet-Lemarquand & Skjaervo 2007: 30-47.

are set aside. Joseph Wiesehöfer, for instance, qualifies the “Achaemenid winged man” on top of the fire altars of Persis coins (fig. 7) as “the embodiment of the *Xvarnah* of a famous royal precursor.”¹⁰ Yet, the most rudimentary iconographical reading of this symbol argues against such interpretation, because the abstract notion of *xvarnah* is not intuitively compatible with a human figure interacting by a gesture of the hand with a king standing below and responding with the same gesture. As I had demonstrated elsewhere¹¹, this “Achaemenid winged man” was the symbol of Ahuramazdā who, like most other deities of the Avesta, was a valid interlocutor of man. Ahuramazdā, as the interlocutor of man, is therefore represented in human forms, and the wings give him a supernatural look in order to portray him as a deity. By contrast, a king never converses with the *xvarnah* in the Avesta or any other text.

Moreover, since many Persis coins qualify the king as being the “*frataraka* of gods,” i.e., deputy of gods (on earth)¹², we can see that the composition on the reverse of figure 7 is the exact rendering of this idiom: by a mutual gesture of the hand, king and deity acknowledge their interrelated responsibilities, one from up high, and the other, down on earth. The use of the term *frataraka* as the dynastic designation of the rulers of Persis by Wiesehöfer has the negative effect of masking the aspirations of their kings. Indeed, he envisages the possibility of “*fratarakas*” being vassals to the Seleucids or the Arsacids¹³. But when a king proclaims to be “the deputy of gods,” he envisions an authority emanating directly from the gods; he does not consider himself a vassal of another king. Similarly, the holding of the bow before the fire altar also projects sovereign rule. Thus, in choosing a political slogan that incorporated the word *čihra*, the same that

¹⁰ Wiesehöfer 2007: 43.

¹¹ Soudavar 2003: 88-106.

¹² Wiesehöfer translates *frataraka* of an Achaemenid satrap of Egypt as “sub-satrap,” and foresees in the case of the Persis coin inscriptions that is written in Aramaic as “*prtrk' ZY LHY*” may actually mean the *frataraka* of “godlike” kings; Wiesehöfer 2001: 43. Notwithstanding the fact that “godlike” is a totally foreign and unacceptable notion in Iranian kingship ideology, the fact is that the notion of a sub-king or sub-god is also unheard of. Therefore, as I had argued in Soudavar 2006 (pp. 163-64) the only possible translation is “deputy of gods (on earth).”

¹³ Wiesehöfer 2001: 41-43. The term *frataraka* is a misnomer, for it is awkward to call a dynasty that of “Deputies.” Timurids, for instance, could not (and never did) call themselves Gurkānids (i.e., “son-in-laws”), even though Timur had married a Changizid princess and was entitled *gurkān*.

Darius had previously used in his inscriptions (see Appendix I), the Sasanians were still claiming to be earthly kings whose power emanated from the gods¹⁴. The only iconographical adjustment that was necessary to reflect their modified political slogan was to bring down the symbol of god, from atop, and place it opposite the king, next to the fire altar.

Vocabulary

In addition to conventions, Sasanian functionaries developed a precise vocabulary for their sign language, three sets of which I shall discuss here below:

Set 1: The number vocabulary – Since ancient times, it existed in Iran a sign language that conveyed numbers through the configuration of fingers. The Sasanian functionaries naturally incorporated these signs into their iconography, as a vocabulary subset. I had signaled elsewhere that the *Farhang-e Jahāngiri* gave a full description of these finger signs¹⁵, but since various art history catalogs still describe them as devotional or arcane gestures, I have decided to present a full English translation of its text in Appendix II. Samples of number signs are illustrated in figs. 19 a, b, c.

This sign language was probably developed to facilitate trade among merchants, along the Silk Road. A practice sheet by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) indicates that illustrated manuals existed even in Europe, because the three hand gestures that he has drawn illustrate three such numbers¹⁶.

Interestingly, we have two types of representation for the number 20: as a closed fist on the drawing of fig. 20, and as a greeting sign exchanged between kings, gods, and Sasanian grandees on rock reliefs (fig. 19d). Both, however, conform to the description of the *Farhang-e Jahāngiri* because its only requirement is to have the thumb of the right hand put under the proximal phalange of the index finger; the position of the remaining fingers does not matter (see Appendix II). I had previously suggested that this twenty sign, represented the sum total of the fingers of the hands

¹⁴ Soudavar 2006: 176; Soudavar (forthcoming).

¹⁵ Soudavar 2003: 59-60, based on Zokā 1998, Inju-ye Shirāzi 1980, I: 61-65.

¹⁶ I have flipped horizontally the Dürer drawing to get configurations for the right hand, which project the numbers 10000, 20 and 3 (from top left clockwise); the original drawing represents on the left hand: 10000, 200 and 3000; see Appendix II.

and feet, and was perhaps a sign of total submission¹⁷. However, a recent article about the function of some “Kermān” stone plaques may provide a better explanation, one akin to the notion of excellence associated today with grading systems based on the number twenty (good eyesight is for instance graded 20/20). Ann-Elisabeth Dunn-Vaturi and Ulrich Schädler have plausibly argued that the 20 holes on these plaques represented the stations of an ancient game, the goal of which was to advance to the twentieth hole through a roll of dice (fig. 21)¹⁸. One can then imagine that reaching 20 became synonymous with victory and excellence. As such, it made sense for both deity and kings to greet each other with the sign of victory and excellence.

Set 2: The *farr* vocabulary – Since the notion of *farr* (OP *xvarnah*) was essential to authority and kingship, a vast array of symbols were created, each emphasizing a certain aspect of it. In two different studies, I have identified a number of *farr* symbols, a synopsis of which is presented in the table below. For some, such as the ram or headband, direct reference was provided. Others were identified by logical inference based on text and iconography. A more complex reasoning however involved the case of the windblown headband (flying ribbon, *dastār*), which I argued to be not a symbol of the regular *xvarnah* but of the Aryan *xvarnah*. This reasoning was based on the observation of a shift in the iconography of the headband (i.e., the addition of the ripples), in conjunction with the victory of Shāpur I (r. 242-272) over the Romans and the adoption of the title of King of Erān and an-Erān, which found its explanation in Yt 18, and that I shall further discuss here below.

¹⁷ Soudavar 2003: 60, note 151.

¹⁸ Dunn-Vaturi and Schädler 2006: 2-10.











Image	Description	References and justification
	Ram	<i>Kārnāmag</i> , <i>Shāhnāme</i> . ¹⁹
	Headband/ ribbon	Officially called <i>dastār</i> but referred to as <i>x^warreh</i> by Mas‘udi ²⁰ .
	Windblown headband	Ripples indicate the presence of the Strong Wind as companion to the Aryan <i>xvarnah</i> (Yt 18) ²¹ .
	Shining disk	<i>Shāhnāme</i> , Tāq-e Bostān hunt scene ²² .
	Radiating rings	As complement to the word <i>afzun</i> , to achieve <i>farreh-afzun</i> ²³ .
	Pair of wings	<i>Shāhnāme</i> , possessors and givers of <i>farr</i> (Yt 14, Yt 19), sign of <i>farr</i> residing with the king, also used in the Armenian cross ²⁴ .
	Pomegranate	Iconographical evidence ²⁵ .
	Sunflower	Symbol of Mithra (<i>Bundahišn</i>), and <i>farr</i> radiance ²⁶ .
	Lotus	Symbol of water deities (<i>Bundahišn</i>), and emergence of <i>farr</i> from its underwater stage. ²⁶
	Pearl	Symbol of encapsulated <i>farr</i> underwater (Yt 19). ²⁶

Table 1 – Symbols of *farr*

¹⁹ Soudavar 2003: 20-21, 31-37.

²⁰ Soudavar 2003: 19-25, Soudavar 2006: 173-74.

²¹ Soudavar 2006: 174-75.

²² Soudavar 2003: 8-9, 19, 37.

²³ Soudavar 2003: 16-19.

²⁴ Soudavar 2003: 19-25.

²⁵ Soudavar 2003: 58.

²⁶ Soudavar 2003: 52-56, 100-101

Set 3: Graphic signs – Like the road signs of today, Sasanian functionaries produced easily recognizable caricatures or graphic signs to identify celestial entities. I shall discuss three such signs: the child sign as a symbol of Apam-Napāt, the cow sign as symbol of the Moon, and the three-dot sign as the symbol of Tishtrya (Sirius). All three are night time entities, and as I shall argue, their signs reflect their name or attributes in the Avesta. It entails that while the targeted people of these signs may have been illiterate, *they were fully aware of the significance* of Avestic names and attributes. All three entities were purveyors of *farr*, and therefore their presence on coins was to insinuate that the king's *farr* was going to be further increased under their aegis²⁷.



The child sign – References to Apam-Napāt in Sasanian iconography may look at first as an anomaly. Because, from the time Darius raised Ahura Mazdā to supremacy, Apam-Napāt's fortunes in Iranian kingly ideology had been on a declining path. Where there was a need for an aquatic deity, Anāhitā better fulfilled that role²⁸. At the popular level though, memories of Apam-Napāt must have lingered on, since we see a resurrection of this deity in the Hellenistic period. Indeed, Iranians saw in the image of Eros a perfect representation for Apam-Napāt, whose very name meant Grandson of Waters. Added wings were synonymous with supernatural qualities in Iranian iconography, and the image of a winged young boy was, therefore, a perfect fit for Apam-Napāt. A Bactrian gold ornament (fig. 30) even shows him on a dolphin to emphasize his aquatic affiliation; and his central position on a silver bowl, overshadowing surrounding deities such as Hercules (fig. 27), accentuates his acquired importance in the Iranian environment. Apam-Napāt got a further boost under Shāpur I, in conjunction with his consecutive victories over three Roman emperors. When the time came to celebrate his victories on a rock relief (fig. 11), he chose Apam-Napāt in lieu of Anāhitā. Indeed, a deity was needed to convey the Aryan *xvarnah*, symbolizing victory over the an-Erān. According to the Zāmyad Yasht, the *xvarnah* that Jamshid lost was actually the Aryan *xvarnah*, which was then

²⁷ Apam-Napāt becomes the guardian of *farr* (Yt 8:34, Yt 19:51-53), the *Bundahišn* qualifies the Moon as purveyor of *farr* (Dādaghi 1990: 110), and in Yt 8:1 Tishtrya (along with Moon) bestows *farr* to men.

²⁸ Soudavar 2009 (forthcoming).

guarded underwater by Apam-Napāt (Yt 19:51-57). It is therefore he who delivers the *xvarnah* ribbon (*dastār*) to Shāpur in Bishāpur (fig. 11).

Coin designers, who had to maximize the projection of *farr* for the king, had a hard time fitting full-sized deities into their compositions. A caricaturized symbol could be just as effective. In the case of Apam-Napāt, a two-legged *ankh* sign easily mimicked the little Eros. It could even be fitted on Shāpur's eagle-headed conical hat (fig. 28). The latter cannot be, as others have suggested²⁹, a specific heraldic sign of Shāpur, because it also appears on Ardashir's horse in the battle scene of Firuzābād (fig. 31)³⁰, as well as on the crown of Bahrām II (fig. 9). As a recurring kingly sign, it can only be an auspicious symbol, projecting abundant and/or a strong *farr*. A graphic sign of the Grandson of Waters, clearly accomplishes that. Apam-Napāt was the Lord of the night, and nighttime stellar objects such as Tishtrya derived their brightness from him (see below). His hierarchical importance is even emphasized in Firuzābād where, in trying to endow each of the princes with an auspicious emblem, the designer allocated the more prestigious child sign of Apam-Napāt to Ardashir, and the cow sign to his son Shāpur.



The cow sign – In the Avesta the Moon is qualified with the epithet *gao-čiθra*. I have argued elsewhere that the traditional translation of this term (“which carries the seed of the bull”) stems out of a wrong interpretation of the *Bundahišn*, and that the *čiθra* of this epithet denotes brilliance and appearance³¹. But irrespective of the meaning of *čiθra* in this composition, it seems that Sasanian functionaries seized upon this epithet to create a caricature of the cow (*gao*) by combining three

²⁹ Overlaet 1993: 91. Gyselen (2004: 53) suggests this sign to represent the *frawahr* without giving any reason for it.

³⁰ Rather than focusing on Ardashir's valor in the final combat with the Parthians, the Firuzābād relief is emphasizing the support and participation of Shāpur, along with a beardless prince that may be the latter's son, Ohrmazd. It is Shāpur who is at the center of the composition, and it is his combat that occupies most of the space. In Naqsh-e Rostam, Ardashir presented his victory over Artabān as the triumph of Ahuramazdā over Ahriman. The Firuzābād battle relief, however, by presenting it as a battle of mortals without the involvement of deities, undermines Ardashir's propaganda based on a religious theme. Conversely, I see a clear benefit for Shāpur, presenting the battle as a family effort, with him occupying center stage. One must therefore consider the possibility that it was ordered by Shāpur, rather than his father.

³¹ Soudavar 2006: 166-67.

phases of the Moon. Indeed, expanding on the Moon description of the Avesta (Yt 7.2), the *Bundahišn* describes how in a first phase called *andar-māh* it grows from a state of nothingness into a thin crescent shape, to subsequently reach a state of fullness called *por-māh*, and to ultimately follow a reverse path in the second half of the month³². In the course of its monthly evolution, the Moon will therefore have three distinct shapes: nothingness symbolized by a short line, thinness by a crescent, and the full moon by a circle. The visual combination of these three symbols in the cow sign, however, does not follow the regular evolution of the Moon, but a line-circle-crescent order to obtain a cow-head caricature.



The three-dot sign – In the same way that *farr* had multiple representations, and the Moon was generally represented by a crescent or a cow head, Tishtrya also had multiple symbols. One such symbol is a single star within a crescent. As the brightest star at night, and a companion to the Aryan *xvarnah* (Yt 18.5-7), it would certainly be invoked before any other star³³. A second is the winged horse, because in one of his avatars, Tishtrya comes to earth in the form of a flying horse to disperse the waters (Yt 8:18). Interestingly, the winged horse often has a star sign incorporated in its design to emphasize its affiliation to Tishtrya (fig. 33)³⁴.

A third is the three-dot sign that appear on the reverse of Sasanian coins (figs. 9, 13) or on crowns (fig 5). The latter certainly depicts a celestial body, because in the crown of the Sogdian goddess Nana, it sits inside the crescent in lieu of the more common single star (fig. 32). More importantly, in a coin (*Jital*) of the governor of Kabul under the Saffārid Ya‘qub Layth (840-879), which combines an Arabic inscription with a Sanskrit one (fig. 35), we see on its obverse a warrior mounted on a horse marked by the three dots, and on the reverse, a combination of the above mentioned three symbols: a cow, a child sign, and a single star³⁵. Two centuries after the Arab conquests, coin designers on the edge of Iranian lands still understood the auspicious nature of these symbols and the close association with each other. The reverse symbols refer of course to the exact three nighttime entities that we have enumerated here: Apam-Napāt, the

³² Dādāghi 1990: 115.

³³ Soudavar 2006: 175.

³⁴ For a winged horse carrying a star, see Camparetti 2006: 98.

³⁵ For more on these *Jitals* see Tye 1995: 36.

Moon, and Tishtrya; and the three-dot cluster on the horse reinforces its tie to Tishtrya: instead of the star on the horse of the Sasanian textile (fig. 33), we have three dots here. But in the same way that the Avestic epithet of the Moon was used to create the cow-head symbol, it is the epithet *afš-čīθra* of Tishtrya that provides the key to the understanding of the three-dot sign.

Taking my cue from the NP verb *afšāndan* (spraying, scattering), I had suggested that *afš* meant water droplets, and *afš-čīθra* meant scintillating like rain drops³⁶. Martin Schwartz was the first to point out that present etymological studies on the verb negate any connection with the Avestic *afš*³⁷. Indeed, a recently published dictionary of Iranian verbs decomposes *afšāndan* into the suffix **apa* and the verb **shān* (to shake)³⁸. While my initial assumption may have been fortuitously derived, good old Rudaki (859-941) provided the proof I needed. He had used the word *afšak* with the meaning “dew”:

باغ مُلک آمد طری از رشحه کُلك وزیر * زان که افشک می کند مر باغ و بستان را طری

The garden of kingdom became verdant by the sprinkles of the vizier's pen

Because **dew** makes garden and orchard verdant³⁹

Since *afšak* (with the diminutive suffix “ak”) is dew, *afš* would be slightly bigger, i.e., a drop of water. The celebrated poet Sa'di (1194-1292) uses the plural *afšān* for rain, and another poet uses the word *afšanak* with the same meaning of dew⁴⁰:

نظاره چمن اردیبهشت خوش باشد * بر درخت زند باد نوبهار افشان

There is much pleasure in looking at the green grass of Spring

As the Spring Wind hits the tree with **rain**

³⁶ Soudavar 2006: 166-67. In the Dehkhodā dictionary, half of the applications of this verb relate to liquids.

³⁷ Oral communication at the ECIS6 conference in Vienna.

³⁸ Cheung 2007: 371; I am indebted to Samra Azarnouche for giving me this reference.

³⁹ Rudaki 1994: 150.

⁴⁰ Dehkhodā 1993, 2: 2636

شد عرق ریزان پیرو زیر زلفش از حجاب * بر گل رعنا مگر که افشنگ افتاده است

Sweat dripped down from the hair locks of the beautiful maiden
under veil

As if **dew** had fallen on a colorful flower

Whit this array of *afš* derivatives all pointing to a meaning of dew and droplet, we can begin to understand why the three dots on the coins, looking very much like a cluster of dew, may symbolize Tishtrya's epithet of *afš-čithra*. The question though is: why three droplets? It's because the association of the number three with Tishtrya stems not only from his three avatars in ten days intervals (Yt 8:13 -18), but from the fact that its very name meant "the three-starred one" (like the English name Tristar), or "belonging to the group of three stars."⁴¹ The adoption of the three-dot sign was probably due to an iconographic concern as well. Because, the single dot that exists on many coins (figs. 9, 36, 37) could well symbolize a droplet, but not unequivocally; a cluster of three, however, produced an unequivocal representation Tishtrya based on its etymology. On the other hand, since the epithet *afš-čithra* was not exclusive to Tishtrya, but was applied to stars in general (Yt 12:39), a single dot could be used for the generic representation of stars. Thus, in a post-Sasanian coin of 'Abdollah b. Zubayr (624-92), at a time when coins were designed with surreptitious auspicious symbols, we can see the single dot appearing, in additions to the three-dot cluster, next to the star and crescent (fig. 34)⁴². Moreover, because of the aquatic nature of the three-dot sign, it could also be visualized as three pearls; and that is why it frequently adorns Anāhitā's dress, as in Bandyān (figs. 38).

The coins of Persis (figs. 36, 37) provide additional information. Since their rulers have a crescent and dot on their tiara, instead of the more common crescent and star, one may conclude that the visualization of *afš-čithra* as a dot was already practiced by the predecessors of Ardashir in Persis. Moreover, figure 36 displays next to the Persis king, at a place where usually appears a crescent or a star (see for instance fig. 2), a triskeles sign. It is not beyond the realm of possible, that they were already referring to

⁴¹ Panaino 1995: 9-10.

⁴² The three-dot sign must have remained as an auspicious in Central Asia, for, it was picked by Timur as his personal *tamghā* sign; see Bernardini 1995: 23.

Tishtrya, not as “the three-starred one,” but as a star that had an alignment with three stars (δ, ε, ζ Orionis) on the belt of the constellation of Orion⁴³.

One should also note that the juxtaposition of the child sign and the three-dot sign next to the fire altar in figure 13, reflects the content of Yt 8:4 in which Tishtrya is said to derive its brilliance from Apam-Napāt⁴⁴. As Lord of the night, Apam-Napāt is in fact the driving force behind all night elements, including the Moon. Two silver plates (one at the Hermitage and one recently offered for sale, fig. 26)⁴⁵, in which the cows of the Moon’s chariot are being pulled by an Eros-type Apam-Napāt, reemphasize the nocturnal powers of this deity.

We can therefore see that iconography and etymology go hand in hand to confirm my initial assumption that *afš* meant droplet in Avestic, and not water in general.

As for the NP *afšāndan*, the discovery of the words *afšak*, *afšanak* and *afšān* perhaps paves the way for a new philological construct of this verb⁴⁶.

Pārsā/pārsig

It is rather puzzling that all of the above-mentioned signs relate to nighttime entities. I had previously given a tentative explanation: that the solar rings on the obverse of coins reflected the solar radiance of *farr*, and the signage on the reverse pertained to nighttime *farr* purveyors⁴⁷. Perhaps.

⁴³ Panaino 1995: 28-31.

⁴⁴ Soudavar 2006: 164, 167.

⁴⁵ For a similar composition on a Hermitage plate, see *Splendeur* 1993: 163.

⁴⁶ Nicholas Sims-Williams and Xavier Tremblay have both suggested that I need not invoke *afšāndan* to make my point on *afš* being a droplet. Nevertheless, the etymology of *afšāndan* merits further investigation. I proposed the following possibility to Sims-Williams: *afš* (droplet) => *afšāndan* (putting water into a state of droplets, i.e., pulverizing, spraying) as *čarx* (wheel) => *čarxāndan* (to make something turn like a wheel). His comments: “If *xwābāndan* (beside *xwābānīdan*) and *čarkhāndan* are really attested, that implies that NP does sometimes form denominative verbs with suffix -āndan (beside -ānīdan), which would certainly remove one possible objection to your derivation of *afšāndan* from **afš*. But *afšān-/afšāndan* “to spread, scatter, sow” is already well-attested in Pahlavi, where the suffix forming denominative verbs is -ēn-/ēnīdan rather than -ān-/ānīdan as in NP (see MacKenzie, Concise Pahlavi Dictionary: 30). That means that *afšān-/afšāndan* as a denominative from **afš* would be at least a very unusual formation in Pahlavi” (private communication). The polemic seems to subsist. But the fact is that Sasanian coinage clearly shows that *afš* was understood as droplets.

⁴⁷ Soudavar 2006: 175.

But one still wonders about the strong emphasis on nighttime at the expense of the more natural, and more universal, solar and daytime entities. The word *pārsig*, which appears on two different seal imprints of a certain Weh-Shāpur, seemed to offer a further clue to the solving of this enigma. But before I explore this possibility, I would like to present a new reading for the *spāhbed* seal of Weh-Shāpur, which may then be applied to all other seals of the same type published by Rika Gyselen⁴⁸.



	<p>Gyselen: [wydšhpw]ly ZY 'sppty ZY p'lsky <i>wēh-šābuhr ī aspbed ī pārsig</i> Wēh-Shāpur, Persian aspbed</p>
	<p>Gyselen: wydšhpwly ZY 'sppty ZY p'lsyk {k} (štlr)pty W hwytk hwsldwy LBAY 'yl'n kwsty ZY nymlwc sp'hpty <i>wēh-šābuhr ī aspbed ī pārsig ud šahr(?)...</i> <i>bed ud hujadag Khusrō wuzurg erān kust ī</i> <i>nēmroz spāhbed</i> Wēh-Shāpur, Persian aspbed, chief of ... of the empire, (?) and “well-omened Khusrō”, grandee, spāhbed of the Aryans, side of the south</p>

Table 2 – Two Seals of Wēh-Shāpur

I see two problems in the final translation of the second seal: (a) as an epithet, the formula “well-omened Khusro” is unattested and highly improbable, (b) there is a contradiction in calling somebody the general of a whole nation (whether Erān or the Aryans), and then restrict his command to a smaller area. I suggest that the primary reason for the presence of the ideogram LBAY was not to obtain *wuzurg*, but to inject the notion of “quarter,” as the Arabic *rob'* (one quarter) or *rab'* (quarters). Since the number four was written by the ideogram ALBA (MP *chahār*, Arabic:

⁴⁸ Gyselen 2001: 39, 46; Gyselen 2007: 270, 284.

arba'), it made sense to write 1/4 in the same vein. The purpose of this exercise was to emphasize that the *kust* called *nēmroz* was one of the four divisions created by Khosro. The reading that I propose is therefore the following:

wyđšhpwly ZY 'sppty ZY p'lsyk W (štlr)pty W hwytk hwslyw **ky**⁴⁹
 LBAy 'yl'n kwsty ZY nymlywc sp'hpty
wēh-šābuhr ī aspbed ī pārsig ud šahr(?)...bed ud hujadag Khusrō ki
*1/4 (kard)*⁵⁰ *erān kust ī nēmroz spāhbed*
 Wēh-Shāpur, the *pārsig aspbed*, and chief of ... of the empire, (?)
 and General of the *kust* of Nēmroz (created by) the blessed Khosro
 who quartered Erān



In this formula, we have the name of the king followed by *ki* (who), and an unwritten verb (*kard*) implying the division of Erān into four⁵¹. In another seal however, we not only have Ohrmazd in lieu of Khosro, but under LBAy (1/4) appears what I believe is a shorthand version of the verb *kard*⁵². The relevant section of the inscription (in dark) would then

⁴⁹ The usual spelling of the article *ki* is through the ideogramme MNW. It seems, however, that in order to economize precious space on a seal, the engraver has opted for a direct transcription k-y. This article pronounced nowadays as *ke*, was written as *ki* in the first few centuries after the birth of New Persian. See also note 69.

⁵⁰ I am not sure how 1/4 was pronounced; perhaps *ek tasum*

⁵¹ The absence of the verb here recalls the lack of the verb *dārad* (has) in the political slogan *ki čīhr az yazdān*.

⁵² Gyselen reads the word under LBAy as an undefined “*āt*”; Gyselen 2001: 38. One should note that the same word appears after Erān in another *spāhbed* seal, Gyselen

read as: “*Ohrmazd 1/4 kard Erān.*” One must then assume that the divisions of Erān may have changed from one king to another, and the name of each king defined a different geographical expanse for these divisions. As Gyselen has suggested, the Khosro on these seals may refer to Khosro I (r. 531-79), who is credited by the sources, to have instituted the four-partite division of Erān. By the latter seal though, it seems that Ohrmazd IV (579-90) modified that division. One can then assume that Khosro II (r. 590-628) modified it as well, especially after his initial inroads into Byzantium. These seals may therefore pertain to Khosro II’s generals.

Coming back to the problem of nighttime symbols, I had noticed that among all the generals studied by Gyselen, the seals of Wēh-Shāpur had the highest number of such signs: a moon crescent, winged horses, and the cow-head sign (Table 2). On the other hand, a recently published article by Fatemeh Jahānpur about a high altitude lake called Chashmeh Sau or Chashmeh Sabz near Tus in Khorāsān, provided an interesting remark about priestly nighttime activities⁵³. Similar to Takht-e Solaymān, there had been a fire temple next to the Chashmeh Sau, where according to Hamdollāh-e Mostowfi (1281-1349):

پارسایان در شب بر کنار چشمه احیا داشته اند

The *pārsās* held nighttime ceremonies next to the lake⁵⁴

The NP word *pārsā* generally means a pious man, but Mostowfi is clearly using it to designate non-Islamic priests, in lieu of the usual term *mowbad*. One is then led to believe that he is referring to a special category of Iranian priests who held nighttime ceremonies. The NP *pārsā* is similar to the term that Darius had used in his inscriptions to qualify his genealogy as “*pārsā* son of *pārsā*,” which I had argued to designate not a permanent quality but a transient one⁵⁵. Subsequently, I suggested that *pārsā* had priestly connotations⁵⁶. The comment of Mostowfi, and the *pārsig* seals

2001: 37. The mobility of this word, i.e., the fact that it can be put after either Erān or 1/4, seems to confirm it as a verb.

⁵³ <http://web3.ehost-services.com/hemranib/articles.htm>. For the mention of this lake in the *Bundahišn*, see Cereti 2007: 56.

⁵⁴ Mostowfi 1983: 148-49.

⁵⁵ Soudavar 2006: 170-72.

⁵⁶ Soudavar 2009 (forthcoming).

also tend to reinforce the notion that the province of Fārs (Pārsā) was perhaps where priests valued most water-related deities and night ceremonies⁵⁷. Whereas Zarathustra attacked and banned sacrificial ceremonies held in nighttime⁵⁸, one wonders if the *pārsā* ceremonies were not to replace those banned ceremonies⁵⁹. Still, all this does not provide us with a clear answer for our enigma. It therefore remains unresolved pending further evidence. If I have evoked it, it is to draw attention to a possible connection between the overemphasis on nighttime entities and the word *pārsā*.

Rules of Syntax

In their quest to project greater glory, which is often expressed as *farreh-afzun* (may glory be increased), Sasanian functionaries also devised rules of syntax, three of which I shall explain hereafter:

Rule 1: The number-symbol syntax – A simple way to project the *farreh-afzun* was the use of multiplying factors: the combination of a number sign with a symbol of *farr* obviously projected an abundance of *farr*. Thus, grandees of the realm, holding a lotus between the thumb and index of their right hand, conveyed a wish of 10000 *farrs* for Shāpur I in Dārāb (fig. 22)⁶⁰. Same is true for the seal image of an isolated hand pressing a lotus between two fingers (fig. 24).

Rule 2: Associative syntax – Clearly, multiple symbols of *farr* had the associative effect to increase the *farr* (i.e., to project the *farreh-afzun*). A corollary to this rule would be that the presence of symbols such as a scorpion along the *farr* symbols listed above must be auspicious as well. In other words, the Zoroastrianism that we know today, and which considers the scorpion to be a noxious animal (*xrafstar*), was not all prevailing in

⁵⁷ Tishtrya, by its epithet *afš-čīθra*, and by its role in the distribution of waters (Yt 8:34), is water related. Also, because of the rise of the seas at nighttime, water is described in the *Bundahišn* to be “associated with the Moon”; Dādāghi: 110.

⁵⁸ Dustkhāh 2002: 25; Panaino 2004b: 47.

⁵⁹ One should also note that the only rock-relief in which Mithra and Apam-Napāt appear in tandem, at the expense of Anāhitā, is in Tāq-e Bostān, outside the stronghold of Sasanian conservatism of Fārs; Soudavar 2003: 52-56.

⁶⁰ Soudavar 2003: 59-62.

Sasanian times. But more importantly, since the notion of *farr* was tribal in essence and only appropriated for gods in order to elevate their stature⁶¹, it was not Zoroastrian specific. As an ancient cultural symbol it simply projected auspiciousness. Thus, Armenians saw no problem in integrating a pair of wings with their cross called *P'ark' Khāch'* ("Glorious Cross"), because *p'ark'* was the Armenian equivalent of the Persian *farr*⁶². And on a recently published Christian seal (fig. 25)⁶³, we can observe a multitude of signs: hand sign of 10000, *dastār*, scorpion and cross, all signaling auspiciousness through an associative syntax. The appearance of a triskeles on figure 24, in conjunction with a 10000 *farr* symbol, confirms it as an auspicious symbol.

Rule 3: The Word-Symbol Syntax – A solitary word *afzun* (or *afzut*), meaning "increase" or "increased," often appears on seals, coins, and vessels. Catalogs describing the composition of these items often transcribe and translate this word without explaining its purpose. Yet, the fact is that by itself, this word is meaningless. To gain a meaning it needs an object. Something needs to be increased, and that is the *farr*, the presence of which is not only necessary for the perception of authority, but for the well being of man in general (see Appendix I). Thus, the presence of this word portends the auspicious wish of *farreh-afzun*. If the *farr* precedes it in full letters, its meaning is quite clear, if not, one must seek a complement for it in the form of symbols. We would then have a hybrid syntax, half word, half image. Such an artifice is by no means an attribute of Sasanian times, but continued in the Islamic period as well.⁶⁴ A seal imprint, for instance, illustrates this word-symbol syntax in its most basic form (fig. 23)⁶⁵: on it, the solitary word *afzun* is only accompanied by the image of the beribboned ram that Mas'udi had qualified as a symbol of *farr*. It thus unequivocally conveys the notion of *farreh-afzun*. I had previously produced two other examples of this application in Sasanian times: on coins, and on a stucco element (fig. 18)⁶⁶. In both of these applications the solitary word *afzun*, is complemented by a multiplicity of *farr* symbols to project a wish of abundant of

⁶¹ Soudavar 2009 (forthcoming)

⁶² Soudavar 2003: 21.

⁶³ From the ex-Foroughi collection, Gyselen 2006: 57.

⁶⁴ Soudavar 2003: 18, note 48.

⁶⁵ Gyselen 2007: 349, VA/1 (1).

⁶⁶ Soudavar 2003: 18-20.

farr. On the coins we have multiple radiating rings, and on the stucco element, a pair of wings and a multitude of pearls. Abundant *farr* is thus conveyed through associative multiplicity and through hybrid syntax.

The relevance of this syntax becomes even more apparent in conjunction with three seal imprints recently published by Rika Gyselen. For, as I shall argue, their text becomes much more meaningful if adjacent symbols of *farr* (pearl roundels) are integrated in their texts.

Āmārgar Seals

In her valiant attempt to establish an administrative map of Sasanian Iran, Gyselen has tabulated, among others, seal imprints of *āmārgars* (lit. accountants) or provincial tax officials. Typically, they bear the imprint of the word *āmārgar* (i.e. the function of the official), plus the name(s) of administrative domains. Unfortunately, the rendering of the geographical names from two of these imprints suffers from a series of misconceptions. Firstly, Gyselen perceives unnecessary extra letters in names, which she ascribes to scribal inadvertence or engraver mistake. Yet, even if the latter two were only semi-literate, one has to assume that the *āmārgar* himself was a fully literate person who would have not tolerated the use — on a daily basis — of an erroneous personal seal. As for the scribe, who had to fit a long inscription in a tiny space, and the engraver, who had to toil on a hard stone, neither had an incentive to add letters that required extra space and carving. To the contrary, their tendency, as evidenced by the scribal practices of the Islamic era as well as Sasanian times, was to adopt shorthand conventions (at the very least, for commonly used or obvious words). Second, Gyselen does not take into consideration the Iranian practice of wrapping names with convoluted sentences; a practice very much in use in the Islamic era, and probably inherited from earlier times⁶⁷. Thus, by cutting such a sentence into fictitious parts, she creates geographical names that never existed. Third, the name-sentences of these two seal-imprints start with the word *afzut* that becomes meaningful only if complemented by the *farr* evoked through the representation of pearl roundels.

⁶⁷ For instance the artist ‘Ali-ashraf would sign his name with the idiom “*ze ba’d-e Mohammad ‘Ali ashraf ast*,” which can be read in two ways: (a) after the Prophet Mohammad, (his cousin) Ali is the most noble, (b) after Mohammad (i.e., the celebrated painter Mohammad-Zamān) comes ‘Ali-ashraf; Ivanov 1996: 24.

These multiple roundels had a double function: the wish of abundant *farr* for its owner, and the completion of the written text through a word-symbol syntax. Table 3 provides Gyselen’s readings as well as my own interpretations. The darker letters are those considered as “extra” by Gyselen, but read differently by me⁶⁸.



 <p style="text-align: center;">Seal 1</p>	<p><u>Gyselen (two cities):</u> ‘pzwt hwslkdy štl wyn<n>‘lt yzdklty <i>Abzud-Khusrō, Shahr-winnārd-Yazdgird</i></p> <hr/> <p><u>Soudavar (one city):</u> ⊙ ‘pzwt hwslwy ky⁶⁹ štlwyn‘lt yzdklty <i>Farreh afzud Khosro ki shahrvinārd Yazdgird</i> Khosro’s <i>farr</i> was increased when he rebuilt the city/citadel of Yazdgird</p>
 <p style="text-align: center;">Seal 2</p>	<p><u>Gyselen (4 cities):</u> ‘yl’n ‘pzndt hwslwy ky W nwsy‘ (?) W ‘lw’y^{stn} W ‘lcn <i>Ērān-abzud-Khusrō, (?) nsyn‘ (?)</i>, <i>Arwāyestan, Arzōn</i></p> <hr/> <p><u>Soudavar (2 cities + one erased):</u> ⊙ ‘yl’n ‘pznit⁷⁰ hwslw ky nwsynyt [?] W ‘lw’y^{stn} W ‘lcn <i>Farreh Erān afzonid Khosro ki niwisenid</i>⁷¹ [?] <i>ud Aruastān ud Arzon</i> Khosro (caused) the Iranian <i>farr</i> to increase when he proclaimed (victory) over [?] and Aruastan and Arzon</p>

Table 3 – Seals of *āmārgars*

⁶⁸ Gyselen 2002: 40; Gyselen 2007: 130, 134

⁶⁹ See note 49 supra.

⁷⁰ Another possible reading is *afzon k[r]d*.

⁷¹ According to MacKenzie 1971 (p. 60), the verb “to proclaim” is spelled both *nwykyn-ytn’* = *niweynidan* and *nwstn* = *niwistan*. It seems that here, it’s a combination of both. The last letter (t) which was close to the scratched city name, seems to have suffered as well.

As a first observation, a feature such as the connected “l-w” in “štlwyn‘lt” (*shahrvinārd*) vouches for the precision of the script, because it signals that a composite verb like NP *shahrsāzi* (city rebuilding) should be considered as one word. Second, one has to assume that the name of a king such as Khosro had a standard spelling (*hwsłwy*) observed by all of the bureaucracy. On seal 1, it is spelled in full, *hwsłwy*⁷², and on seal 2 it is spelled without its superfluous ending (y). A scribe would never change this standardized name into *hwsłkdy* or *hwsłwdy*. It is a sacrosanct chancery practice, whether in hieroglyphic or Persian, to use a standardized name for kings. Finally, in both of these seals the names of the administrative districts have been embellished by a sentence that serves as a eulogy to the king.

The reading of these seals must be done in light of the tumultuous political environment of Khosro II’s reign. Khosro was ousted from his throne, regained it with Byzantine help but had to fight the propaganda of his rival Bahrām-e Chobin (r. 590-91), who claimed a higher legitimacy through Parthian descent. A loss of throne was equivalent to a loss of *farr*; and the recapture of throne meant the recovery of *farr*, but a weakened one. Thereafter, Khosro strove to buttress the perception of his *farr* through visual propaganda⁷³, and through war with his neighbors. Victories in war always translated in enhanced Glory. Thus, the early successes in his wars with the Byzantines, not only allowed him to claim a strengthened *farr*, but also allowed Sasanian functionaries to eulogize him in their customary exaggerated ways. The above seals offer prime examples of such eulogies. Together with a third one that I shall discuss here below, they all pertain to north-west territories which changed hands several times between the Persians and the Byzantines.

I believe that the first seal pertains to Qal‘e-ye Yazdgird (near Sar-e Pol-e Zahāb, in northwest Iran). Khosro must have recaptured it and rebuilt its citadel, the vestiges of which are still visible today. The *āmārgar* is claiming that as a result of this, Khosro’s *farr* was increased. What is interesting though, is that the *āmārgar* of the second seal uses a different formula for Khosro’s victories over Arzon, Aruastan and a third city that has been scratched out, leaving a big gap in the otherwise tightly written inscription⁷⁴. Arzon refers to present day Erzerum that Persian and Arab

⁷² The ending w and y are crammed together.

⁷³ Soudavar 2003: 17-19; Daryaee 1997: 43-45.

⁷⁴ Gyselen has shown how the seal of the same general, was modified from one impression to the other, by the addition of the word Mihrān; Gyselen 2007: 254-57. By the same

historians referred to as ارزنة الروم (the Roman Arzen). Together with Aru-astan, it was part of the territory captured by Khosro I, but given back by Kosro II to Maurice (r. 582-602) according to Sebeos⁷⁵. They again changed hands during the wars with Heraclius (r. 610-41). Because these cities were essentially Byzantine ones, therefore part of an-Erān, their capture was due to the Aryan *xvarnah* (Yt 18). At the same time, the latter benefitted from these victories and grew stronger. Thus, the inscription credits Khosro⁷⁶ for causing these effects. In contrast to the first seal in which the *farr* of the king is increased for the capture of an Iranian city, here, the mother of all *farrs*, the Aryan *xvarnah*, has been increased by the efforts of Khosro to capture an-Erān territory. It is probably for this reason that the verb used is not the usual *afzut*, but *afzonid* (or *afzon kard*), which would mean “caused to increase” rather than “increased.” As for the missing city name, it may have referred to another citadel of the region (such as Dara) which was destroyed or changed hand after the initial carving of the seal.

A third seal imprint produced by Gyselen is that of the *āmārgar* of a district referred to as Erān-āsān-kar-Kawād, for which city she has also produced the seal of its *ostāndār* (governor)⁷⁷. The latter though, displays two added features compared to the former: it has a prominent “Erān” written at its center, and a pearl roundel on the rim (at 3 o’clock). It is to be noted that in the *āmārgar* seal, the three first letters of the second line (in black) are grouped together, and the last two of these are connected, suggesting that they are all part of the same word. This word can only be *kard*, otherwise the preceding word (*āsān*) is not meaningful. A primary reading therefore gives:

Erān āsān kard wāt = The wind pacified (*āsān kard*) Erān.

token, one can very well imagine that a word was scratched when the political situation changed.

⁷⁵ <http://rbedrosian.com/seb1.htm>

⁷⁶ It may actually refer to Khosro I.

⁷⁷ Gyselen 2002: 92-93, 138-39.



	
<p><u>Gyselen:</u> 'yl'n 's'n klk(w')ty 'm'lkly <i>Amārgār</i> of Erān-āsān-kar-Kawād</p>	<p><u>Gyselen:</u> ⊙ 'yl'n 'yl'n 's'n klk(w')ty 'wst'nd'l Erān, <i>ostāndār</i> of Erān-āsān-kar-Kawād</p>

Table 4 – Seal imprints of two functionaries of the same district

Once again we are dealing with a sentence that is evoking a district in an oblique way. I suggest that this district is the one that was referred to as Arrān in Islamic times for the following reasons. First, while Persian names seldom have a *tashdid*, the spelling 'yr'n (*ayrān*), easily justifies the double "r" in Arrān, which according to Yāqut is a Persian name (*a'jami*)⁷⁸. Second, Arrān is known to be wind ridden. The very name of the city of Baku derives from *bād-kubeh* (i.e., wind-pounded), and the local population of this region considers this constant wind to be a blessing, for otherwise their earth would be infested by serpents⁷⁹. Third, the third letter of *kard* is deliberately written in a way that it could be simultaneously read as d and k, thus suggesting a second reading: *Erān āsān kard Kawād* (Kawād pacified Iran), which ties in well with Ebn-e Athir's information that Kawād repelled the Khazar invaders from that region, and built many cities there⁸⁰. This second reading, which was easier to understand, must have finally prevailed, because the *Sharestānīhā ī Erānshahr* spells this sentence/name with both letters **d** and **k**: *Erān āsān kard Kawād*⁸¹. Fourth, this interpretation then provides a justification for the presence of the additional *Erān* and the pearl roundel on the *ostāndār* seal. Together they signify *xwarreh Erān* (Aryan *xvarnah*) that according to Yt 18 is accompanied by the

⁷⁸ Dehkhodā 1993, I: 1369.

⁷⁹ I have heard this from several people who have worked in the area.

⁸⁰ Dehkhodā 1993, I: 1369, Ebn-e Athir 1986: 83.

⁸¹ See the Pahlavi inscription in Daryaei 2002, line 55.

Strong Wind. By adding this hybrid syntax to his seal, the *ostāndār* was also pretending that his district, the wind-ridden Arrān, was the cradle of the Aryan *xvarnah*. There is otherwise no explanation as to why a second Erān appears on this seal.

Appendix I – the *čih*r az *yazdān* idiom

Six years ago, in the authoritative *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidorum*, Prods Oktor Skjaervo translated the ubiquitous Sasanian slogan of *ki čih*r az *yazdān* as: “whose seed is from the gods.”⁸² In a more recent article, one that seems to be a response to my 2006 *Iranica Antiqua* article but curiously fails to even mention it, he reconsiders the meaning of *čih*r by pointing out two important issues that I only had raised: (a) that it was inexorably linked to Darius’ claim of being “*arya*, *arya čiča*,” (b) that the whole idiom had the same structure as Yt 8:4, where Tishtrya is said to obtain its *čithra* from Apam-Napāt. Yet, he favors the Bartholomae meanings of “seed, semen” despite the acknowledgment that in Avestic, male semen is defined by the term “*xšudra*,” and the fact that there is otherwise no evidence of the use of *čithra* in that capacity. To circumvent this problem he advances a rather strange hypothesis: “It is therefore possible that the Iranian word originally referred to some part of man that was passed on from generation to generation, linking them, and was thus logically thought to be something passed on through semen.”⁸³ I wonder what “part” of Apam-Napāt was passed through to Tishtrya!

He then addresses Antonio Panaino’s 2004 conclusion in respect to the meaning of *čih*r in this Sasanian idiom (“could be actually interpreted as an image”) by raising a very valid objection: in the rock reliefs of Ardashir and Shāpur, the sentence containing this idiom is prefaced by the word *paitkar* (this is the effigy of...), which renders the meaning of “image” redundant and superfluous. Yet, once again, he circumvents his own objection by another strange hypothesis: that the Sasanians who formulated this, had forgotten the original “meanings” of *čih*r and used it with the more “concrete” meanings of “form, appearance.”⁸⁴

What I find baffling in the above, and other examples that I shall cite below, is the attempt to present philological constructs or justifications without any consideration for their context and target audience. If metaphors were used in a political or religious context, they had to be *imaginable* and easy to understand for a wide segment of the population. Their purpose would have been to enhance the effectiveness of the religious message through accessible imagery and not through indecipherable riddles. More alarming is the use of amnesia theory in the Persian context. Since Persian culture is based on an oral tradition, its basic thinking mode

⁸² Skjaervo 2002: 53-57.

⁸³ Alam, Blet-Lemarquand & Skjaervo 2007: 34-37.

⁸⁴ Alam, Blet-Lemarquand & Skjaervo 2007: 37.

and fundamental ideas are passed with remarkable consistency from one generation to another. Names and facts may be suppressed and forgotten, but myths and metaphors remain the same, albeit presented in a new garb.

There are three basic problems with the notion that in claiming to be “*arya*, *arya čiča*,” Darius meant to have been of Aryan seed, semen or origin:

- 1- If Darius and his son made this claim repetitively, it must have had, if not unique, at least a highly exclusive connotation. But considering that most of the enemies he killed and represented in Bisotun were actually Aryans, none of the above three meanings are of any value. To be of Aryan blood or of Aryan origin was not a distinctive characteristic and brought no glory to Darius.
- 2- Today, one may say that I am French and of French origin, as opposed to a French person of Hungarian descent. This is because to be “French” now means to hold a French passport. But there were no passports in Darius’ time. People’s identity was based on their tribal affiliation. Once Darius claimed to be an Aryan, he said it all. There was no need to emphasize once more that his DNA was also Aryan. Clovis the Frank, would never say that I am a Frank *and* of Frankish origin. Such a redundancy in a lapidary inscription filled with political overtones was simply unacceptable⁸⁵.
- 3- In Susa (DSf 8-22), Darius insists that he is a *man*, chosen by Ahuramazdā. And where he uses the word “*čiča*” he is still using it in a worldly context. If the Sasanians are using the same word (*čīhr*) in their political slogan with the meaning of “origin,” then we are faced with a radical conceptual shift for Iranian kings, from man to deity. If on the other hand, in the Sasanian context, the same word takes the meaning of image, as Skjaervo and Panaino suggest, then we are faced with the problem of a radical shift in the meaning of the same word. To explain the latter, Skjaervo advances the amnesia theory; but as I demonstrated with the three signs of Apam-Napāt, the Moon and Tishtrya, Sasanians had a precise understanding of the etymology and conceptual roles of Avestan entities. Moreover, what would be the meaning of this word on a Sasanian seal that bears the inscription: *čīhr Ohrmazd afzun*?⁸⁶ Does it mean it wishes Ohrmazd to have a larger image? More images? Or did the scribe who wrote this come suddenly out of amnesia and wished more seed or semen for Ohrmazd? If there are no valid answers to these questions, it’s because all the above assumptions about the meaning of *čiča* / *čīhr* are wrong.

In what follows, I shall try to emphasize the equivalence of the concept of *farr* with that of *čīhr*, and argue that the latter was, in effect, a manifestation of the former. While I had previously proposed that the only valid meanings for *čīhr* were brilliance and appearance, I shall suggest here that in the political and religious context, the primary meaning was brilliance or radiance, and that image and appearance were occasionally used as a secondary meaning only.

⁸⁵ For more on Darius’ inscription see Soudavar 2006: 170-77.

⁸⁶ Gignoux & Gyselen 1987: 95 (PIT9).

The equivalence of these two concepts is based on the following criteria:

- a- That man and deity can both be endowed with them
- b- That their intensity can increase or decrease
- c- That they are a source of power and action
- d- That they can be appropriated by both good and evil
- e- That the good side of it can be increased through good deeds and the performance of religious duties
- f- Good *farr* manifests itself as brilliance and radiance, thus rendering it akin to *čīhr*.

Farr/xwarrah/xvarnah - It has long been established that *farr* is not the privilege of kings alone, but deities as well as ordinary men can be endowed with it. In the Avesta, for instance, Anāhitā is praised on account of her *xvarnah* (Yt 5:9), and Tishtrya is qualified as *xvarnah*-endowed (Yt 8:1). The Denkard (3:269) specifies that all persons are endowed with the *farr*, and in the Avesta (Yt 19:53-54), Ahuramazdā wants every man to seek the *xvarnah*, which, in a vivid proof of lasting concepts in the sphere of Persian culture, is reflected—almost verbatim—in the writings of Sohravardī (1145-91) and Abolfazl-e ‘Allāmi (1551-1602)⁸⁷. What is less understood, however, is the *farr* as a source of energy, and the prescriptions for increasing its power. Philippe Gignoux, for instance, gives the following translation of Denkard (3:356):

“Dādār dahišn ō kār dād har dahišn xweshkār paydāgēnīd ān kār ī pad dahišn rawāgīh xwarrah ast ī ōy dahišn u-š mādag čand rawāgīh ī kār pad-iš ān ī tan.

The Creator has created the creatures for action. To each creature he revealed his own action (*xweshkār*); that action, which is for the propagation of the creation, is the *xwarrah* of this creature and its substance is equal to the propagation of the action in which (is involved) a single body...

This passage is in the typical escalating style of later Persian literature in which each sentence becomes a stepping stone for the next. Like so many other religious texts, it emphasizes religious duty through the use of the term *xweshkār*, which is unfortunately translated by Gignoux as “own work,” thus rendering his translation very opaque⁸⁸. This passage should read:

The Creator gave the (faculty of) action to the created (i.e., man); to each created he revealed his duties (*xweshkār*). What (gives) man worthiness

⁸⁷ Soudavar 2003: 2, 7-8.

⁸⁸ Gignoux has opted for the word-by-word translation “own work” while acknowledging that De Menasce translates it as duty; Gignoux 2007: 178. MacKenzie 1971 (p. 96), translates it as dutiful. *xweshkār* means the work that can only be performed by one self, which in the religious context can only refer to religious duty. In fact, Denkard 3:358-359, clearly define this self-work as religious duty.

(*rawāgīh*)⁸⁹ is the *xwarrah* of that man, the substance of which depends on the worthiness of the actions of that one person...

In other words, it is preaching that good actions, as defined by religious duties, increases the *farr* of man, and thereby his worthiness and well being. The same is emphasized in another passage of Denkart (3:361)⁹⁰, once again wrongly translated by Gignoux:

*arzīgīh i mardōm čand-iš xwarrah mād[ag]⁹¹(1) u-š xwarrah i mād[ag]
čand xweškārih (2) u-š xweškārih [nimāyed]⁹² abar xwarrah mād[ag][xwadih]
(3)*

“The value of man is equal to the substance of his *xwarrah* (1) and the substance of his *xwarrah* is equal to his own action (2), and his own action is superior to the substance of *xwarrah* (3)”⁹³

⁸⁹ MacKenzie 1971: 71, gives “currency” for *rawāgīh*. Gignoux uses “propagation” for the same, which is one meaning of the word, but applies it wrongly to “creation” rather than to the “created.” According to these, the sentence is emphasizing the action which can give man either his full “currency” or his capacity for propagation (i.e., evolution). But I believe the meaning here is more akin to NP *rawā* (MP *rawāg*), for which Moin 1974 (2:1680) gives: سزاوار، لائق، (worthy). One should also note that Gignoux’ translation of *čand* as “equal” is wrong and misleading (substance cannot be “equal” to propagation). Its literal translation is “how much” and evaluates the quantity of something or the degree of a phenomenon. Its presence before *rawāgīh* (in the last sentence) shows an intention to quantify this entity. This justifies, once more, the use of “worthiness” for *rawāgīh*, because it can be quantified while the other meanings cannot be.

⁹⁰ The transliteration provided by Gignoux has certain lacunae that were rectified thanks to a careful transcription (based on Dresden 1966), and analysis, provided by Xavier Tremblay, to whom I am most grateful. He also kindly sent me a copy of the translation of the same passages by Jean de Menasce (Menasce 1972: 323-27). The words and letters in [] are those missing in Gignoux’ text.

⁹¹ Upon consulting the facsimile text, Xavier Tremblay has suggested to me that the last letter in what Gignoux reads as *mād* (m’ty) must be a shorthand k rather than the superfluous y, and therefore the word should read *mādag* as in 3:356.

⁹² Gignoux has read this word as *mahist*. However, according to Tremblay, the presence of a vertical stroke before the “m,” which is readable as “n,” and the number of loops in the writing of this word favor the reading *nimāyēd*, which is also the one adopted in Menasce 1972: 326.

⁹³ Gignoux 2007: 178. Once again, the use of “equal” for *čand* throws Gignoux’ translation off track. One should also note that the use of the word *kamih* (paucity) in the next sentence of Denkart, is in perfect symmetry with a *čand* in the previous sentence, meaning “how much” and not “equal.”

There is an illogical aspect to the above translation, because “own action” in 2 is equal to *xwarrah*, while it becomes superior to it in 3. Like in the previous passage, this should also follow an escalating pattern:

The value of man (depends) on the substantiality of his *xwarrah*; and the substance of his *xwarrah* (depends) on how much (religious) duty he performs; and the performance of one’s duties shows, through the substance of his *xwarrah*, his essence.

The above is then followed by an explanation of the reverse phenomenon, i.e., how one loses worthiness, which further justifies the corrections that I introduced above:

*Kāstagih ī-š arz az kamīh ī-š xwarrah (1) ud kamīh ī-š xwarrah čandīh a-xweškārih (2) u-š a-xweškārih [nimāyed] abar zad xwarrah [sāmān xwadih] (3)*⁹⁴

The diminution of one’s value is due to the paucity of his *xwarrah*; and the paucity of his *xwarrah* (depends) on how undutiful one is; and one’s disrespect for duty shows, through a diminished *xwarrah*⁹⁵, his restricted self.

Like most other religious texts, the aim here is to remind each person of his religious duties. To emphasize their importance, they are linked to the deep-rooted notion of *farr*, which was equivalent in Iranian culture with auspiciousness and success. In Denkart 3:409 it is further emphasized that the *xwarrah xweškārih* (the *xwarrah* derived from observing religious duty) is the instrument of all happiness, and as Gignoux points out, such a *xwarrah* becomes luminous and bright⁹⁶. Denkart 3:326 reminds the believer that works of charity increases the *xwarrah*, and 3:283 enumerates certain qualities of the king that will endow him with an increased *xwarrah* that will shine far and wide. This finds an iconographical parallel in the hunt scene of Tāq-e Bostān, where Khosro is not radiant initially but is depicted with a solar disk after a successful hunt of boars⁹⁷. Thus brilliance and radiance is a manifestation of *farr*, which may be acquired through good deeds, performance of religious duties, heroic acts and victory. This radiance is also referred to as *čīhr*, the functions and qualities of which mirror those of the *farr*:

Čīhr, čīθra – A passage of the Denkart (Book 5, 24.29) explains what is needed to restore the radiance of an impoverished soul:

⁹⁴ Gignoux 2007: 178-79. His translation of this passage suffers from the same problems as before and are hereby rectified.

⁹⁵ *zad* literally meaning hit, evokes diminished capacities.

⁹⁶ Gignoux 2007: 180.

⁹⁷ Soudavar 2003: 8-9, 149.

And [in the matter of] the body and soul adorned with a radiance (*čīhr*) that has lost its luminosity (*nē-rōz*), [said] luminosity can be suitably restored by the sparkle [generated by] goodness, the aura [generated by] being dutiful [in religious tasks] (*xwarrah ī xwēškārih*), and the beneficial good wisdom, and the straightforward learning, and the desire (*xwāstag*) to help more others (*wēš frayādišnig*), and other excellent blessings that are best suited to reside with God-worshippers⁹⁸.

One can readily see from this passage that, like the *farr*, *čīhr* resides with man, but can become weak and loose luminosity, which can then be restored by good deeds. Among the latter is mentioned the *xwarrah ī xwēškārih*, which, as we previously saw, was also an important factor for increasing one's *farr*. In Yt 8:23-25, Tishtrya loses strength because Men had not worshipped him with sacrifice; he regains his strength when Ahuramazdā performs the sacrifice in lieu of Men. The episode clearly underlines the essential role of worship and sacrifice rituals as part of religious duties (*xwēškārih*). The purpose of these rituals was to strengthen gods, who would in turn reflect it back upon the worshippers.

In Yt 13:1-16, Ahuramazdā regards the *xvarnah* of the *frawashis* of the Righteous People as a source of power which allows him to regulate the world. The believer must then wish greater power for Ahuramazdā, and that is exactly what the owner of the seal with the *čīhr Ohrmazd afzun* inscription is doing: wishing more power for his god. The more *čīhr* has the god, the more powerful becomes the expression *ki čīhr az yздān*, for, the king is deriving his *čīhr* (as a manifestation of his *xvarnah*) from the god. The *farr* was considered a source of value and worthiness; likewise, the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* considers the *čīhr*, as a source of *nērōg* (power)⁹⁹. And in the same way that there was a *xvarnah* attached to the *frawashi* of the Righteous people, there was a *čīhr* related to man's soul. The wrong translation of *čīhr* will of course obscure this notion, as it has in a recent translation of a passage of the Hādoxt Nask by Almut Hintze:

(Yt 22.39) *dātarən *kuua.ciθra *zi hānti iristanqm uruuqō yā ašaunqm frauuašaiiō*. (Yt 22.40) *paiti šē aoxta ahurō mazdā spəntat haca maniiāot zaraθuštra aēšqm ciθrem vahištāat manajhat*

O creator, of what origin then are the souls of the dead, (namely) the choices of the truthful (men and women)?

The Wise Lord answered to him: "From the bounteous spirit, O Zarathustra, (is) their origin, and from best thought."¹⁰⁰

The problem of tying the "origin" of man's soul to "best thought" notwithstanding, the above translation suffers from an internal misconception: it allows an

⁹⁸ Soudavar 2006: 156.

⁹⁹ Soudavar 2006: 158-60.

¹⁰⁰ Handout document of Almut Hintze at ECIS6, Sept. 2007, Vienna.

origin for a *dead* man's soul, presumably different from the one he had when alive. A religious discourse, though, must have a purpose, and I see no purpose in it, as translated above. On the other hand, if *čiθra* is taken as brilliance, then the passage becomes meaningful. Like in any other religion, it asks the fundamental question: what should a man do for the salvation of his soul, for his soul to become radiant? And the answer is: he must have good character (*spəntat*) and good thoughts. The *čiθra*, as the manifestation of one's *xvarnah*, is then essential for gauging one's potentials.

An example quoted by Skjaervo further emphasizes the lack of a separate *čihr* for the soul:

“Ruwānān rāy gōwēnd ku and-uš čihr ne padirēnd dā paymōzēnd nasāh ud čihr ī tanwāren

They say about the souls that they will not receive their form until they don the dead matter and the form of a body.”¹⁰¹

It is a very confused translation. Souls have no form, almost universally, and one wonders what donning “dead matter” should mean for a soul. Structurally, the sentence is written as today's Persian would be:

It is said about the souls that they don't gain their radiance until they ‘wear’ (i.e., embrace) a corpse and its bodily radiance.

To “wear a corpse and its bodily radiance” is a pejorative way to say that the soul becomes enveloped by them. In other words, on their own, souls do not acquire radiance; they get it once they enter a body, and their radiance is in fact that of the man to whom they get attached. It was important to dissociate *čihr* from the soul in order to put the responsibility of its salvation back on Man. If the soul had a separate *čihr* why should Man strive for good deeds?

Philologists have bent backward in order to attach meanings such as origin, semen and seed to *čiθra*, while turning a blind eye on the inherent problems of their translations. The incongruent translation of “who carries the semen of the bull” for the epithet *gao-čiθra* of the Moon, for instance, was due to a superficial and incorrect reading of the *Bundahišn*¹⁰². Then came the parallel epithet *afš-čiθra* for Tishtrya translated as “which carries the seed of water.” Since semen didn't fit the latter, and in order to preserve functional parity, “seed” was used for *gao-čiθra* as well, which created a double-problem: no backward villager of antiquity would accept a metaphor purporting that the bull had seeds instead of semen; nor

¹⁰¹ Alram, Blet-Lemarquand & Skjaervo: 35.

¹⁰² In the *Bundahišn*, the Moon never keeps the semen of the bull, and therefore cannot “carry” it; Soudavar 2006: 165-66. As a matter of fact, the related passage in the *Zādspram* emphasizes that it is the light (*rōšnih*) of the cow's semen (and not the semen itself) that is taken for purification to the moon; Gignoux & Tafazzoli 1993: 49-50. It clearly vouches for the luminiscence of *gao* as expressed by the *gao-čiθra* epithet of the moon in the Avesta; see also footnote 104 infra.

would he accept as imaginable, the idea that water came out of a seed, since, by the laws of nature, a seed needs water to grow!

In the translation of just one stanza of (Yt 8:4), Panaino adopts two different meanings for *čiθra*: the epithet *afš-čiθra* of Tishtrya is translated as “(who is) the origin of the rains,” and where the star is said to obtain his *čiθra* from Apam-Napāt, it is rendered as “visible form.”¹⁰³ Both are problematic. If Tishtrya is the “origin of rains” why are other stars qualified as *afš-čiθra*? Are all stars the “origin” of rain? Why? Since the only visible form that is projected for Apam-Napāt is that of a child, must Tishtrya and all other stars have the “visible form” of a child? When dealing with nighttime celestial entities, which are only perceptible because of their luminosity, isn’t brilliance the more natural attribute to consider?¹⁰⁴ More generally why insist on seed, origin and semen, when brilliance gives consistently a more understandable meaning?

It is undeniable that along with brilliance, appearance was a primordial meaning of *čiθra*, and certain passages of the Avesta, or the *Šāpurgān*, are better explained with it¹⁰⁵. As a matter of fact when, in lieu of Anāhitā’s bust before the effigy of Ardashir (fig. 14), Shāpur projected the *čihr az yazdān* slogan, by placing a pair of standing king-god on the reverse of his coinage, the initial two figures where the mirror image of each other (fig. 6). The iconography thus made use of both meanings (radiance, appearance) of *čihr* to visualize the newly devised Sasanian slogan¹⁰⁶. Nevertheless, “radiance” constituted the core of the slogan, and “appearance” was only an accessory. Already on the coinage of Orhmazd I (fig. 5) the deity standing opposite the king wore a different crown, and in the coinage of Bahrām II, the deity became a woman, namely Anāhitā (fig. 13). Clearly “appearance” was not essential and could be side-stepped.

It was most probably to emphasize the primary meaning of *čihr* that the word *čihrag* was created with the sole meaning of “image,” and not “brilliance/radiance.” Otherwise, why use *čihrag* at all? Thus, the literal translation of the *ki čihr az yazdān* idiom should be: “who has obtained his radiance from the gods.” But if I have opted for a different translation (“who reflects the gods (in power and glory)”), it is to have a more meaningful one, which would also take into account the evolution of the iconography of Sasanian coinage devised to propagate this very slogan.

¹⁰³ Panaino 1990: 30.

¹⁰⁴ In the case of the Moon, Eric Pirart has suggested that the epithet *gao-čiθra* must pertain to the color and brilliance of the milk (private conversation, along with Jean Kelens). To me, it makes perfect sense to describe the luminosity of a celestial body with a primordial food of ancient tribal societies that was the milk. It also gives the Moon’s epithet, the same structure as that of Tishtrya. In such a case, *gao* should be understood as milk rather than cow. Xavier Tremblay confirms that, similar to English where mink refers to the both the animal and its hide, in the Avestic language *gao* refers to both the cow and the milk, as attested in the expression *haomô ya gauua* which means *haoma* mixed with milk (literally cow).

¹⁰⁵ Soudavar 2006: 152, 160, 168; Alram, Blet-Lemarquand & Skjaervo 2007: 36.

¹⁰⁶ Soudavar 2003: 48-49.

While *čiθra/čiça/čih*r and *xvarnah/xwarreh/farr* are in reality the two sides of the same coin, the reason for the adoption of the former by the Sasanians goes back to the emphasis that Darius put on *čiça* at the expense of the *xvarnah*¹⁰⁷. Even though Sasanian iconography stresses the presence of *farr*, formulaic continuity required the use of *čih*r, in lieu of *farr*, in inscriptions¹⁰⁸. Whether one accepts this theory or not does not matter. The fact is that the radiance of *čih*r, as a manifestation of *farr*, is a pivotal element in the understanding of both Iranian kingly ideology and religious philosophy. As the Force of the film Star Wars, it is the ultimate source of authority and salvation. And as that Force, it also has a Dark Side, which can be appropriated by evil beings. The basic precepts of the Mazdean religion, as well as Iranian kingly ideology, revolves around the goal of reinforcing the good side of the *čih*r for ones salvation, as well as overcoming evil beings. Unless philologists take note of the centrality of the *farr-čih*r dual concept, their translations will always suffer from the type of incongruities that I have tried to underline in this study. If only the proponents of seed, image and origin, could go and see Star Wars!

Appendix II

The text describing the finger signs comes at the end of the introduction of the *Farhang-e Jahāngiri*, a dictionary that was ordered by the Mughal Emperor Akbar (r. 1556-605), but was finished under his son Jahāngir (r. 1605-27), hence the attribute *Jahāngiri*. Translation:

Describing calculation with fingers - Among man's inventions, the learned have taken notice of nineteen signs relating to the configurations of fingers in lieu of numbers, for the purpose of calculation. It allows the projection of numbers one up to ten thousand by using: the little, ring and middle fingers of the right hand for numbers one to nine; the thumb and the index for multiples of tens; and from the left hand, the thumb and index for multiples of hundred, and the middle, ring and little fingers for multiple of thousand. In this system, the formation one to nine of the right hand shall be similar to those of one to nine thousand on the left hand. For example, as we shall see, placing the tip of the middle finger on the palm of the right hand indicates five, while the same on the left hand would indicate five thousand. Likewise, while the forms of the tens and thousands shall be similar, their position on the left or right hand shall cause the necessary distinction between them. For instance, the shape that indicates ninety on the right hand shall be counted as nine hundred on the left hand. After this preamble, the above mentioned nineteen signs shall be explained in detail.

¹⁰⁷ Soudavar 2006: 176-77, 182; Soudavar 2009 (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁸ By Sasanian time, religious orthodoxy dictated that the tribal concept of *farr* could no longer be regarded as an independent source of power, but one controlled by the gods. Thus the *čih*r had to be obtained from gods; Soudavar 2009 (forthcoming).

For the number one, the little finger of the right hand shall be bent inward; and for two, the ring finger shall join the little finger (in its bent position); and for three, the middle finger shall join them as well. These are signs that people customarily use for counting items, one must note, however, that in these three signs the tip of the fingers must come near the finger base. For four, the little finger must be raised and the ring and middle fingers must remain bent; and for five, the ring finger should be raised as well; and for six, the middle finger should be raised with only the ring finger bent, in a way that its tip will hit the middle of the palm; and for seven, the latter should be raised and only the little finger must be bent in a way that it is almost about to rise; and for eight, the same should be done with the ring finger; and for nine, the same shall be done with the middle finger; and in these last three signs, the tip of the fingers must go toward the palm in order not to be confused with the first three signs. For ten, the tip of the nail of the right hand index must be put on the first joint of the thumb in a way that these two fingers form a circular ring; and for twenty, the inner side of the index, which is next to the middle finger, must be placed over the thumb's nail, so that you would think that the distal phalange of the thumb is caught in between the proximal phalanges of the index and the middle finger, but the middle finger plays no role in the sign of twenty, because its shape and position varies for the projection of the numbers one to ten, therefore just placing the nail of the thumb under the inner side of the index is enough to signal twenty. For thirty, the thumb must become straight and the tip of the index must be put against its nail as if they were an arc and chord, but if for reasons of comfort the thumb gets bent, it is still acceptable. For forty, the middle of the distal phalange of the thumb must be placed on the lower joint of the index in such a way that no space is left in between the side of the palm and the thumb. For fifty, the index must be straight and upward while the thumb must be fully bent and put against the palm and below the index. For sixty, the thumb must be bent and its nail must be put against the middle of the intermediate phalange of the index. For seventy, the thumb must be straight and the first two phalanges of the index must wrap around its nail in a way that all of that nail is visible¹⁰⁹. For eighty, the thumb must be straight and the side of the distal phalange of the index must be put on the back of the thumb's top joint. For ninety, the tip of the nail of the index must be placed on the base joint of the thumb, contrary to the number ten for which it was put on the top joint.



Sign of fifty¹¹⁰

Now that these eighteen signs have been described — nine of which pertain to the little, ring and middle fingers, and nine others to the thumb and index — and

¹⁰⁹ The published text is obviously incorrect in here, because it proposes the first “or” the second phalange of the index covers the thumb's nail. In the former case, it will become similar to thirty, and the latter case is physically impossible.

¹¹⁰ Neri di Gino Capponi signaling 50. Detail of the frescoes of Benozzo Gozzoli in the chapel of the Medici Palazzo in Florence; Soudavar 2008: 45-46.

as described earlier on, what formation on the right hand projects the numbers one to ten, shall produce on the left hand a figure of thousands, from one to nine; and whatever formation on the right hand projects a multiple of ten, from one to nine, shall project on the left hand the same multiple of hundred, from one hundred to nine hundred. Thus, with the fingers of the two hands, one could project numbers from one to nine thousand nine hundred ninety nine with the above mentioned eighteen signs. For the sign of ten thousand, the side of the distal phalange of the thumb must be placed next to the distal phalange of the index and a portion of its intermediate phalange, in a way that the tips of the nails of the index and the thumb reach a parallel level¹¹¹.

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¹¹¹ He does not specify which hand must produce the 10000 sign; supposedly both, as suggested by figs. 19, 20.

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- Fig. 36 – Coin of Minuchehr III (*Dr. Busso Peus Nachf. Münzhandlung*, no. 393, lot 320)
- Fig. 37 – Coin of Shāpur son of Pāpak. (*Dr. Busso Peus Nachf. Münzhandlung*, no. 368, lot 364)
- Fig. 38 – Detail of the dress of Anāhitā, Bandyān, Iran.



Fig. 1 — Coin of
Farhad I



Fig. 2 — Coin of
Orodes II



Fig. 3 — Coin of
Ardashir I



Fig. 4 — Coin of
Ardashir I



Fig. 5 — Coin of Ohrmazd I



Fig. 6 — Coin of Shāpur I



Fig. 7 — Coin of Autophradates I



Fig. 8 — Coin of
Zāmāsb



Fig. 9 — Coin of Bahrām II





Fig. 10 — Khosro II taller than deities



Fig. 11 — Apam-Napāt giving a *dastār*



Fig. 12 — Anāhitā with breasts



Fig. 13 — Anāhitā offering a ring of investiture



Fig. 14, 15 — Anāhitā before Bahrām II and Ardashir I



Fig. 16 — Anāhitā giving a diadem to Bahrām II



Fig. 17 — Anāhitā giving a diadem



Fig. 18 — *afzun* inscription with various *farr* signs



Fig. 19 a, b, c, d — Finger numbers projecting 30, 3, 20



Fig. 20 — Practice sheet of Dürer (reversed)
(numbers 20, 10000, 3)



Fig. 21 — “Kermān”
stone game plaque



Fig. 22 — Grandees wishing
10000 *farrs* to Shāpur I



Fig. 23 — Ram, ribbon with
afzun inscription



Fig. 24 — Sign of
10000 and triskeles



Fig. 25 — Scorpions with
auspicious signs



Fig. 26 — The cows of the Moon chariot pulled by Apam-Napāt



Fig. 27 — Eros/Apam-Napāt surrounded by other deities



Fig. 28 — Coin of Shāpur I



Fig. 29 — Child and cow sign on coin of Bahrām II



Fig. 30 — Eros as Apam-Napāt



Fig. 31 — Shāpur and Ardashir defeating the Parthians in Firuzābād



Fig. 32 — Crescent and three circles on Nana's crown

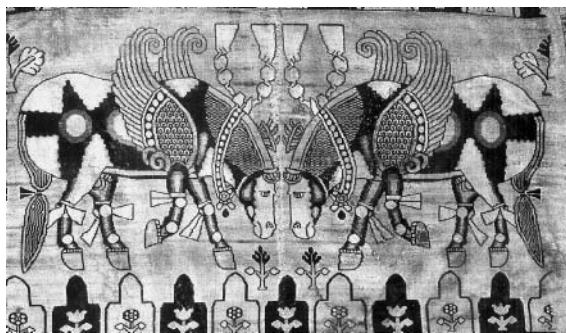


Fig. 33 — Winged horse with star as symbol of Toishtrya on a Sasanian textile



Fig. 34 — Celestial symbols on Arab-Sasanian coin



Fig. 35 — Jital (c.870-75), with cow, star and child sign on the reverse, and three-dot sign on the obverse



Fig. 36 — Triskeles sign next to Minuchir III's tiara



Fig. 37 — Crescent and dot on coin of Shāpur son of Pāpak



Fig. 38 — Clusters of three pearls adorning Anāhitā's dress

A ROMAN EMPEROR AT BISHAPUR AND DARABGIRD: URANIUS ANTONINUS AND THE BLACK STONE OF EMESA

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Abstract: The Roman emperors on the rock reliefs of Shapur I at Darabgird and Bishapur are traditionally identified as Gordianus III, Philippus Arabs and Valerianus. The foreign delegations / prisoners on the Bishapur III relief have been interpreted as a reference to both the Roman Empire and the Eastern frontiers of the Sasanian Empire (Kushan). These references are evaluated and an alternative interpretation is considered. The Bishapur III sculpture is seen as referring to Shapur's Syrian campaign in 253 AD. A heavy object among the booty is identified as the black stone of Emesa (ancient Homs in Syria), a famous baethyl. The "spoils of war", such as the large boulder (stone of Emesa, depicted twice), a cart, textiles and vessels, all relate to its cult. The Roman emperor is identified as the Roman usurper-emperor Uranius Antoninus, the last in line of the priest-kings of Emesa. Historic sources relate this meeting between Shapur and Uranius Antoninus (called Sampsigeramos). The Roman emperor is depicted kneeling in supplication and standing as an ally next to Shapur's horse. Bishapur II and Darabgird represent the same event. This dates these reliefs to 254 AD.

Keywords: Sasanian, Shapur I, Uranius Antoninus, baethyl, Emesa, Bishapur, Darabgird, rock sculpture.

No less than 5 of the 3rd century Sasanian rock reliefs celebrate victories of the Sasanian empire on its Roman neighbour, one at Naqsh-i Rostam (NRu 6), one at Darabgird and three at Bishapur (numbered I, II and III). Since these reliefs provide a direct link with Roman history, they received much attention from Western scholars. The absence of inscriptions identifying the emperors did not seem an obstacle for their interpretation since the wars between Rome and Persia were documented in western classical sources and in king Shapur's *Res Gestae*. At Naqsh-i Rostam and at Bishapur I there are two Roman emperors, while three are represented at Bishapur II, III and Darabgird. The oriental artistic convention to unite

different moments of an event into a single picture had to explain this presence of two or three Roman emperors in one and the same scene. Three Roman emperors who opposed Shapur I became the centre of the discussion: Gordianus III who was killed by his own army after being defeated by the Persians in 244 AD, Philippos Arabs who was subsequently forced to negotiate and who made payments to Persia (244 AD) and Valerianus who was captured near Edessa (260 AD) and died in captivity.

Within the scope of this paper, the history of the discoveries and the changes and often conflicting views on these reliefs will not be repeated in detail. These aspects are sufficiently covered and surveyed in many recent and/or readily available publications on these reliefs (see Meyer 1990: 240-247, 300-301). In the present context, it will suffice to sketch the general context of these studies as an introduction to a new and different identification of the Roman emperor(s) at Bishapur and Darabgird.

There can be no doubt whatsoever about the identity of the two Roman emperors at Naqsh-e Rostam (on the NRu 6 relief see Herrmann, Mackenzie & Howell 1989). The nearby found inscription of Shapur I on the Qaba-i Zardusht mentions precisely two emperors by name: Valerianus and Philippos Arabs. This fits perfectly as one emperor is taken by his wrists (the captured Valerianus) and the other is kneeling in supplication (Philippos Arabs, forced to negotiate). Less straightforward, however, is the identification of the Romans on the reliefs at Bishapur and Darabgird (on Bishapur, see Herrmann 1980 and 1983; on Darabgird see Herrmann 1969, Trümpelmann 1975, and Meyer 1990: 263-281). The body of an emperor is lying beneath the horse of the Sasanian king. This may be a symbolic gesture to demonstrate the defeat of the Roman Empire but the figure is identified by most scholars as Gordianus III. Shapur mentions the death of Gordianus together with the defeat of the Roman army near Misikhe in his *Res Gestae* (Back 1978: 292). The emperor was killed by his own people after the defeated army had retreated to Zaitha in Northern Mesopotamia (Potter 2004: 234-236). Meyer disagrees on this identification, however, although only in the case of Bishapur I. Because the lying figure took off his diadem and holds it in his hand, she is of the opinion that it must be Valerianus (Meyer 1990: 258-260). The two other Roman emperors are depicted in various attitudes. At Bishapur II and III and at Darabgird there is one emperor who descended his horse and kneels or approaches the king with outstretched arms. The king puts his hand on top of the head of the third

emperor who is standing in front of him at Darabgird, while at Bishapur II and III (where this third emperor stands next to the Persian king and looks in the same direction), he holds him by the hand. This third Roman emperor also holds on to the cloak of the Sasanian king at Bishapur II and III, an obvious token of his submission. This differs significantly from the Naqsh-e Rostam imagery and made Ghirshman suggest that the third Roman at Bishapur II and III was not Valerianus but was to be identified with Maradeas, the traitor who delivered his city Antioch to Shapur and who, according to the *Historia Augusta* (*tyranni triginta* 2,1-3), claimed imperial status (this claim is probably fictitious, see Hartmann 2006: 110-112). Although there remained some controversy, two leading scholars, MacDermot (1954) and Göbl (1974), came to identical conclusions (see Meyer 1990: 240-247). The standing emperor had to be Valerianus (held at the wrists at NRu) and the kneeling or approaching figure with his outstretched arms had to be Philippus Arabs (kneeling at NRu). This meant, however, that laying one's hand on top of an emperor's head (Darabgird) or holding him at the hand (while he holds on to the Persian king's cloak) (Bishapur II and III) would have to signify "captured in battle". At Naqsh-e Rostam this is much more convincingly depicted by grasping the Roman emperor at the wrists and thus immobilizing him. Another problem with this identification is that the significance of the complete scenes of these rock reliefs remained largely unexplained. A large group of men, many of whom bring objects and animals are e.g. present on Bishapur II and III, but a convincing interpretation of their identity and the specific meaning of their "gifts" was still lacking.

Whereas most studies tended to start with the identification of the Roman emperors to date and explain the remainder of the iconography, we will use a different approach in this paper. Starting from the "gifts" at Bishapur III, we will see which emperor(s) and which historic event could have been represented.

The interpretation of Bishapur III

A baetyl as the focal point of the delegation approaching Shapur I

One of the key elements in the interpretation of the Bishapur III relief is the identification of a prominent object brought by the delegation to Shapur. It is the large oval item that is shown twice: once held up in the air (2nd register counting from the bottom) and once suspended from a pole with two

straps carried by two men (4th register) (see fig. 1 and Pl. 15). A satisfactory identification was never proposed. Sarre and Herzfeld (Sarre & Herzfeld 1910: 221) and later Ghirshman (Ghirshman 1971: 170), followed the idea first suggested by Flandin that the relief showed the Roman imperial treasures being taken away and that the many vessels on the relief contained gold coins. In this view, the object carried on a pole had to be a heavy sac of gold. Herrmann, clearly unconvinced by these identifications, cautiously described the objects in her detailed discussion of the Bishapur relief, without actually identifying them. The one on register 2 is mentioned as “a large and smooth oval object” and the one on register 4 simply as “a large oval object” (Herrmann 1980: 28-29). In a later publication she lists the register 4 item — more in line with earlier identifications — as “heavy bags slung on poles” (Herrmann 1998: 46).

The object is obviously heavy. On the second register it is held by a Roman who needs both hands to lift it in the air. It is held up as if to show a prized possession. It is not carried on the head like the large vessels or bowls on the fourth register (when these large vessels or bowls *had* been filled with gold coins as suggested by Flandin, it would not have been possible to carry them in this way!). On the same fourth register it is carried by two men suspended from a pole with two broad straps. It is thus safe to assume that it is certainly much heavier than the large fluted basins carried by three others in the same 4th register. The objects have, as Herrmann noted, a very smooth surface, without any dividing lines, suggesting that it is a single solid item. In fact, it looks simply like a large boulder and as such bears a striking resemblance to the baethyl represented on the reverse of some of the coins issued at Emesa, modern Homs (on Emesa during the 1st to 4th centuries, see Millar 1993: 300-309). Fig. 1 illustrates a coin minted by Caracalla (198-217 AD). The reverse shows an eagle on top of the famous black stone of Emesa, a baethyl associated with the sun god El Gabal or Elagabal.

Baethyls in the Roman and the East Mediterranean tradition were venerated stones, often round to spherical and usually thought to be meteorites (Farrington 1900: 200-202). Apart from the Emesa stone, many other famous baethyls are known, that of Artemis at Ephesus and those of Cybele at e.g. Pessinus (Turkey) and Paphos (Cyprus) to name but a few. Many more cities and sanctuaries possessed their own baethyls, however. Baethyls are to be differentiated from the stela types and standing stones



Fig. 1. Top: Bronze coin issued by Caracalla with on the reverse the image of an eagle perched on the stone of Emesa (from <http://www.aeqvitas.com/cemesa.jpg> – accessed 10.10.2007).

Bottom: The stone of Emesa (?) followed by “sac bearers” on registers 2 and 4 of the Bishapur III relief (after Herrmann 1980, fig. 4 & 5).

known in the Semitic tradition (sometimes referred to as *bethyls* to emphasize the difference, see Wenning 2001: 80).

These baethyls were often stated to be meteorites but in reality this may not always (or even rarely) have been the case. Few of the baethyls from Greco-Roman antiquity have up to now been retrieved, making it mostly impossible to decide on their real nature. One of the few exceptions is the so-called “needle of Cybele” from the Cybele sanctuary at Paphos. The 1.30 m high stone is not a meteorite but it is a stone of terrestrial origin. On coins, it is depicted as filling the complete interior of the temple (fig. 2 right). Since such baethyls were prized possessions and were the centre of intense veneration, they were not only represented on coins but they were occasionally moved from one place to another. A famous (meteoritic?) black stone associated with Cybele, for example, was moved during the Punic wars in 204 BC from her temple in Pessinus to the Temple of Victory in Rome. Later, a separate temple was constructed for it on the Palatine Hill. The stone was expelled under Christian influence in 363 AD but returned to Rome in 392 AD.

The above mentioned black stone of Emesa already appears on coins issued by Caracalla (fig. 1) and is one of the few baethyls on which we have information regarding cult practices. It was Elagabalus, who had been high-priest at Emesa before he was proclaimed Roman emperor in 218 AD at the age of 14, who brought the stone from Emesa to Rome. He made the cult of “Sol Invictus Elagabalus” the dominant one in the Roman capital and he constructed two temples for it. The main temple was on the Palatine Hill (Vigna Barberini), a smaller one was located in the suburbs of Rome, possibly on the imperial estate *ad spem veterem* in the south-east of the city (Curran 2000: 12-13, fig. 2). The sacred stone was moved in procession from one temple to the other, apparently on a chariot drawn by six horses and preceded by the emperor himself (in his capacity as high-priest) walking backwards to continuously face his god. Several antique sources commented on the priest/emperor Elagabalus and the cult practices. Although these sources are undoubtedly biased and take care to emphasize his debaucheries and clashes with the established Roman religious and political traditions, they do allow an insight in some of the more general cult practices. After the emperor’s assassination in 222 AD, the stone was returned to Emesa by his cousin and successor Alexander Severus, who himself had been initiated as a priest of its cult (see Cumont 1905: 2219-2222; Turcan 1985; Gradel 2004: 351-352). The Elagaballium temple was

rededicated to Jupiter and the Emesa stone did no longer figure on Roman coinage until the mid-third century when the Roman usurper-emperor Ura-nius Antoninus started minting his own coins at Emesa.

Numismatic evidence complements the information on the Emesa stone provided by the Roman historians. The stone is depicted on coins in various ways. It can be a boulder perched by an eagle (fig. 1 top) or an ompha-los shaped object, placed inside a temple or on a quadriga (Pl. 26-28). Exceptional is the representation inside a temple as a sort of tiara shaped object, completely covered with fabrics that are apparently fastened with a large decorative fibula (?) on the front (Pl. 26d). Baldus convincingly argued that this “tiara” must also be the stone of Emesa (Baldus 1971: 146-147). When depicted on a chariot, the stone is shown between four decorated posts, the front two of which are also visible when the stone is shown inside the temple. These posts are interpreted as “parasols” by Baldus (Baldus 1971: 147-148). However, there seems little sense in putting 4 parasols *around* a sacred object instead of above. These poles may rather have to be seen as delineating the sacred space within which the stone was kept, like columns could surround aediculae inside public buildings. The shape of the poles may have been derived from posters that originally supported a baldachin. There is a striking resemblance to the 4 posters that support a roof construction on a ceremonial cart used for the



Fig. 2. Sacred stones depicted on the reverse of Roman coins. From left to right:

* The sacred stone of Astarte on a four poster cart (issued at Sidon) (from http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/_sidon_AE30_SNGCop_255.jpg — accessed 10-10-2007).

* Eagle perched above the cart of Astarte (issued at Sidon) (from http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/caracalla/_sidon_AR4Drachm_Bellinger_293.jpg — accessed 10-10-2007).

* Cybele temple of Paphos with its semi-circular courtyard and the sacred stone inside (issued at Paphos) (from http://www.meteoroman.org/Meteorite_Coin.htm — accessed 10-10-2007).

transport of a sacred stone on coins from Sidon (fig. 2 left). The top of these posts is decorated with curled leafs, not entirely unlike the posts surrounding the Emesa stone. The Sidon cart has, however, an impressive “roof” with palm leafs on top. The Sidon coin is yet another demonstration of the widespread baethyl worship in Syria and the use of chariots or carts for their transport during various ceremonies.

The chariot or cart refers to the processional moving of the stone from one temple to another, a practice well documented in Rome at the time of Elagabalus. According to Herodian (Book V) six horses pulled the chariot with the stone. However, a quadriga was used according to Elagabalus’ coins (Pl. 28). In any case, this transfer in Rome must have reflected a tradition that already existed in the Emesean homeland. Warwick Ball, pointing out similarities between Elagabal’s temple in Rome and the temple at Baalbek, suggested that the secondary temple may have been the great temple at Baalbek, since this was also part of the Emesean territory (Ball 2000: 38-39).

The stone perched by an eagle as on the coins of Caracalla (fig. 1) may be one of the best and most accurate images of the Emesa stone, although it looks very different from some of the apparently massive and omphalos shaped “stones” that are depicted on coins inside a temple or on a chariot. The only contemporary description of the stone is provided by Herodian: *“There was no actual man-made statue of the god, the sort Greeks and Romans put up; but there was an enormous stone, rounded at the base and coming to a point on the top, conical in shape and black. This stone is worshipped as though it were sent from heaven; on it there are some small projecting pieces and markings that are pointed out, which the people would like to believe are a rough picture of the sun, because this is how they see them.”* (Herodian Book V.3: 5, Whittaker 1970: 18-21).

On the illustrations of the stone on chariots and inside a temple, there is usually an eagle placed on the front of the stone. A similar combined imagery is preserved on a pilaster capital from Rome in The Roman Forum Museum of Antiquities (fig. 3) that is thought to derive from the Elagabal temple on the Palatine Hill (Sellers Strong 1907: 308-309, Pl. XCIV; von Mercklin 1962: 154-156, Abb. 729-731; Turcan 2004: 180, Pl. 21). Possibly the stone was positioned on its tip with the lower part inserted in a hole in the seat to fix it upright (fig. 3). Fabrics are covering the support of

the stone; folds are clearly visible on the front. This would agree with Herodian's description as "*rounded at the base and coming to a point on the top, conical in shape*". Lending even more support to this idea of its vertical positioning is a coin minted by Uranus Antoninus, on which the omphalos shaped stone is placed on what seems to be a "table" with a "vase" underneath (Pl. 26f). It seems unlikely that this vase was meant to stand in front of the "altar", since it has exactly the same baseline as the table and touches the lower side of the tabletop. The oval shaped Emesa-stone of the Caracalla coin must have been placed upright in it, more or less like an egg in an egg-cup. The "table" with its central opening supported the textiles (and eagle image) covering the stone and may also have been used to place offerings on. The "eagle" could be part of a metal cover, may have been embroidered on a fabric or may have held fabrics together, very much like the fibula on the above discussed tiara shaped image of Pl. 26d. Herodian's description of the stone (and the Caracalla coin) rule out the possibility that it had a flat bottom. It was thus *not* a sculptured omphalos-shaped stone like the well-known omphalos from Delphi or the one depicted at Tang-i Sarvak (fig. 11). It was definitely a rounded boulder.



Fig. 3. Pilaster capital from the Elagabal temple on the Palatine Hill: the stone of Emesa tended by the goddesses Minerva and Astarte-Juno. The stone bears the image of an eagle on the front and is placed on a stool with lion paws, covered with a fringed cloth. (left and right after von Mercklin 1962, Abb. 729-730; centre after Sellers Strong 1907: Pl. XCIV).

Herodian describes the stone of Emesa as “enormous”, but does not provide any measurements. In reality, its size may have been relatively modest if judged by the representations on the coin of Caracalla (size stone versus eagle) and on the capital found in Rome (its size versus that of the goddesses and it being placed on a stool) and by the fact that it could be transported on a chariot.

A baethyl and a Roman emperor: the Emesa stone and Uranius Antoninus

If one accepts the identification of the oval object(s) on registers 2 and 4 at Bishapur III as baethyl(s), one has not only to explain their presence on a “Roman” triumph of Shapur I, but also why there are apparently two of them.

The combined display in one scene of consecutive events as well as of events that are separated by a significant amount of time is a widespread oriental (and Sasanian) artistic convention. Exactly like it is generally accepted that different Roman emperors, referring each to a separate historic event, can be united in one scene, it must also be considered that subsequent moments of a single event can be represented and that consequently the same figures (or objects) can be repeated several times. This concept is present on many Sasanian silver plates with royal hunts: the animals are shown being hunted and having been killed in one and the same scene. Also the famous Taq-i Bustan hunting scenes of Khusrow II illustrate this concept. All consecutive phases of the hunt are shown in the same scene. The animals are seen waiting in the corrals/pens, being driven into the hunting enclosures, being hunted, being killed and finally the dead animals are carried off while the surviving animals are leaving the enclosures. Even Khusrow II himself is represented several times in the same scene.

The repetition of figures and objects in the lower and upper right registers of Bishapur III (see discussion *infra*) suggests that two different moments of one and the same historical event are shown. The same baethyl would thus be shown twice. In the same way, one must interpret the central scene with the Roman emperors. There is one dead emperor shown lying underneath Shapur’s horse and there is a kneeling and standing Roman emperor. The emperor kneeling down in supplication and the one standing as a subordinate next to the Sasanian ruler should be seen as one and the same person. From the central scene of Bishapur II, which is almost an

exact copy of the central scene of Bishapur III (pls. 17 and 18); it is obvious that they do *look* identical. There has been no attempt to differentiate in clothing, facial characteristics or regalia. The standing Roman is held at the hand and he faces the same direction as Shapur, indicating that he is not “captured” (contrary to the Roman emperor on the Naqsh-e Rostam relief) but that he is an ally. It shows the plea of the kneeling emperor was successful, that Shapur accepted his subjugation and that he now recognises Shapur as his sovereign.

This leaves the emperor underneath the hooves of Shapur’s horse to be identified. As stated above, he is traditionally identified as Gordianus III, since this emperor was killed in 244 near Misikhe and is referred to (although not by name) in Shapur’s *Res Gestae*. However, since he looks identical to the standing and kneeling emperor, it may also be a third representation of Uranius Antoninus. This could be an indication that he was killed at some stage. An alternative would be that it has to be seen as an allegorical representation of the defeat of the “Roman empire”.

Although Ghirshman did not consider them as representing consecutive events, he already suggested in 1971 that the registers had to be seen placed behind each other and were to be regarded as one long uninterrupted representation. In fact, viewed like this, the monument can be compared to the spiralling Roman triumphal representations on the 2nd century columns of Trajanus (completed in 133 AD) and Marcus Aurelius (completed in 193 AD). Just like Shapur’s *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* at NRu was inspired by Augustus’ *Res Gestae*, the concept of his Bishapur reliefs may very well have been inspired by these Roman imperial monuments. Ghirshman not only pointed out this comparison but also suggested that the presence of the Shapur statue in the cave above Bishapur (possibly originally intended to become the burial site of Shapur) could have been inspired by the Roman imperial statues on top of the above mentioned columns in which base the Roman emperor’s ashes were buried (Ghirshman 1962: 285; 1971: 172, 184-185).

There is one historic event that could link Shapur I with a Roman emperor *and* a baethyl of historic significance. During his second campaign in 253 AD, Shapur’s army is said to have advanced on Emesa (the city of the black stone), where Shapur was supposedly met by the Roman usurper emperor Uranius Antoninus. Unfortunately, our information on the precise events is still very fragmentary and unreliable. Historic sources often

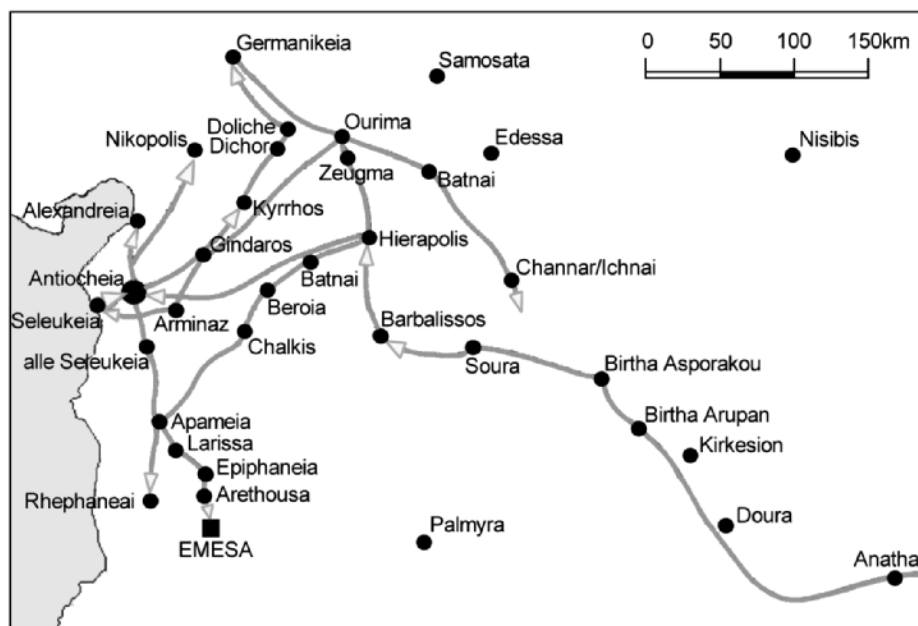


Fig. 4. Trajectories of the Sasanian forces of Shapur I during his Syrian campaign of 253 AD as proposed by E. Kettenhofen (1982b).

contain conflicting information and current interpretations often continue to remain speculative and vague on many events (see Millar 1993: 159-163; Hartmann 2001: 74-75).

The current view on the event is that Shapur (or a contingent of his army) was defeated at Emesa and subsequently retreated from Syria. However, before attempting to link the events to the Bishapur III relief, let us survey the contents and character of the available historic sources on which this current perception is based.

Apart from the numismatic evidence to be discussed *infra*, there are three historic sources that are considered to refer to the 253 AD event, the chronicle of John Malalas, the *Oracula Sibyllina* and some Greek graffiti in Qal'at el-Haways.

The most extensive of these accounts is that by the 6th century Monophysite Byzantine chronicler John Malalas. However, he combines several events (the betrayal of Mareades, Emesa and the war with Odenathus of Palmyra) into a single story, which obviously contains many mistakes and

inaccuracies. According to Malalas, the city of Emesa was saved by the unexpected killing of Shapur:

“(295)... During his reign one of the officials of Antioch the Great, named Mariades, was expelled from the council through co-operation between the whole council and the people, because of deficiencies in his administration of chariot-racing: he had not bought horses for whichever faction it was he led but (296) had embezzled the public funds that were set aside for the hippodrome. So he went to Persia and told the Persian emperor Sapor that he would betray to him Antioch the Great, his own city. Sapor, emperor of the Persians, came through the limes of Chalkis with a large military force and captured the whole of Syria and plundered it. He captured the city of Antioch the Great in the evening and plundered it, and then destroyed and burnt it in the year 314 according to the era of Antioch the Great. He beheaded the official, since he was a traitor to his own country. He captured all the regions of the East as far as the city of Emesa in Phoenice Libanensis, and destroyed, burnt, and plundered it and killed everyone. *The priest of Aphrodite, called Sampsigeros, came out with a force of countrymen armed with slings and went to meet him. The Persian emperor, Sapor, noticing his priestly costume, ordered his army not to shoot at them nor to attack or fight them, and he received the priest as an ambassador. For the priest had sent him a message in advance asking him to receive him as an ambassador for his country. While the emperor Sapor was conversing with the priest, seated on a high platform, one of the countrymen hurled a stone from his sling at him and hit the emperor Sapor on the forehead; he died immediately on the spot. A disturbance broke out and (297) his army heard of his death. Because they supposed that the Romans had arrived, they all fled towards the limes, pursued by the farmers and the priest Sampsigeros, and they abandoned all their plunder and disappeared. Across the limes they were met by Enathos, emperor of the Saracen barbarians, who controlled the land of Arabia and took the side of the Romans. He had a wife named Zenobia, a Saracen empress. Enathos, emperor of the Saracens, destroyed all the Persian troops in Sapor’s force, as the learned chronicler Domninos has stated. The most learned Philostratos has written a different account of events concerning Sapor, emperor of the Persians, saying that he also captured the whole of*

Syria and burnt down many other cities as well as Antioch the Great, and that likewise he also took Cilicia and burnt Alexandria Minor and Rhossos and Anazarbos and Aigai and Nikopolis and many other cities in Cilicia, and that he passed through Cappadocia into Persian territory and that Enathos, emperor of the Saracens, came to meet him to become, he said, an ally of his and then killed him. Domninos' record is the truer; he said that he sent his satrap Spates to Cilicia with an army."

(Malalas XIII: 295-297, cited from Jeffreys, Jeffreys & Scott 1986: 162-163, italics added)

The second account is provided in the Oracula Sibyllina XIII, a text which may have been drafted by an eye-witness shortly after the 253 events (Baldus 1971: 240-243, 252-255).

"And again the ordered world will become disordered with men perishing by famine and war. The Persians for the toil of Ares (i.e. war) will again make inroads, raging against the Ausonians (i.e. Romans) and then there will be a flight of Romans. Immediately afterwards the last priest of all (i.e. Sampsigeramus?) sent by the sun will come, appearing out of Syria and will accomplish everything by treachery. And then there will be a city of the sun (i.e. Emesa?). Around it the Persians will undergo the fearful threats of the Phoenicians (i.e. Emesenes)."

(Oracula Sibyllina XIII: 147-154, translated by Lieu, from Dodgeon & Lieu 1991: 54-55)

The third source are three Greek graffiti found in Qal'at el-Haways, NE of Hamath. Olmstead (1942: 108) considered them to be a commemoration of a victory by a local figure. The 252/3 date that is mentioned does support the idea that it describes the events to which also Malalas refers (see Baldus 1971: 250-251 / Dodgeon & Lieu 1991: 56, 365 note 33).

"Year 564 (252/253 AD), the men were then exposed to Nemesis (?) (i.e. vengeful justice). But the hero invoked Kronos and victory was given to him. Neither the Barbarians nor anybody in the vicinity suffered injury for they settled (?) that they should suffer a just punishment for their crime those who ..."

"Read what is written and believe!"

“The god of all power loves loyalty and wishes (?) that it exist in his presence.”

(Translated by Lieu, from Dodgeon & Lieu 1991: 56)

The general idea is that the advance of the Sasanian army was somehow stopped near Emesa, explaining why the city is not mentioned in the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Kettenhofen 1982a: 70-73). Why and how remains unexplained, however. Some authors still doubt the mere advance on Emesa (Callu 1969: 175; against his arguments stands Baldus 1971: 269), while others take a more cautious position and question whether there was indeed a defeat of the Sasanian army near Emesa (Dodgeon & Lieu 1991: 54, chapter 3.2.2. “A Persian column defeated at Emesa (?)”).

Malalas story is obviously inaccurate and the other sources may merely confirm the advance of a Persian army in the direction of Emesa. Since Shapur was not killed in 253, Baldus proposes to see the killing of a Sasanian general in charge of a Sasanian contingent as the triggering factor for a Persian retreat. Both Malalas and the *Oracula Sibyllina* suggest that this killing or victory was the result of deceit or treachery. The main core of Malalas story, in which it agrees with the Greek graffiti (and does not conflict either with the *Oracula Sibyllina*), is that there was contact or negotiation between the Sasanians and the usurper Uranius Antoninus. The Greek graffiti stating that “*neither the Barbarians nor anybody in the vicinity suffered injury for they settled*” is a strong argument in favour of the idea that some sort of agreement or treaty was reached. That this followed a (minor) military defeat or the killing (or natural death?) of a leading Sasanian figure is, of course, very well possible.

An important additional source of information on the events of 253 at Emesa is the numismatic evidence. In his exhaustive study of the coinage of Uranius Antoninus, identified with the Emesa priest Sampsigeramus (on this identification see Baldus 1971: 246-250), Baldus provides a detailed time schedule of the emissions and argues that the encounter with Shapur’s army must be placed in November 253 AD (Baldus 1971: 126-127, 266-268). This timing, at the beginning of winter, may in itself have been an important factor for the Sasanians to accept a settlement rather than to start yet another city-siege that would possibly have lasted into mid-winter. Numismatics do not provide us much information as to what happened at Emesa *after* the arrival of the Sasanians. Uranius

Antoninus minted coins until the end of 253 *or* the beginning of 254. Baldus suggested that the usurper “freely” ceded power to the Roman emperor Valerianus, returning to his religious office as high-priest of Emesa (Baldus 1971: 268). This agrees with a suggestion by Delbrueck who saw a downgrading of Uranius’ initial imperial aspirations in the texts and titles of his coins. Delbrueck proposed that this was the result of some kind of compromise reached between Uranius Antoninus and Valerian’s representatives (Delbrueck 1948: 28-29). In fact, there is no reliable information at all on the end of Uranius Antoninus career and it is not even known for how many months his coins were still minted at Emesa. Therefore, different interpretations are possible. Hartmann pointed out that the imperial titles are only present in Greek on the bronze and silver coins (which he considers to be destined for regional use), whereas they lack on the gold coins with Latin inscriptions (for use throughout the empire). These gold coins do have, however, imperial iconography. According to Hartmann this indicates that Uranius Antoninus acted for the Syrian population *de iure* as *Augustus*, claiming the imperial right to issue gold coins, but did not want to challenge the imperial power in Rome (Hartmann 2001: 75).

If there is truth in Malalas’ story of negotiations and a meeting between Shapur and Uranius Antoninus in his capacity of (usurper) emperor *and* high priest of Elagabal, this event is likely to be the very subject of Bishapur III. As a high priest/emperor, it stands within reason to suppose that he would confront the Sasanian king in the company (or protection) of the baethyl of Emesa, the “house” of the principal Emesean god. Was this “black stone” the inspiration for Malalas’ “sling stone” story, with the stone killing Shapur and turning away his army? It is a tempting thought.

If an agreement was reached that turned the Sasanian army away, it must have been at a considerable cost to the Emeseans. Uranius would have had to recognise the supremacy of the Sasanian emperor, and may have had to cede the Emesa stone to Shapur. If Shapur did indeed obtain the subordination of the Roman (usurper) emperor (and thus the Roman Empire!) and held the renowned black stone of Emesa, it would have been an important and significant event that certainly could merit the sculpting of one or more rock reliefs in his homeland Fars.

The black stone of Emesa would have been an extremely attractive asset to Shapur. It was the physical reality *par excellence* of the foremost cult in

the region, had a strong historic link with the city of Rome itself *and* it was considered to be a meteor. In Zoroastrian beliefs meteors were particularly prized and sought after (see Alizadeh 2002). Taking the Emesa stone was taking a divine hostage and securing the loyalty of the god as well as that of its emperor. It is in line with tradition and it can be compared to what happened in 614 A.D. when Khusrow II took Jerusalem. He not only deported the population but also took the Christian patriarch and the “holy cross” to Ctesiphon (Kettenhofen 1994: 302).

The “foreign delegation” scene at Bishapur III

When the Bishapur III relief is interpreted as a direct reference to the event of November 253 at Emesa, it must provide a coherent iconographic ensemble. The central and lower right part of the Bishapur relief shows the arrival of the delegation headed by Uranius Antoninus, who descended his horse and kneels in supplication before Shapur. The upper right part shows us how the stone with its attire (fabrics, vessels...) is carried off. In view of the emphasis that this relief places on the event, it may very well have been taken to Bishapur. Uranius Antoninus is shown a second time in the central scene grasping the ledge of Shapur’s cloak with his left hand. Shapur himself holds his right hand. Uranius Antoninus looks in the same direction as Shapur, towards the scene in which the stone of Emesa is carried off and his attitude symbolises the recognition of Shapur as his sovereign.

The left part of the Bishapur III relief is straightforward. It is the Persian cavalry that advances. Since there is no discussion about the character and general identification of this part of the relief, we will concentrate in this paper on the right five rows, the so-called “foreign delegation”, and on the booty and/or gifts that are presented. Before we start discussing the iconography of each of the five registers, one more general remark has to be made. Many authors agreed that the way in which the delegation is represented is actually comparable to the representations at Persepolis (Gropp 1971: 46-48; Herrmann 1980: 32; 1998: 42-46; von Gall 1998: 52). It looks as if these are people bringing presents. They are not shown as defeated and humiliated enemies carrying booty. It was this, together with the presence of an Indian elephant and certain elements in the physiognomy of members of the delegations, which led Herrmann to suggest that (apart from the clearly Roman delegation) also an eastern delegation of allies (Kushan) was represented at Bishapur III.

Register 1:

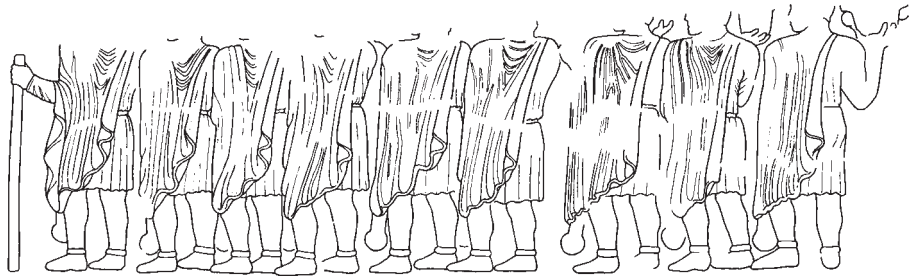


Fig. 5. The 1st register of the right panel at Bishapur III.
(detail from Herrmann 1980: fig. 4)

Since the top of the right lower register is eroded away by a water channel and the remainder was buried beneath the rubble until it was excavated by Ali Sarfaraz in 1974-75, it was unknown to early scholars and does not figure on the earliest drawings and photographs (see Pl. 5 and 10). It consists of a row of 9 standing Romans, all seen from the back. They can clearly be recognised as Romans because of their clothing: a tunic tied at the waist and a cloak fastened with a fibula leaving the right arm free (identical to that of the first two Romans on the next register). The first figure holds a staff while the last three held vessels in the air like some of the Romans on registers two and five. The tip of their sword scabbards with rounded chapes is visible.

Register 2:

The second register depicts six men, apparently all Romans, a wagon or chariot and two draught animals.

Herrmann discusses the chariot and its draught animals as follows: “*In addition to the collars around the neck, to which the chariot was probably yoked, the horses or mules are harnessed with a girth, held in place by a chest strap and two breeching straps around the haunch: these breeching straps were probably essential to help hold the chariot on steep descents. Unlike the ... the harness is undecorated. The chariot itself is relatively unusual, being chair like in form. The nearest parallel is one on the arch of Galerius at Saloniki.*” (Herrmann 1980: 42).

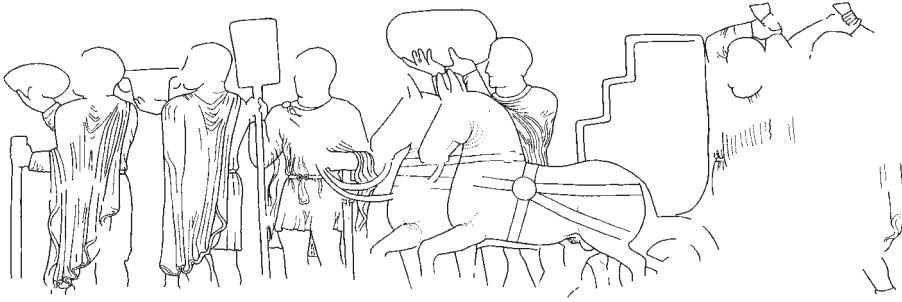


Fig. 6. The 2nd register of the right panel at Bishapur III
(detail from Herrmann 1980: fig. 4).

The Roman chariot on the arch of Galerius to which Herrmann refers is a chair or throne placed on a wagon (fig. 7b). Similar ones are known from other Roman works of art and from coins, but in most cases such a chair or throne is placed on four wheeled wagons (fig. 7).

The Bishapur III wagon has a unique shape. There is only one, almost identical, representation known in the archaeological literature but it has to be discarded since it is a fantasy reconstruction, *inspired* by the Bishapur III sculpture. The back wall of the Zeus Theos temple at Dura Europos was decorated with a painting of the god in front of his chariot (fig. 8d). Only some fragments of the painting were preserved, however, and the published drawing is for the most part a reconstruction by its excavator F.E. Brown. Little of the chariot remained, only part of the wheels and its spokes, thus merely indicating that there once was a chariot. Throughout his publication, Brown emphasized the Iranian connections of the religious beliefs and practices at Dura Europos. When he made his reconstruction, he apparently also turned to Iran for inspiration. Brown includes Sarre's "*L'Art de la Perse Antique*" in his bibliography and although he does not specifically mention it, one of Sarre's plates, showing the left part of the Bishapur III relief (with the chariot), must have inspired him to make this kind of reconstruction (see Brown 1939: fig. 50).

If one looks at the Bishapur chariot representation, there are a few remarks that can be made. First of all, the draught animals seem to be standing next to the chariot, partly blocking the spectator's view on the chariot itself. This is obvious in the case of the horse closest to the viewer since its hind

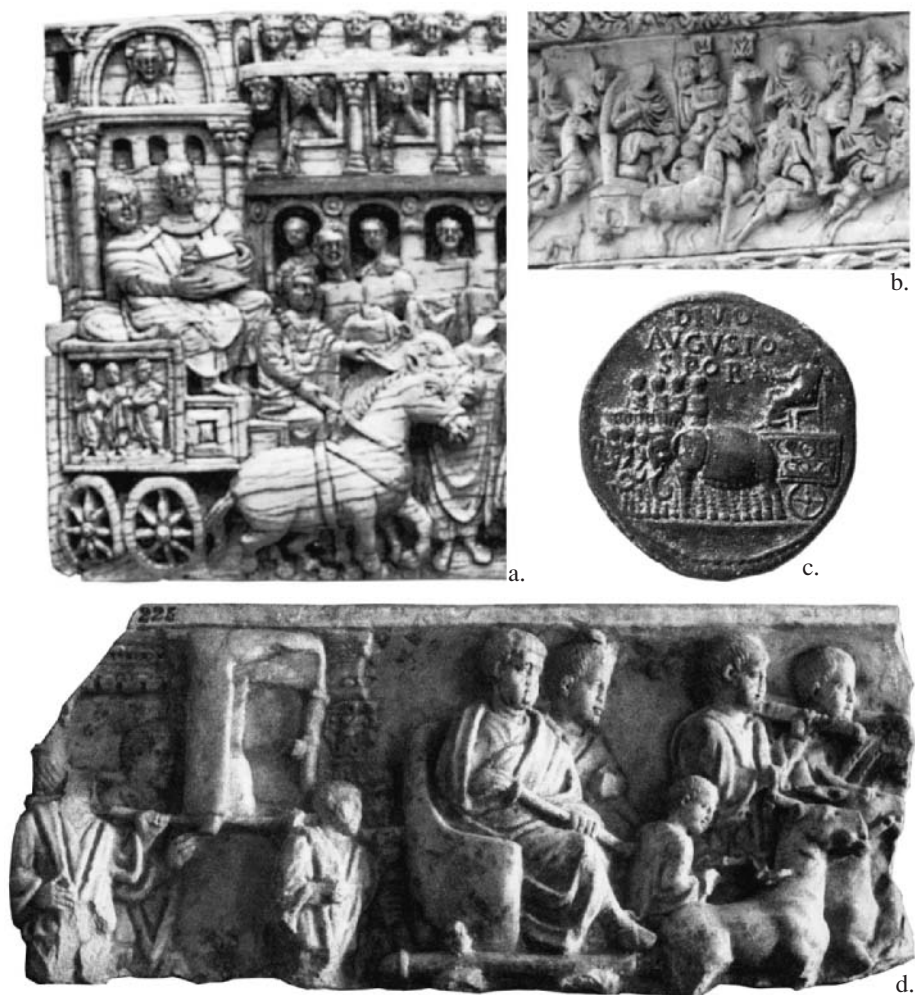


Fig. 7. Roman throne or chair-wagons:

- a. The relics of John the Baptist are brought to Pulcheria on a monumental four-wheeled throne-wagon, ivory, Cathedral treasury of Trier (after Raepsaet 2002: fig. 125).
- b. two-wheeled throne-wagon drawn by two horses, arch of Galerius, Saloniki.
- c. quadriga of elephants pulling the monumental throne-wagon of Augustus, coin issued by Tiberius (after Scullard 1974: Pl. XXIVf).
- d. A four-wheeled throne-wagon preceding a shrine with an oval object (omphalos or baethyl?), fragment of a sarcophagus in the Museo Archeologico at Aquileia, ca. 360-370 AD (after Reinsberg 2006: Taf. 102).

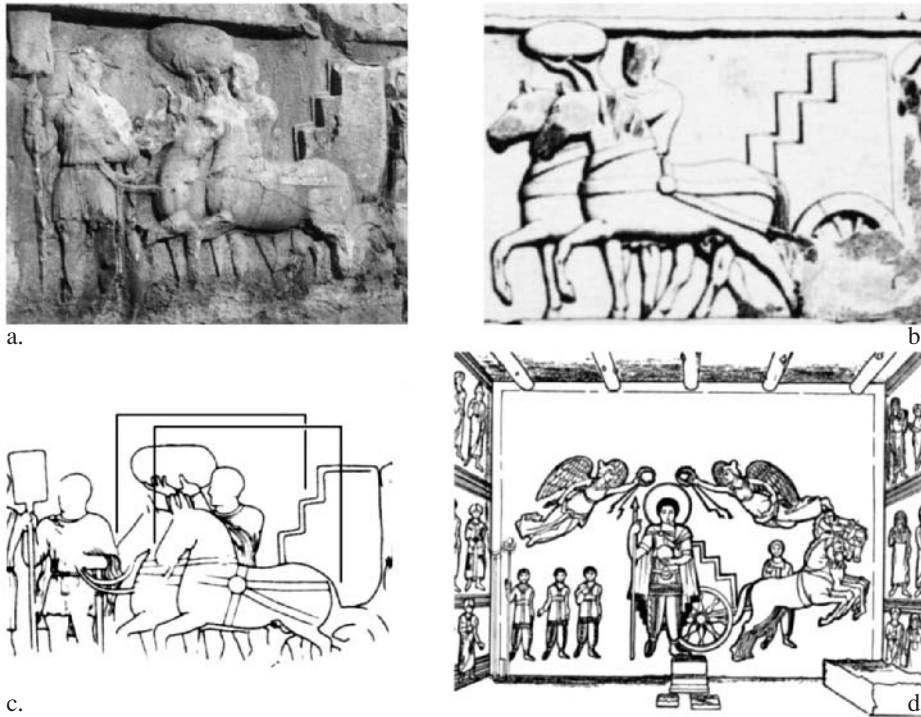


Fig. 8. a. chariot on 2nd register at Bishapur III (photo E. Smekens).
 b. chariot on 2nd register at Bishapur III (Flandin & Coste 1851).
 c. chariot on 2nd register at Bishapur III (Herrmann 1980: fig. 4) with added lines to indicate the position of the draught animals in relation to the wagon.
 d. Reconstruction by F.E. Brown of the painted decoration in the Zeus Theos temple at Dura Europos, the chariot is based on the Bishapur III representation (Brown 1939: fig. 50).

part is positioned next to the wheel, but it is also the case with the second horse. Its size (considered being identical to that of the animal on the front) and position is indicated on fig. 8c. This is an artistic manner to create depth. The animals and cart are shown from an oblique angle. This also explains why both the side panels of the cart are visible. It is a view that is commonly used on Roman monuments (compare fig. 7).

Secondly, the chariot itself is fairly small. It is open at the front, has high stepped sides and a rounded back. It looks more or less like a small armchair with a high back and (too) short armrests, placed on wheels. The back may have ran straight down to the level of the axle (as on the early drawing published by Flandin and Coste, see fig. 8b), which would be

structurally more sound than the rounded corner positioned above the wheel in fig. 8c. One wonders whether the rounded shape in Herrmann's drawing may not be the result of the flaking of the rock.

The draught animals are distinctively smaller than the Roman horse in register 3 and they have long ears which indicates that these are not horses but either onagers, asses or some kind of cross-breed. Such animals were not exceptional as draught animals and were even used in warfare (fig. 7d; Potts 2007: 104-107). Gagé pointed out that they could have a religious significance in Phrygia and suggested that this may also have been the case in Syria (Gagé 1965: 367). The Bishapur III chariot is a two-wheeled cart shaped like a stool or throne, very similar to those used in Roman triumphal processions (compare fig. 7b-c). It is not the imperial wagon, though, since the saddled horse of the Roman emperor is visible behind him on the third register. It would also be unusually small and low if it had been intended as the imperial chariot.

Then how should we interpret this second register? The first 3 figures are clearly Romans. The first two hold vessels, a bowl with cover (?) and a vase with two handles. The third Roman holds a vexillum in his right hand while he holds the reins of the draught animals in his left hand. In front of the wagon stands a fourth person, also with a Roman cloak, who shows the baethyl by holding it up in the air. It looks as if he took it out of the wagon to show it to the audience. The Roman coins have demonstrated that wagons or carts were used to transport baethyls. As a comparison, one can refer to another wagon with small wheels that is used for the transport of the *Ark of the Covenant* on the almost contemporary Dura Europos painting (fig. 9). Two more figures follow behind the wagon. Both carry something on their back that looks like a large and voluminous (but not particularly heavy) bag. It can not be sacs filled with gold as suggested by Ghirshman (Ghirshman 1971: 170 "deux hommes chargés de sacs. Ne serait-ce pas l'or versé par Philippe?") because the weight of such large sacs filled with gold would simply have crushed them. It is similar to what is carried by the 6th person of the 4th row, who is also standing next to the baethyl. This repetition obviously links these "sac bearers" to the baethyl. The use of fabrics or "clothing" on the Emesa stone has been mentioned above in the discussion of the coinage. Also other textiles may have been linked to ceremonies with the stone. Textiles are e.g. covering the stool on which the stone was placed on the pilaster capital from the Forum Romanum (fig. 3) and one could suggest the use of curtain(s) around an aedicula with

the stone. It seems likely that these men, who are immediately following the wagon and the stone, are carrying its “clothing” or important fabrics used in specific ceremonies.

Some more details of the second row remain to be explained, i.e. the presence of vessels in the hands of the first two Romans and the Roman military vexillum in the right hand of the third person. Roman vexilla were commonly placed in Syrian temples (Gagé 1965: 350 note 2) and various kinds of vessels are widely associated with rituals and temple practices. At the time of emperor Elagabalus, the distribution of gold and silver vessels was apparently part of the festivities that followed the moving of the stone of Emesa between its Roman temples (Herodian Book V.6,1-7, Whittaker 1970).

The above mentioned wall painting in the Dura Europos synagogue, representing the return of the *Ark of the Covenant* from the Philistines, provides another interesting parallel. The painting shows the ark draped with fabrics (!) on a two wheeled wagon (!) being led away from the ravished temple of Dagon (Hopkins 1979: 144-145). The synagogue paintings are dated between 243/44 A.D. and the destruction by Shapur in 256 A.D. (Hopkins 1979: 140). The image is obviously modeled on contemporary Syrian temples. Among the scattered utensils lying around the broken statue of Dagon are large open bowls, comparable to those carried on the head on the 3rd (man standing before the elephant) and 4th register (2nd, 4th and 8th person), as well as various other types of vessels. A parallel for the way these large vessels are carried on the head is also found in the description of an offering ritual to the Emesa stone during its stay in Rome. Although the accuracy of this specific description may be doubted, it does reflect general customs. Herodian wrote, when commenting on the conduct of the priest-emperor Heliogabalus, “*Each day at dawn he came out and slaughtered a hecatomb of cattle and a large number of sheep which were placed upon the altars and loaded with every variety of spices. ... The entrails of the sacrificial victims and spices were carried in golden bowls, not on the heads of household servants or lower-class people, but by military prefects and important officials wearing long tunics in the Phoenician style down to their feet, with long sleeves and a single purple stripe in the middle. They also wore linen shoes of the kind used by local oracle priests in Phoenicia. It was considered a great honour had been done to anyone given a part in the sacrifice...*” (Herodian of Syria V.5, 8-10; translation Whittaker 1970: 45-47).



Fig. 9. “Toppling of the Idol of Dagon” wall painting from the Dura Europos synagogue (after Hopkins 1979: 154).

register 3:



Fig. 10. The central panel and the 3rd register of the right panel at Bishapur III (detail from Herrmann 1980: fig. 1).

This register is higher than the others because it had to accommodate the enlarged royal figure in the centre of the relief. Shapur is almost 1.5 times the size of the Roman emperor standing next to him and consequently also his horse is larger than that of the Persians that follow him. It indicates his importance and focuses the attention of the viewer on the king. The exaggeration of Shapur's size is much more important here than on other reliefs such as on the nearby Bishapur II which basically represent the same subject (compare Pl. 3, 17-19; see *infra*).

As the design of the sculpture placed Shapur exactly in the centre of the relief and in the centre of the third register, the whole third register was made higher than the others. There is substantially more room above the heads of the third row of Persian horsemen than above those on the other registers (Pl. 7). In the third register of the delegation, this space would even have been more prominent since these men are standing and are not on horseback. This space was filled by adding an extra row of figures in the third register. The third register represents the party that directly confronts the Persian king. Kneeling in front of Shapur and raising his hands in an attitude of supplication, is the Roman emperor. Next to him stand two Persians, one of whom holds a ring in the air. Above the scene hovers a *putto*. The gesture of showing a ring indicates an oath or a pledge (of loyalty) that is made to Shapur and this gesture is repeated by several of the men on the 4th and 5th register (see Kaim 2009).

Standing behind the kneeling Roman are four delegates, his horse and an elephant with a mahout. The delegate in front of the elephant carries a large fluted basin on his head. The second row of this register, placed in the background of the scene, consists of six more delegates who are showing a long band of cloth.

The small *putto* is an unusual feature on Sasanian reliefs. It is present only on Bishapur II and III and has been the subject of different interpretations. Ghirshman identified it as a *Nike* holding a garland, but since it is a nude winged boy, a *putto* is a more correct identification. He referred to *Nike* figures on Parthian coins and on the Parthian relief at Bisitun as the origin of the concept, all of these representations, however, are dressed winged females holding a ring or laurel wreath. Because the figure holds what Ghirshman considered to be a garland, he was of the opinion that the scene was copied from an *adventus* relief of Marcus Aurelius (Pl. 21a). On this Roman relief, later adapted and incorporated into the arch of Constantine in Rome, a *putto* holds a garland, identical to one that already hangs on a triumphal arch in the

background. Ghirshman saw the putto as flying to the next arch to decorate it before the arrival of the Roman emperor. He thought that the Sasanians knew this scene and had misunderstood it, that they had thought it flew to Marcus Aurelius himself to honour him with the garland. Ghirshman thus considered the Bishapur scene as a misunderstood copy of this specific Roman representation (Ghirshman 1971: 171-172). Herrmann, who described the small figure as a *cherub* and compared it with the same Parthian *Nike* representations as Ghirshman, identified the object it is holding as a headband with fluttering ribbons at both ends (Herrmann 1980: 13, 33). The thickened extremities of the “headband” allow a comparison with flower-bands on several mosaics at Bishapur, although these have strings instead of ribbons as fasteners. Otherwise they are very similar, however. On one of these mosaics a woman is depicted making one and still holds a flower in the right hand (Pl. 21c & d). The colours show that these bands were made of flowers. If the building at Bishapur is part of a temple complex as thought by the excavator, this would place the use of such bands in the sphere of cult practices. Lending support to this view is the fact that several of the Bishapur women are holding the garland in exactly the same way as a man offering to the gods on a painting in the temple at Dura Europos (Pl. 21b). This was described by the excavator as “un collier, ... rose, avec une fleur de lotus blue pale à chaque bout et le cordon pour l’attacher” (Breasted 1922: 191). Such bands were used as offerings and may have been placed on divine images. An example of this is provided by the rock sculpture at Tang-i Sarvak. A “band” (not necessarily made of flowers, though) is fixed as a diadem around a baethyl or omphalos (fig. 11). It has broadening ribbons as fasteners and is thus formally close to the Sasanian ones on the Bishapur reliefs.

The exact significance of the Putto at Bishapur is not clear. He may be holding a garland or band to symbolically announce the arrival of the delegation with the high-priest/emperor and the sacred stone. Its positioning on the Bishapur II relief, much closer to the king than on Bishapur III, however, rather suggests that it flies directly to Shapur. It may thus also symbolise the recognition of the Persian King’s (or Zoroastrian) supremacy or it may be an honour bestowed upon the king for the protection provided to the divine stone and its followers.

The delegates that approach Shapur on this register (apart from the Roman emperor) are cautiously identified by Herrmann as East Iranians and she

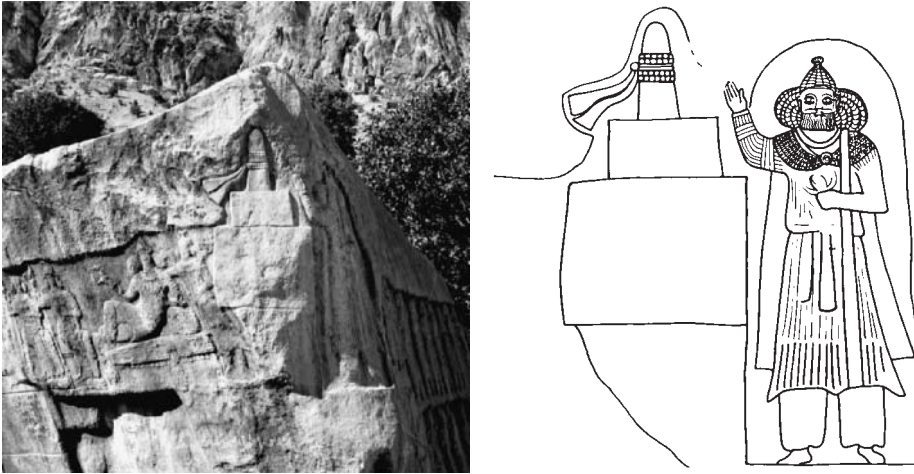


Fig. 11. Rock sculpture at Tang-i Sarvak with a baethyl or omphalos on a pediment (photo & drawing E. Smekens, Ghent University).

points to a number of Kushan comparisons (later extending this to include Central Asia, Herrmann 1998: 45-46). In her description of the relief, Herrmann presents a well-balanced discussion of the elements that refer to the eastern realm but at the same time also points out a number of equally important elements that could refer to the Syrian area. It seems useful to cite her comment in full:

“The Subject Peoples: 2 the East Iranians?”

While the nationality of the Romans in Registers 1 and 2 Right can be easily established, that of the other people illustrated in the right-hand registers, Nos. 3-5, cannot. As far as can be seen they are all dressed alike, with the exception of the mahout. They all wear sleeved, knee-length tunics, held at the waist by a narrow belt. This is fastened by being wrapped round a ring in the centre, and it ends in two short, pointed ties. The tunic is worn over loose leggings or trousers, which are tucked into calf-high boots: there are no ankle-ribbons. The jewellery consists of a simple hoop ear-ring, as well as a raised collar round the neck, usually plain. This simple costume is similar to that worn by the Iranians, except for the shape of the ear-ring, the fastening of the belt and the boots. It is a costume worn, with minor variations, over a very large area and for a long time, and

it is one usually associated with the Iranian peoples. In examples approximately contemporary with Bishapur III it can be seen, for instance, in a richly decorated form at Palmyra, Dura Europos and Hatra in the west, as well as in the Kushan empire in the east.

Slightly more distinctive than the dress is the physiognomy. The men all have long, straight hair arranged in a simple, page-boy style, strong jutting chins, and all are clean-shaven except for their drooping moustaches. The Iranians represented on Sasanian rock reliefs are nearly all bearded — only three on Bishapur III are clean-shaven: the hairstyle, too, is completely different. There is, therefore, little reason to believe that this delegation represents Iranians from West Iran. Men from further west, for instance at Hatra and Palmyra, are also usually, but not always bearded, and frequently have curly hair. On Kushan statuary, however, a clean-shaven face with a drooping moustache is common. However, the page-boy hairstyle is not typically Kushan, although it can be paralleled on some examples. The gifts brought by these delegates are not very helpful in defining the area from which they came, although two do give an indication. The elephant in Register 3 is an Indian variety, as is proved by the small ears. Although the mahout riding it is dressed differently from the other delegates — his chest is bare — he does share their physical features and hairstyle, and he almost certainly formed part of the same delegation. The presence, therefore, of this Indian elephant may be an indication that the delegation came from the east, a suggestion reinforced by the gift of a length, or lengths of material held up by Delegates 5—10 in Register 3. Large quantities of material, both silks and muslins, were imported from the east. It may be, therefore, that these clean-shaven men wearing Iranian dress represent peoples from the eastern Iranian regions — perhaps from the Kushanshahr itself, part of which Shapur conquered — although it must be stressed that the available evidence, particularly from these eastern regions, is too sparse to allow any firm conclusions.”

(Herrmann 1980: 42-43)

Herrmann continues with the discussion of the saddled horse, led by what she suggested to be an East Iranian delegate. This could be regarded as an indication that it is an East-Iranian present but Herrmann rightly points out that this is unlikely. Its saddle and the trefoil-shaped pendants hanging

from the chest and haunch straps are clearly Roman. This is the horse of the Roman emperor kneeling before Shapur (Herrmann 1980: 43). It creates a somewhat odd combination of an eastern (Kushan) delegation with the horse of the Roman emperor in their midst. If one considers the delegates as being from the Western end of the empire, however, putting the emphasis on Herrmann's non-Kushan comparisons, the scene may become much more coherent and the Roman horse is no longer "out of place".

The beardless faces with heavy moustaches are also found on the Bishapur II relief among the people that von Gall convincingly ascribes to Syria in view of their clothing (von Gall 1998: 53-54, Pl. Vb). Their physiognomy is thus not a decisive argument to ascribe them an eastern origin.

The textile and elephant are not alien to such a context either and can be explained in many different ways. Ghirshman suggested, for example, that the elephant may have belonged to the Roman emperor who had reserved it for his triumphal procession in Rome (Ghirshman 1971: 169). Herrmann emphasized the species of the animal. Although it is indeed an Asian elephant, clearly recognisable by the shape of its ears and forehead, one could ask whether this difference on a representation by artists working at Bishapur, must be considered as very significant. They simply may have depicted the type of elephant they were most familiar with. Elephants were in the Roman and Syrian world, as well as in Sasanian Iran, widely associated with power and prestige and are well in place in any religious and/or imperial representation. They can occasionally be seen on Sasanian seals (Brunner 1978: 90-91; Gyselen 1993: 225; 1996: 247-249, fig. 2-3; 2007: 46, 85, 112-113, nr. 33.3; Gignoux 1978: Pl. LXIV, LXXVIII, LXXX) and are sometimes depicted in conjunction with winged horses. In the Shapur I palace at Bishapur, stucco heads of an elephant and of a horse were placed at the opposite entries to the large hall (Kröger 1982: 195) and opposite rows of stucco elephants and winged horses were present at the late Sasanian site of Tell Daroz in Iraq (Kröger 1982: 188-189, Taf. 76:3). On Roman coins (see e.g. fig 7c), the Roman emperor was sometimes shown on a chariot drawn by four elephants, the might of the animals emphasizing his own importance (for extensive references on elephants in the Roman realm, see Scullard 1974). An example from a religious East-Roman context are some column capitals discovered in Petra that have scrolls in the shape of elephant heads, originally with separately made inserted tusks (McKenzie 2001: 102) (fig. 12). There is some debate about the identification of these Petra elephants as Asian (Joukowsky & Basile 2001: 47, fig. 4)

or as African (Blagg 1990: 135-136). The shape of the ears and the pointed lower lip could rather be in favour of the Asian species but the characteristic bumps on the forehead are missing, which may speak for the African species. One can not exclude the possibility either that Asian elephants, possibly the Syrian subspecies (*Elephas maximus syriacus*) were still found in the wild (or were kept) in Syria (on the Syrian elephant issue, see Busch 2006: 85-88). Elephants were certainly considered as an important status symbol and as such, the presence of any elephant on monuments and among a Syrian delegation falls within reason. Since elephants were being kept as prized possessions and consequently also transported over long distances, the species may altogether be not that relevant.

The procession of this central third register is flanked by six delegates that hold up a long cloth, hanging with many folds. Various interpretations have again been suggested. Gagé was of the opinion that these were Romans wearing a luxurious tunic. Their hands at the height of the shoulders would have indicated that they were forced to undress as a sign of defeat. This would have been a referral to the clothing taken from Ardashir's Persian envoys and exhibited in Rome (Gagé 1965: 384-385). Ghirshman misinterpreted Gagé's remark and thought Gagé was of the



Fig. 12. Petra, elephant-headed capitals from the Lower Temenos (after Joukowsky & Basile 2001, fig. 4).

opinion that these were those captured Persian tunics, the return of which would have been demanded by Shapur. He commented that these were no tunics but that it looked like uncut fabric and could therefore not represent Persian clothes. Ghirshman suggested that this was the famous Roman imperial purple cloth (Ghirshman 1971: 169). Herrmann pointed out the imports of textiles from the east as another possible reference to the eastern part of the Sasanian Empire (Herrmann 1980: 43). Yet another suggestion can be made. These men may be showing the above mentioned clothing of the black stone or another important fabric used in its cult. It may have been a long cloth that was wrapped around the stone or it may have been a curtain that closed off an aedicula from prying eyes. Whereas two “bags” are carried behind the stone on the lower 2nd register, only one “bag” is carried in the next 4th register. The second “bag” could therefore very well be the fabric that is shown in the background of this third register.

Register 4 and 5:



Fig. 13. The top two registers of the right panel at Bishapur III
(detail from Herrmann 1980: fig. 5).

Both rows of men, all with the same clothes, are headed by a man holding a ring high in the air. Among the objects that are carried are large and small vessels (including 3 large fluted basins carried on the head), a sword, a flower, rings, the baethyl, the “sac” carried on the back of the delegate next to it and the two chained lions.

The baethyl hangs with two straps on a pole carried by two men. Immediately behind them follows the man with the “sac” on his back. As mentioned above, this copies the image on the second register while the second “bag” may be represented by the fabric shown in the 3rd register. Behind the baethyl and the sac bearer follows a man leading a couple of lions. Herrmann 1980 describes them as lions but she later identified them as “hunting cheetahs” (Herrmann 1980: 29; 1998: 46), possibly because of their rather small size. The heavy legs and paws and the indication of manes do not seem to agree with this, however (Pl. 16). The animal in the background has small manes and may be male. Since no genitals and no manes are visible on the lion in the foreground, this one should be female. The species can be identified as the Asian lion (*Panthera leo persica*) because of their relatively small size and because the short manes of the male do not extend to the forehead, resulting in well visible ears. The Asian lion is smaller than the African species and was indigenous in Syria in antiquity when it still occurred from northern Greece across Southwest Asia to India. The species is now only found in a nature reserve in India (Firouz 2005: 65).



Fig. 14. Chained Asian (?) she-lion, detail from an early photograph made in Persia by Antoine Sevruguin (private collection).

Exactly like elephants, lions were widely associated because of their strength and ferocity with both worldly and divine figures. Uranius Antoninus used the image of an (African) lion with sun rays on his late coins, imitating an image already found on coins of Caracalla (Baldus 1971: 129, 254, Taf. XIII, a, b, 84). Keeping lions was in itself distinctive, as is demonstrated up to recent times. Antoine Sevruguin, one of the early photographers in Persia (1840s-1933), documented a chained, probably Asian, lion in Persia where the last sighting in the wild of Asian lions dates from 1942 (Harrington 1977: 72; Firouz 2005: 65). Chained lions are also brought forward on the Persepolis reliefs and a lion is also shown next to a Qadjar ruler on a rock relief at Pul-i Ab-i Ghinah. It fits the general cultural context to see lions accompanying a religious or worldly delegation of importance.

The whole foreign delegation at Bishapur III can thus be seen as a coherent representation of a single event. Register 1, 2 and part of the central third register are representing the arrival of the Roman delegation before Shapur. The upper two rows and the upper part of the central third register display the carrying off of the gifts by the (Arab) Syrians, dressed in Iranian mode. This difference in clothing may be emphasizing that the Syrian realm now belonged to the Persian Empire whilst rejecting the foreign Roman aspect.

Bishapur III compared to Bishapur II and Darabgird

The proposed interpretation has its consequences on the identification of the Roman emperors on the other Shapur I reliefs, as well as on their relative chronology. Ghirshman already suggested seeing the Bishapur II and III reliefs as a single entity. In view of the strongly related general design and the almost identical central panel of the Bishapur II relief (Pl. 17-18) the same Roman emperors must be depicted on both reliefs. This agrees with the interpretation of the delegates on Bishapur II as Syrians, proposed by Hubertus von Gall (von Gall 1998: 52-53; 1990: 103). The well preserved depictions of the Roman emperor on Bishapur II are so identical that it would indeed be strange not to recognise one and the same person. There has been no attempt whatsoever to suggest that two different Roman emperors could be depicted. All details of their clothing and armament and even their physical appearance is absolutely identical. Herrmann correctly argued that regalia were more important than individual facial characteristics in

Sasanian art (Herrmann 1998: 41; 1989: 28-29). Nevertheless, the different rendering of the beards of the Roman emperors at NRu (Herrmann 1989: 14-15, 28-29, fig. 1, Pl. 4-5) can not be accidental and indicates that in this exceptional case physical traits were used in the attempt to differentiate between the two emperors. Whether coins were ever used by the sculptors to create realistic “portraits” of a specific Roman emperor, however, is doubtful (see Meyer 1990: 245-247).

If the interpretation of the Bishapur II and III reliefs is to be accepted, it must also fit the relief at Darabgird since this also shows Shapur I with “three Roman emperors” (Pl. 24-25). The interpretation of Darabgird has always posed a problem because the king wears the skullcap with corymbos that is associated mainly with Ardashir I and not the mural crown that Shapur wears at Bishapur and on most of his coins. From its first mention in western literature, the relief was usually ascribed to Shapur, simply because of the three Roman emperors. MacDermot, however, pointed out the possibility that it represented Ardashir I but considered it unlikely (MacDermot 1954: 76). Georgina Herrmann was the first to study the relief in detail and came to the conclusion that the relief should be ascribed on stylistic grounds to Ardashir I. She suggested that the Romans were “minor kings” (Herrmann 1969). This idea was picked up by Levit-Tawil (Levit-Tawil 1992) who also ascribed the relief to Ardashir and lined up, Gordianus III and his co-emperors Pupienus and Balbinus, none of whom had had any direct contact with Ardashir, however. A real breakthrough in the understanding of the relief had been provided a few years earlier by Leo Trümpelmann (1975). He was able to explain certain deviations from other rock sculptures, such as the different stance of the horse and the 3/4 execution of the head of the king and the royal horse. He proposed to see the relief as having been made during the reign of Ardashir I but having been changed (twice) during the reign of Shapur I. The right part of the scene would have been largely added. The first change would have included changes to the imperial headdress and to the stance of the horse with the addition of the approaching Roman emperor (considered to be Valerianus) and the killed Gordianus III behind the horses’ feet. The second addition or change would have been to create the outstretched arm of the Sasanian king with his hand resting on the head of the Roman emperor (considered to be Philippus Arabs). Marion Meyer convincingly suggested, however, that the relief originally depicted Shapur amidst courtiers and dignitaries and is likely to date from his co-rulership with Ardashir I. On the relief at

Salmas in Azerbaidjan, Ardashir I and Shapur are both depicted with the same skullcaps and corymbos (Meyer 1990: 268-271). Being his own representation, there would have been no reason for Shapur to refrain from later changing or adapting this relief.

In view of our Bishapur interpretation, it is possible to see the complete extension/change of the relief as dating from 254. The standing roman emperors could both be Uranius Antoninus, once approaching to plea for mercy, and once accepted as a vassal under the protection of the Sasanian king. An additional argument for this interpretation is the presence of the two small draught animals and a wagon, the presence of which is only indicated by the small wheel underneath the animal's bellies. They have, like at Bishapur III, long ears to indicate that they are asses. The way Shapur places his hand on the head of the Roman emperor radiates a very different feeling than the way he grasps the emperor's wrists at Naqsh-e Rostam, where it clearly signifies the capturing of his enemy. The Darabgird gesture was discussed by von Gall and could indicate forgiveness and acceptance, as well as the marking of a guilty person (von Gall 1990: 100-101). It may also not be without significance that it is a gesture that is used in Roman Mithraic iconography: the standing Mithras is depicted while placing his hand on the kneeling Sol, thus accepting him as his subordinate (von Gall 1990: 101, note 34).

A possible argument against an Emesa interpretation of Darabgird may be the apparent different portraiture of the Roman emperors. However, although these faces may seem very different at first glance they also share certain striking similarities. They both have the same hairstyle with whiskers down to two-thirds of the chin and no moustache. Much of the "differences" may rather be the result of dissimilarity in size and style of execution. The head held by Shapur is executed in low relief whereas the other Roman head is executed in high relief. This was possibly done out of necessity, because less rock was available above the horses' neck. It may also have been deliberate, however, in an attempt to create a feeling of depth in the scene.

The Roman head held by Shapur is also more massive than that of the Roman standing on the front. The approaching emperor, like all other figures on the relief, is depicted much smaller than Shapur himself. The extended arm of Shapur holding the head is obviously much longer and thicker than the extended arm of the Roman emperor in front of his horse.

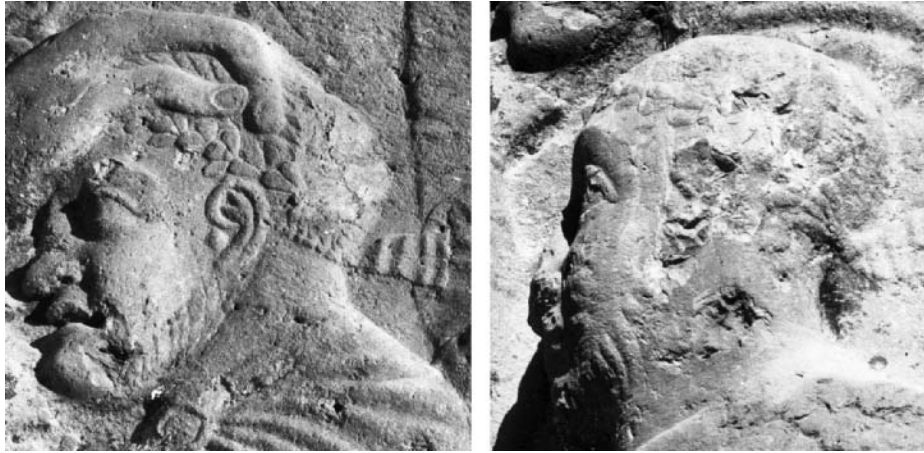


Fig. 15. Heads of the Roman emperor(s) at Darabgird, resized to the same scale (photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).

The head underneath Shapur's hand has been depicted on the scale of Shapur. The scene would have looked ridiculous otherwise and it makes the over-sizing of the Sasanian king less obvious. This over-sizing on Sasanian reliefs is usually done in a modest, well balanced way. It is a technique that is also encountered in Roman art, e.g., on the Ara Pacis where the emperor Augustus is shown just slightly larger when standing amidst his family and attendants.

Concluding remarks

Since our knowledge of Shapur's military campaigns in Syria is still very limited, it may be at present impossible to definitely prove (or disprove) our interpretation of the Bishapur II-III and Darabgird reliefs. The following table presents our suggested view on the chronological order of the Shapur I reliefs under discussion and the identification of the respective Roman emperors.

relief	Roman emperors Date of events	remarks
<i>Darabgird</i> (reworked)	– dead emperor: Gordianus III, killed in 244 AD; “Rome” as an allegorical figure or Uranius Antoninus – standing emperors: Uranius Antoninus (253 AD)	Shapur I as Ardashir’s co-regent, reworked in 254 AD following the Syrian campaign.
<i>Bishapur I</i>	– dead emperor: Gordianus III, killed in 244 AD or “Rome” as an allegorical figure – kneeling emperor: Philippus Arabs (244 AD) (?)	
<i>Bishapur II + III</i>	– dead emperor: Gordianus III, killed in 244 AD; “Rome” as an allegorical figure or Uranius Antoninus – standing and kneeling emperor: Uranius Antoninus (253 AD)	Sculpted in 254 AD follow- ing the Syrian campaign.
<i>Naqsh-i Rostam</i>	– kneeling emperor: Philippus Arabs (244 AD) – standing emperor held at the wrists: Valerianus (260 AD)	Both emperors (different facial characteristics) mentioned by name in the Res Gestae on the nearby Ka’ba-i Zardusht (after 260 AD).

There are of course also arguments that could oppose this interpretation. There is, for example, the obvious absence of the event in Shapur’s Res Gestae in which Emesa is not even mentioned. Usually this is explained by the defeat of Shapur’s army near Emesa. When one follows our Bishapur III interpretation, however, the absence from this Sasanian record can still be easily explained, be it differently. After the 253 AD meeting near Emesa, Uranius Antoninus disappears from the political scene and the treaty with him would not have had any political impact. It is not known what happened to him. He may have been deported and/or killed, or he may have remained at Emesa and may have resigned from office as suggested by Baldus (see supra). Shapur apparently over-estimated the strength of Uranius Antoninus’ claim on the imperial position and thus his own victory or treaty. The event had lost its importance within a year. This

could explain why Shapur would later avoid its mention in his propagandistic *Res Gestae*. This, however, gives us the advantage that it provides us with a date for the execution of the reliefs. The Uranius Antoninus depictions must have been made immediately on the return from his Syrian campaign. It is difficult to imagine that work on it would have continued after 254 AD, since by then, Valerianus had come to power in the Roman realm.

There is little known about the Emesa stone after the reign of Uranius Antoninus. The cult apparently continued to flourish for some time. Historic sources mention that the Roman emperor Aurelianus entered the Emesa sanctuary after his victory on Zenobia's army and later propagated a (syncretistic) Sol Invictus cult (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae* 25, 3-6). This mention provides no proof, however, that the original stone itself was still present at Emesa. The Elagabal cult would have continued to thrive, even if the stone was taken by Shapur. After all, during the stone's stay at Rome, the Elagabal cult had also remained prosperous in its Syrian hometown. The same situation existed at Pessinus, where the Cult of Cybele continued after her sacred stone was taken to Rome (Ando 2008: 41-42-103,166). It is also possible that the stone was simply replaced by another one after Shapur took it away or even that Shapur was deceived with a "look-alike" of the Emesa stone (fake or copied sacred shrines and idols were e.g. also kept at the sanctuary of Vesta in Rome as a protection against theft or desecration, see *Historia Augusta* on Elagabalus, Chapter 6, 6-9 and Ando 2008: 188-189). There is simply no reliable information.

As it is, we cannot decisively prove or disprove that it is the Emesa stone — and consequently Uranius Antoninus- that figures on the Bishapur III relief. That it is a baethyl, however, seems convincing simply because of its shape and apparent weight. The Emesa stone is the only one known that can at present be linked to Shapur and which has enough historic relevance to deserve a prominent presence on a Sasanian triumphal relief. It may explain Shapur's retreat in 253 AD and is even a possible candidate as the distant core for Malalas story. Incidentally, the explanation would also fit in with the remark that these delegates do not look like defeated and humiliated enemies but are more reminiscent of the representations at Persepolis, of gift-bearers with status and dignity.

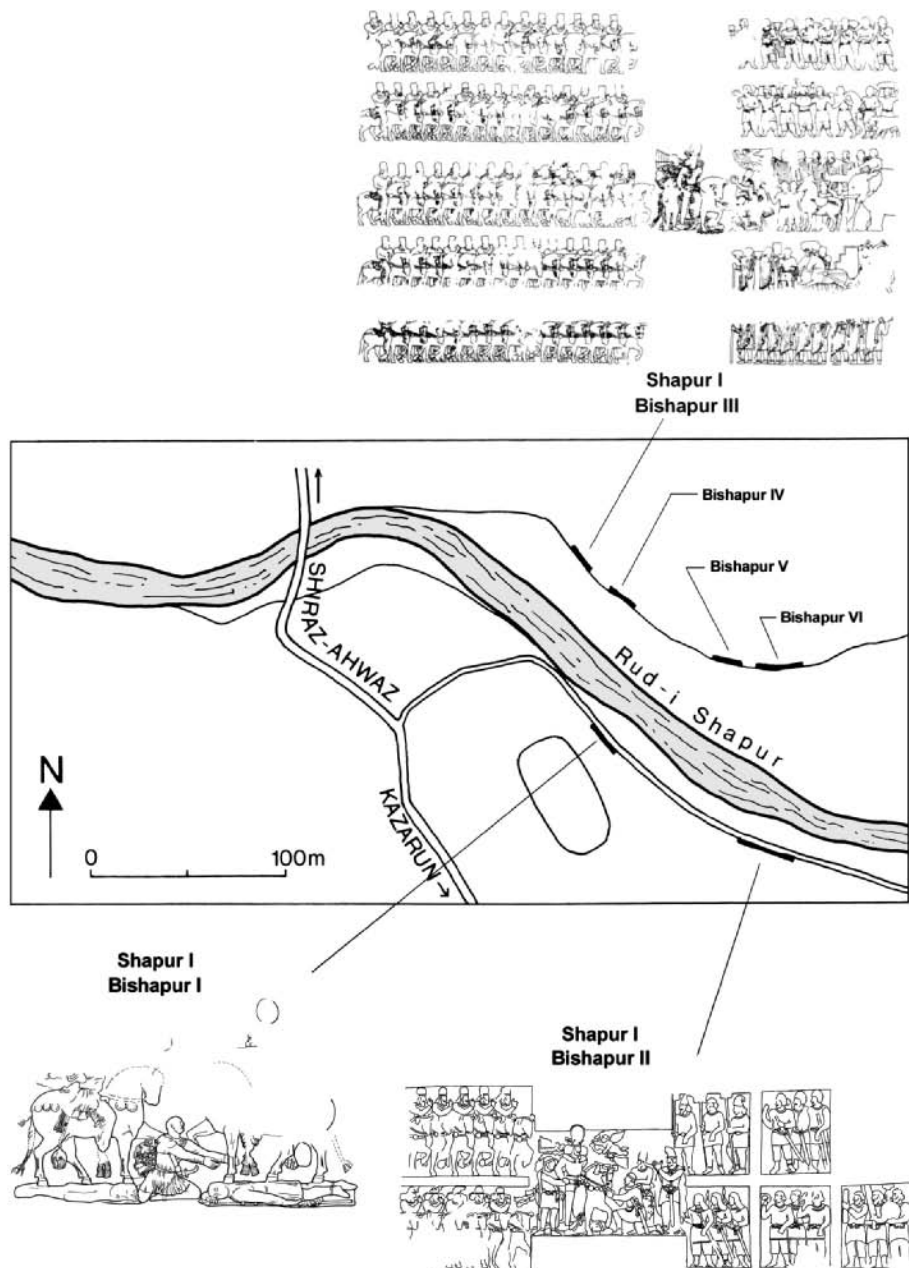
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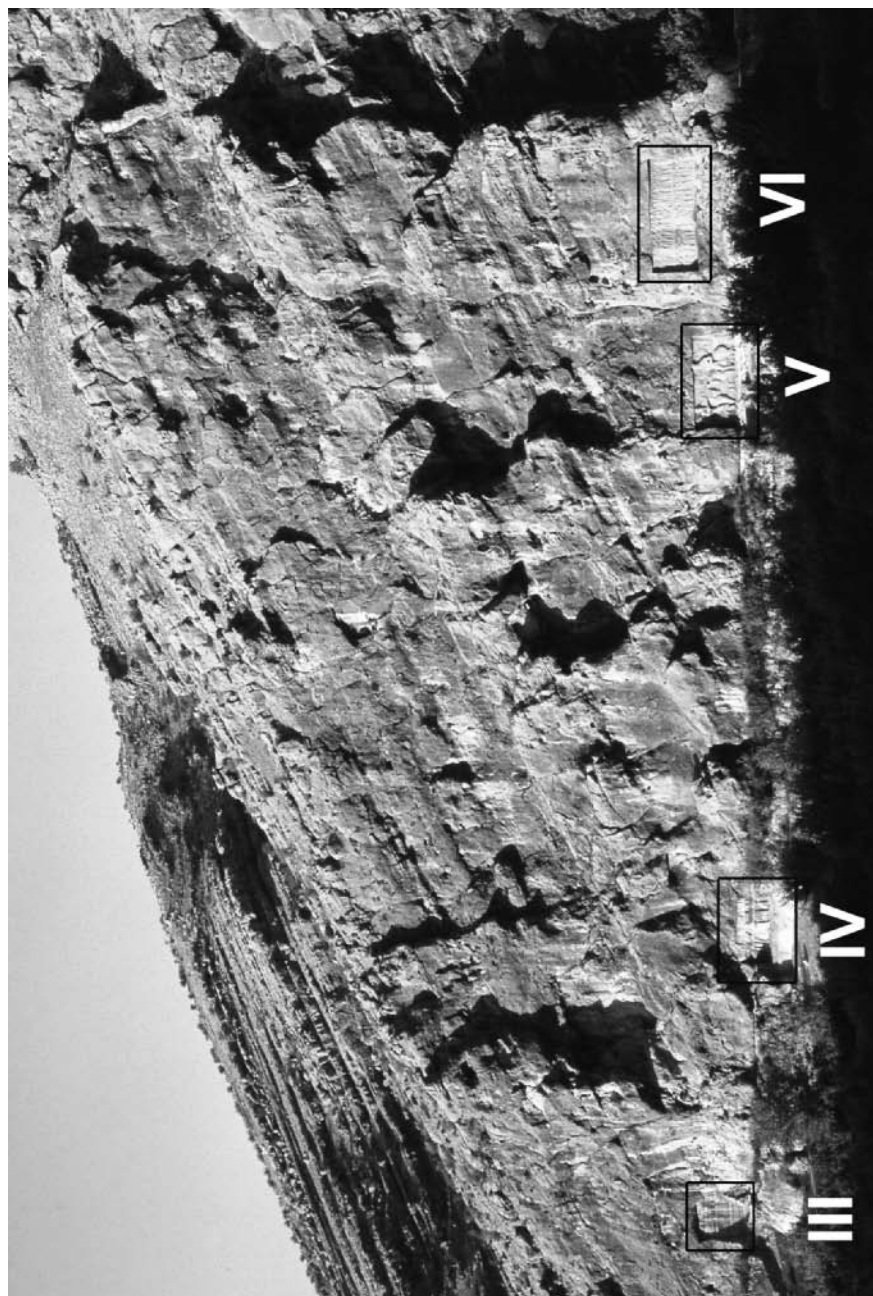
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Pl. 1. Plan of the Bishapur gorge with the location of the reliefs
 (plan & drawing of Bishapur I by E. Smekens, Ghent University; Bishapur III from
 Herrmann 1998: fig. 1; Bishapur II from von Gall 1990: fig. 12).



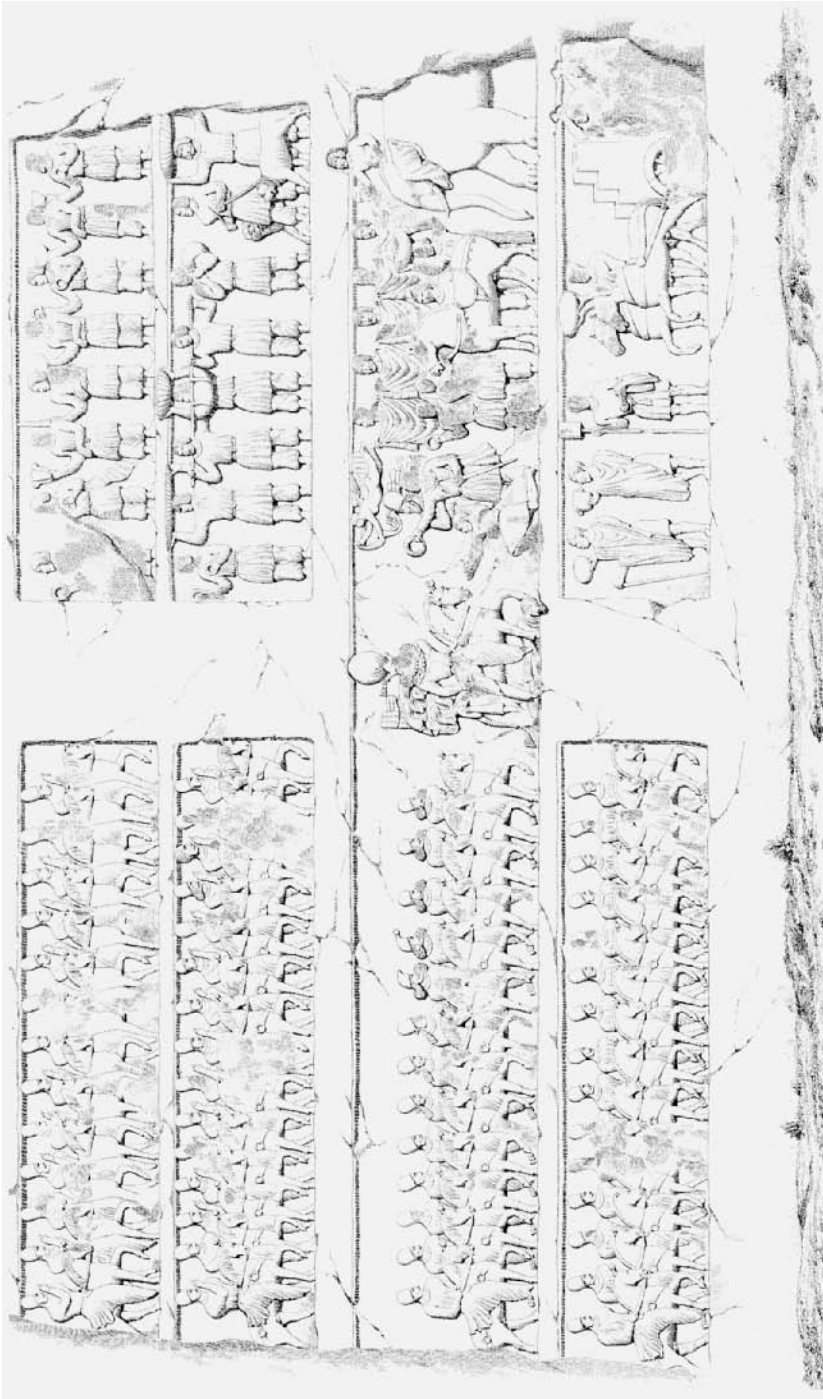
Pl. 2. The northern rock-face of the Bishapur gorge with the reliefs III to VI (photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



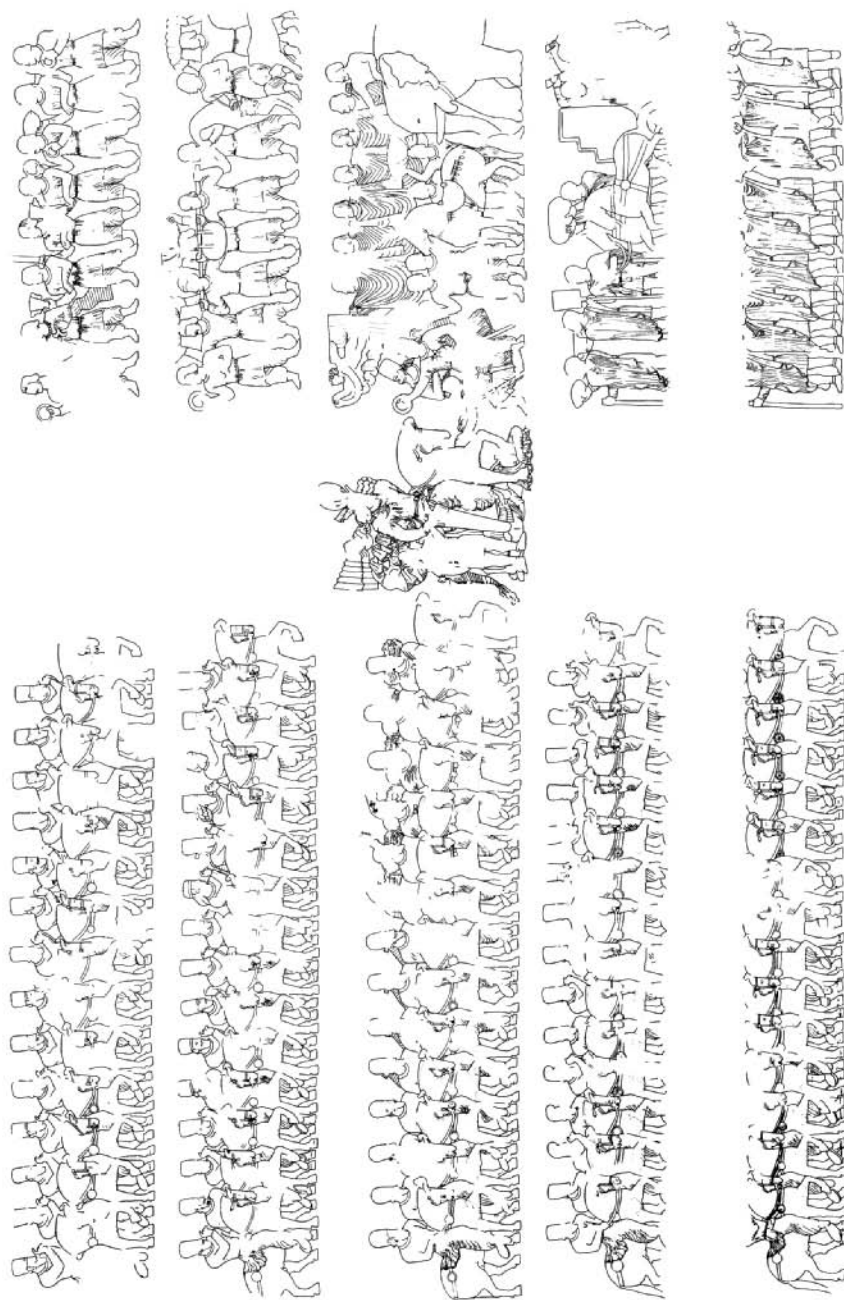
Pl. 3. Shapur I reliefs at Bishapur: Bishapur I (top) and Bishapur II (bottom)
(photo L. Vanden Berghe).



Pl. 4. The Bishapur III relief (photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



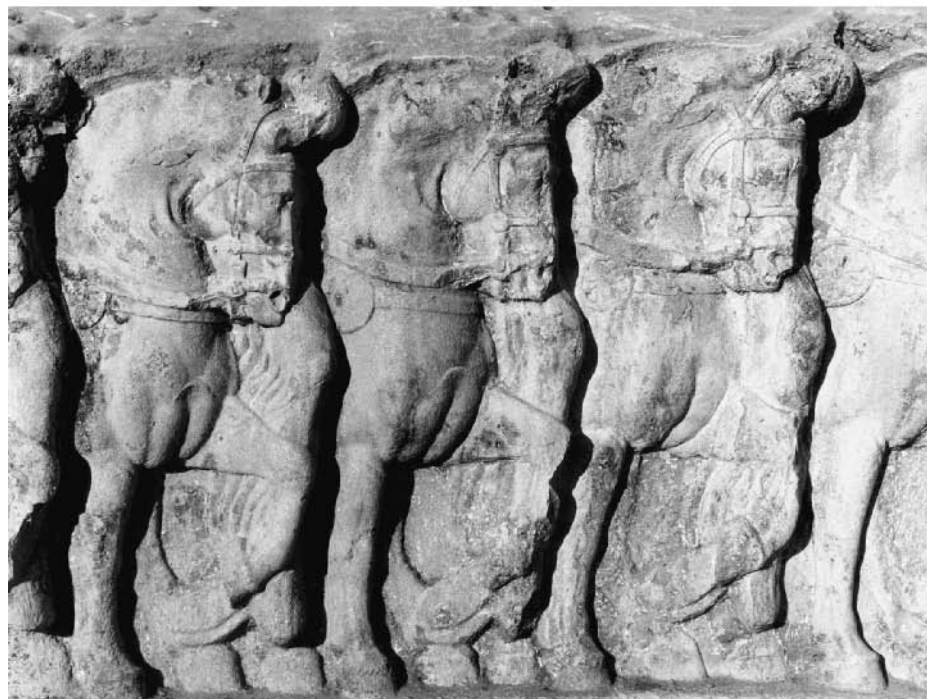
Pl. 5. Drawing of the Bishapur III relief published by Eugène Flandin as "Bichapour: Triple victoire de Chapour Ier."
(gravure de A. Guillaumot, from Flandin & Coste 1851).



Pl. 6. Drawing of the Bishapur III relief (from Hermann 1998: fig. 1).



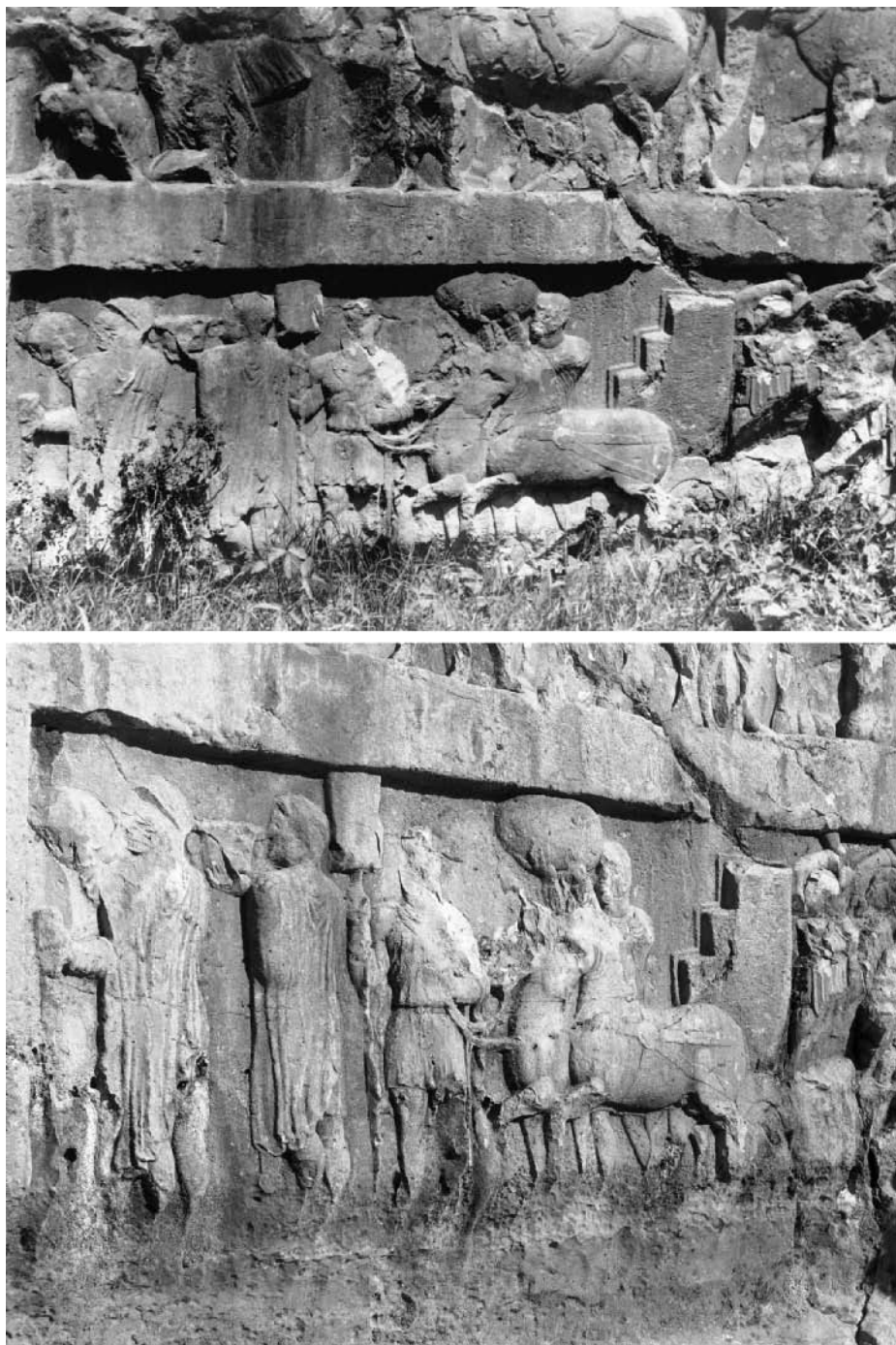
Pl. 7. Left panel of the Bishapur III relief with the advancing Sasanian cavalry
(photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



Pl. 8. Detail of the advancing Sasanian cavalry, left panel of Bishapur III
(photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



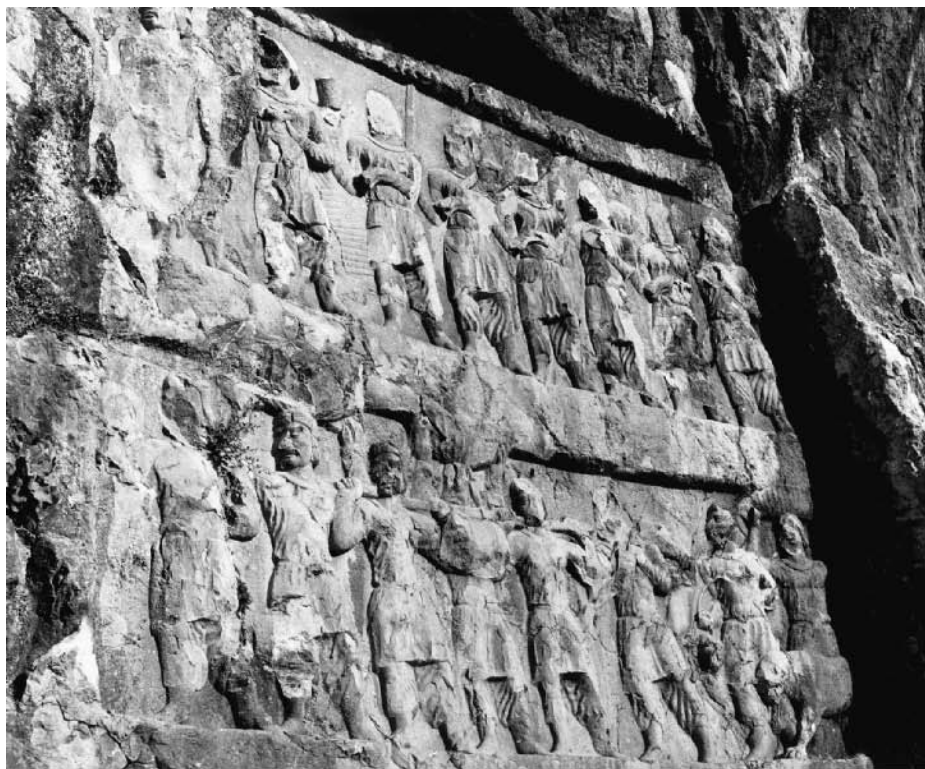
Pl. 9. Drawing of the central scene and the right panel of Bishapur III
(from Herrmann 1980: fig. 1).



Pl. 10. 2nd register of the right panel of Bishapur III before (top, photo L. Vanden Berghe) and after the removal of the *djob* (bottom: photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



Pl. 11. 1st and 2nd register of the right panel of Bishapur III
(photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



Pl. 12. 3rd (bottom), 4th and 5th register (top) of the right panel of Bishapur III (photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



Pl. 13. Detail from the 3rd register of the right panel of Bishapur III: attendants holding up a large textile
(photo E. Smeekens, Ghent University).



Pl. 14. Detail from the 3rd register of the right panel of Bishapur III: approaching elephant (photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



Pl. 15. Details of the baethyls (?) on the 2nd And 4th register, right panel at Bishapur III (photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



Pl. 16. Man with two chained lions, detail of 4th register, right panel at Bishapur III (photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



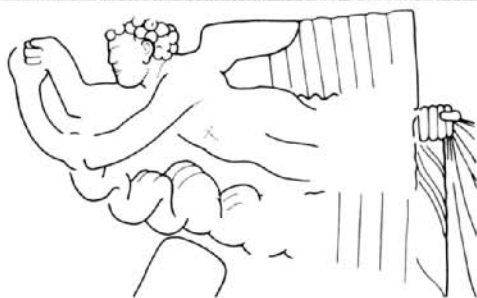
Pl. 17. Central panels of Bishapur II (top, photo L. Vanden Berghe) and Bishapur III (bottom, photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



Pl. 18. Central panels of Bishapur II (top, from Herrmann 1983: fig. 2) and Bishapur III (bottom, from Herrmann 1980: fig. 1).



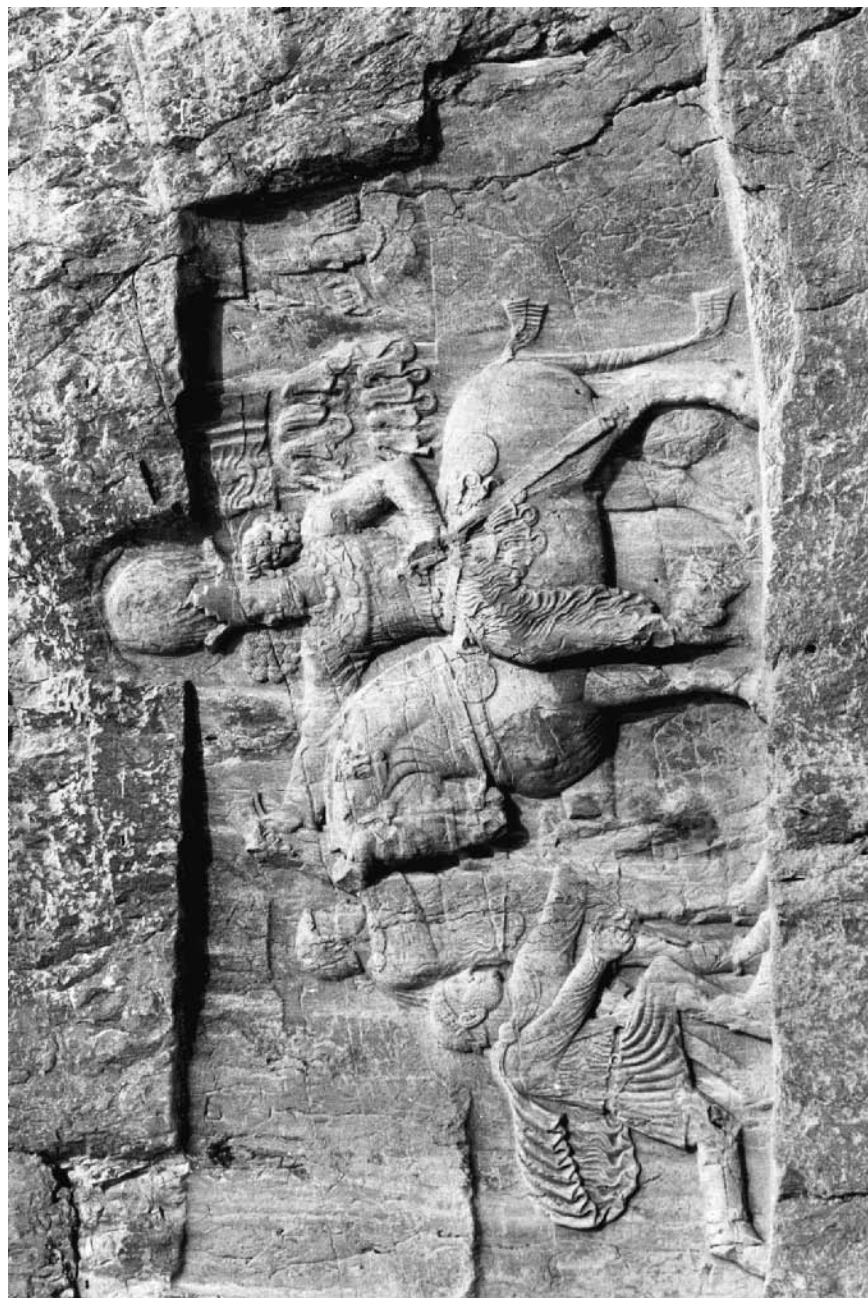
Pl. 19. Bishapur II (photo L. Vanden Berghe).



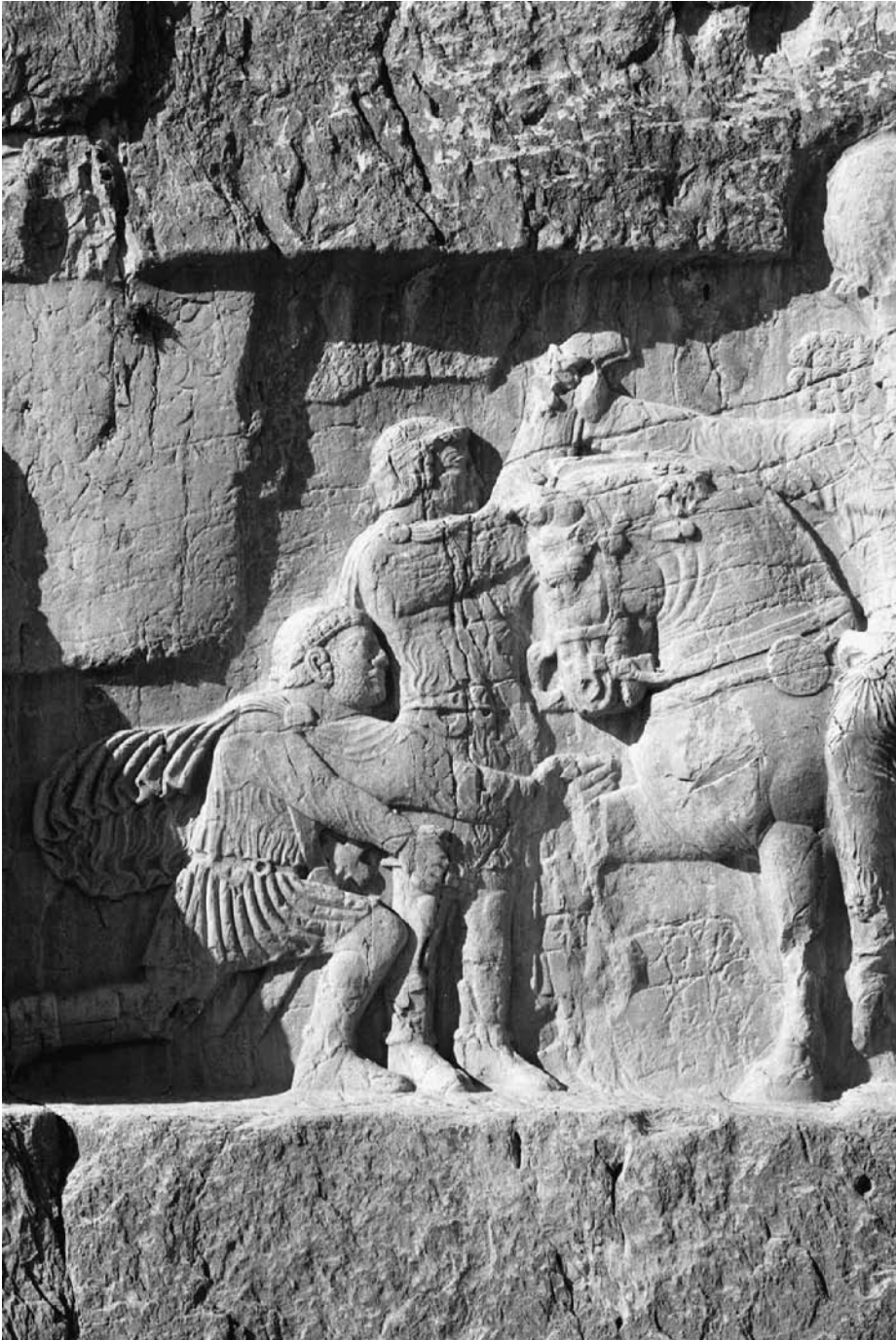
Pl. 20. The putti in the central scenes of Bishapur II and III (photo E. Smekens, Ghent University; drawings Herrmann 1980: fig. 1 & 1983: fig. 2).



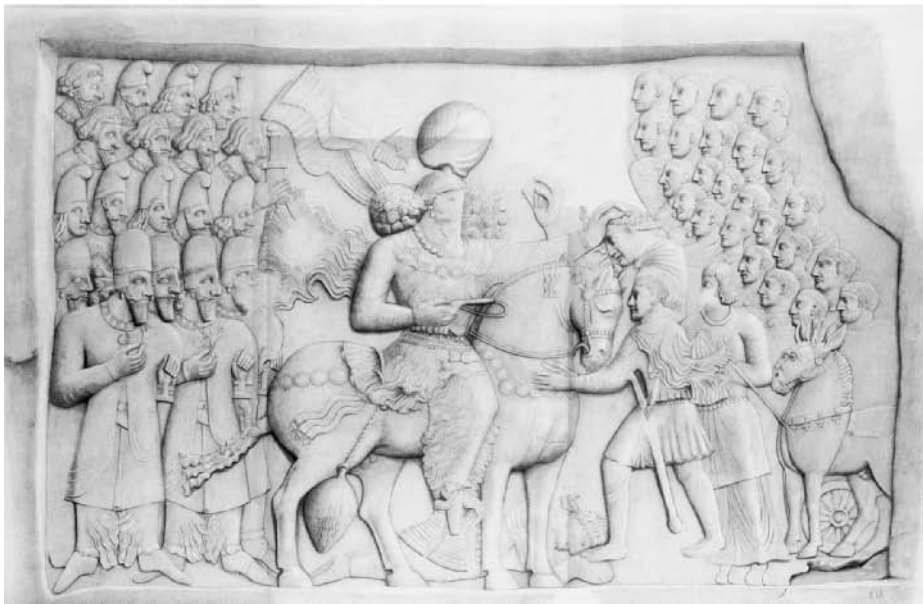
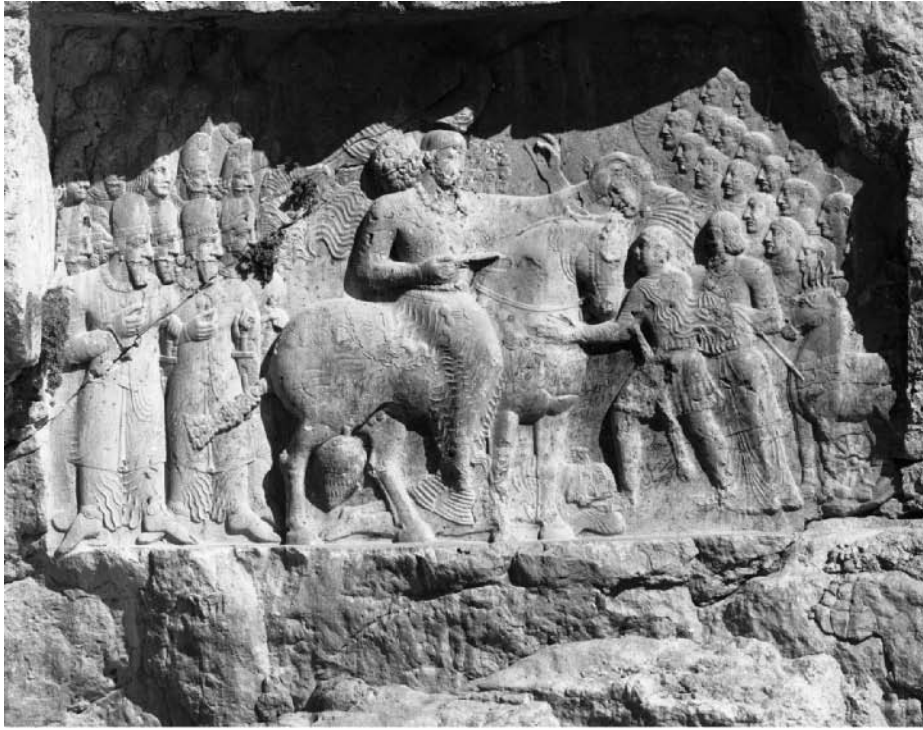
Pl. 21. Garlands and flower bands: a. “adventus scene” of Marcus Aurelius, integrated into the triumphal arch of Constantine in Rome;
 b. wall painting at Dura Europos (after Breasted 1922: Pl. XXXIX);
 c. woman weaving a flower wreath, mosaic from Bishapur (after Ghirshman 1956: Pl. VI-1);
 d. woman holding two wreaths and flowers, mosaic from Bishapur (after Ghirshman 1956: colour plate).



Pl. 22. The rock sculpture of Shapur I at Naqsh-e Rostam (photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



Pl. 23. The Roman emperors on the rock sculpture of Shapur I at Naqsh-i Rostam (photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



Pl. 24. The relief of Shapur I at Darabgird (photo E. Smekens, Ghent University; drawing after Trümpelmann 1975: Taf. 1).



Pl. 25. Detail from the Shapur I sculpture at Darabgird
(photo E. Smekens, Ghent University).



a.



b.



c.



d.



e.

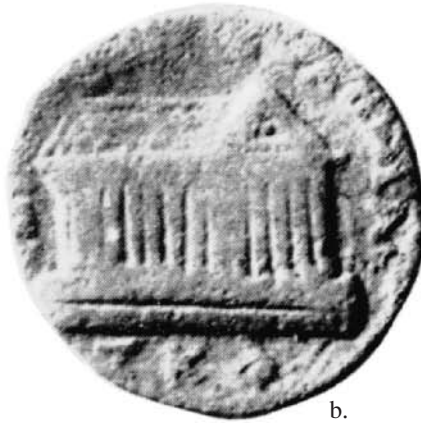


f.

Pl. 26. Coins with the temple and/or the stone of Emesa issued by Uranius Antoninus (from Baldus 1971: Pl. III-VI, VIII, cat. 32, 36, 43, 48, 54, 85).



a.



b.



c.

Pl. 27. Coins with the temple and/or the stone of Emesa issued by Caracalla
 (a: from <http://www.aeqvitas.com/cemesa.jpg>, — accessed 28-09-2007 /
 b-d: from Baldus 1971 Pl. Xii and XIIab).



Pl. 28. Coins with the stone of Emesa on a chariot issued by Elagabalus
(from <http://www.romancoins.info/Gods-On-Coins.html> — accessed 28-09-2007).

THE SASANIAN ROCK RELIEF OF BAHRAM II AT GUYUM (FARS, IRAN)

BY

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Abstract: The rock carving at Guyum is known since the early 20th century but did not receive full attention yet. Situated to the north of Shiraz, it can be attributed to the reign of the Sasanian king Bahram II. The panel depicts the standing king Bahram II in full, in a venerating position with bent forefinger and holding a sword with his left hand. A detailed discussion is presented as well as several previously unpublished photographs.

Keywords: Guyum, Shiraz, Fars, Iran, Bahram II, Barm-i Dilak, Sasanian rock relief

The first scholar to mention the Sasanian rock carving at Guyum was Ernst Herzfeld who visited the site on February 18, 1924. Although he made two photographs and a sketch of it (Pl. 1-2 and 11), he never published any illustration but merely mentioned it in a “Reisebericht” (Herzfeld 1926: 250). His notes, sketches and photographs are part now of the “Herzfeld archives”, and are kept at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (see: http://www.asia.si.edu/archives/finding_aids/herzfeld.html#a12).

The intrepid explorer Aurel Stein stayed at the walled village of Guyum during his survey of western Fars in 1935, but it is uncertain whether he saw the relief since he made no mention of it (Stein 1940: 4).

As far as we know, it was Louis Vanden Berghe who published the first photographs of the sculpture (Pl. 3-6). He visited Guyum on May 21st 1957 and devoted a paper to it, written in Dutch but with a French abstract.

¹ The authors are indebted to the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., and particularly to Dr. Ann C. Gunter, curator, and to Miss Betsy Kohut, Mr. David Hogge and Mrs. Linda Ravitz, staff, for assisting them in accessing the Herzfeld archives and for the permission to reproduce plates 1, 2 and 11.

However, as it was published in the “*Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*”, the journal of the former Higher Institute for Art and Archaeology at Ghent University, it was not readily available to many scholars (1959b). In the same year, Vanden Berghe published a photograph of the sculpture in his monumental work “*L’archéologie de l’Iran Ancien*” (Vanden Berghe 1959a: 56, Pl. 83). In 1968, he made another comment on it in a general brochure on the Belgian involvement in Iranian archaeology, published in five different languages by the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Vanden Berghe 1968: 21-22, ill.).

In November 1972, Louis Vanden Berghe and Erik Smekens paid a visit to the site and made detailed observations. Another visit to the site was made in May 1975 by Louis Vanden Berghe, Ernie Haerinck and Erik Smekens. That year, this team spend more than 4 months in Iran, with the sole intention to visit all known sites with rock reliefs. These were recorded, measured, described and photographed in preparation of a general book on Iranian rock sculptures that has not materialised so far. In the late 1960’s or early ‘70’s Guyum was also visited by other scholars interested in rock sculptures, such as Georgina Herrmann (Matheson 1972: 210) and Eric De Waele (1978: 21, fig. 6). Erich Schmidt also provided a short description of the site but his report was based exclusively on Vanden Berghe’s 1959 book (Schmidt 1970: 134).

Guyum is located at ca. 30 km to the NNW of Shiraz, on the road to Ardakan. It lies 3 km to the west of the village of Guyum at Tang-i Qavamabad, in a garden named Ab-i Shar (at least that was the name in the fifties), with a spring at the foot of the rock. As is often the case, rock carvings are located in the vicinity of a spring or river (e.g. Firuzabad, Darabgird, Bishapur, Sarab-i Bahram, Barm-i Dilak and Taq-i Bustan). A lot of grapes are grown in the region of Shiraz and it was probably a major wine producing area, also in Sasanian times (De Waele 1978: 15 and note 16).

The rock relief of Guyum lies about 4.50 m. above the actual plain level and is oriented to the northwest. Only the standing king is represented, facing right. He is 2.60 m. high, and the panel is 1.60 m. in width. In view of the crown this person is to be identified as Bahram II (276-293), grandson of Shapur I. He was a politically unimportant king, who had, however, to pay a lot of attention to internal affairs (Shahbazi 1989). No less than six and possibly eight rock carvings are known of him: Naqsh-i Rostam II

(with family and nobles), Sarab-i Bahram (seated king and noblemen), Bishapur IV (mounted king receiving a foreign delegation), Sar Mashhad (king fighting lions), Barm-i Dilak IIA (panel with standing king alone) and Guyum (standing king alone), and maybe also Naqsh-i Rustam III (jousting scene) and VII (double jousting scene). He is quite often shown in the presence of members of the aristocracy or members of his family. The relief at Bishapur IV, where the mounted Bahram II receives a foreign delegation, is the only one seemingly representing external affairs.

Two other reliefs, one at Sarab-i Qandil (e.g. De Waele 1978: 17-20; Herrmann 1983: 31-36) and another at Barm-i Dilak I (Vanden Berghe 1989: 805), most likely do not represent the king himself. A man, a prince heir, a dignitary or a local noble is shown giving a flower to or receiving one from a lady. These rock carvings are generally attributed to the time of Bahram II (e.g. Herrmann 2000: 42). However, Levit Tawil (1993: 167-168) is of the opinion that both rock carvings should be attributed to the time of Ardashir I.

The representations of Kartir at Naqsh-i Radjab II (bust and inscription), Naqsh-i Rustam VI (bust and inscription) and Barm-i Dilak IIB (panel with standing Kartir) most likely also belong to the time of Bahram II. The king considered Kartir as his mentor and gave him the title of “saviour of Bahram’s soul”. He also gave him the rank of noble and appointed him as the custodian of the dynastic shrine at Istakhr and as the supreme judge of the empire (Shahbazi 1989: 516).

The relief at Guyum shows the standing king Bahram II in full with his body almost in a frontal position (Pl. 1-12). As is common in Sasanian rock carvings, he is shown with exaggerated shoulders. Since many reliefs are carved at quite a height, the exaggerated shoulders create an optically more correct figure with normal proportions when viewed from ground level.

The carving is much weathered, which of course may account for the loss of some details, but the carving itself was probably not much detailed from the start. This is obviously worsened by certain willingly inflicted damages, such as on the kings’ face.

Bahram II is not represented in a nicely cut rectangular panel, as is usually the case, but in an irregular panel that largely follows the king’s outline. This is also more or less the case at Barm-i Dilak (Pl. 14-17), but here it may have another explanation. It is not to be excluded, that the Guyum relief was in fact never finished.

At Guyum the area in front of the king is obviously flattened. The parallel chiseling lines are still clearly visible on Pl. 3, 4 and 6. Also the horizontal ledge on which the figure is placed extends in front of this flattened area. The top of the panel above the king and above this flattened area is cut away in the same manner and to the same depth as the lower ledge. It seems probable that a second figure, an object (e.g. an altar) or a panel with an inscription was originally intended to be placed in front of the king. From the unfinished rock sculpture of Narseh at Naqsh-e Rostam (Pl. 13), we do have some ideas about how the Sasanian sculptors went ahead. Starting from a flat panel, they cut the outline of the figure and completely finished the figure before starting work on the next figure. At Guyum, it is only around the Bahram II figure that the sculptor has worked the relief to the intended full depth of the representation. It seems the sculptor finished this royal figure (or in view of the limited detail, *almost* finished the royal figure) and was about to start on the area in front of the king when the project was either abandoned or altered. This is of course a speculative interpretation of this monument, since we do not have any historical information to document the original concept or the circumstances in which it was created.

The royal figure is shown with hair in curly bunches at the back of his head and with a winged crown topped by a huge korymbos that cuts into the border of the panel (Pl. 10). The crown is not very detailed. Only the outline of the wings is still clearly recognisable. The crown, however, allows an identification as Bahram II, since this king is always shown with this particular crown on the reliefs and on the coins (Göbl 1968: 43 sq.). Bahram II is described in the lost “Book of Portraits of Sasanian Kings” as wearing a red gown, green trousers and a crown with a sky-blue globe (Erdmann 1951: 96 n° 35; Shahbazi 1989: 516). The wings on his crown refer to the wings of the bird of his patron god Bahram (a bird of prey, possibly a falcon) (Jamzadeh 1989: 514; see also on the old Iranian god Bahram: Gnoli 1989).

At Guyum the king’s face is almost completely destroyed. The head is shown in right profile. He probably wears a necklace that is, however, not as detailed as on his other rock carvings. His right arm is outstretched, but slightly flexed and he is shown with bent forefinger, in front of his upper body (Choksy 1992: 205). The beard is held at the chin by a ring.

Long ribbons with stylised folds are shown behind his right shoulder. He does not wear a cloak or loose sleeveless outer garment as at Barm-i Dilak IIA (Pl. 15-17). He is shown with a tunic belted at the waist that reaches to the knees. At the height of his left knee a circular hem-weight is hanging from the lower edge of the tunic (or the cloak?) as is also to be seen on his tunic at Barm-i Dilak IIA (see Pl. 17). The same hem-weight is faintly visible at the height of his right thigh. The tunic's girdle is tied in a bow and the folded ends fall on his thighs and are shown on top of the heavy sword belt. Below the tunic he wears loose trousers with stylised folds that give the impression of being caught by the wind. The trousers fall onto his feet. His shoes are tied with ribbons, as is best visible on the right foot. The straps are sculpted in low relief on the flat base-line of the relief. His right foot is shown in $\frac{3}{4}$ and the left one is depicted in profile. His right leg is in a frontal position while the left leg is shown in $\frac{3}{4}$.

The king's left hand rests on the grip of his sword, which is bearably visible. The sword itself disappears behind the king's legs.

It is obvious that the Guyum rock carving is almost identical to Barm-i Dilak IIA (compare Pl. 1-13 to Pl. 15-19), though the Guyum relief is less detailed. The king on both reliefs is shown facing right in the same attitude. He displays a bent forefinger, possibly in a venerating position to a not represented god (?) (Choksy 1992: 204-205; 2002: 20-23) and rests his left hand on a long sword. Vanden Berghe (1959b: 7, 21, 24; 1988: 1527-1528) suggested that Guyum remained unfinished and was intended to be an investiture scene with a deity (remark: so far no investiture scene of Bahram II is known). Eric De Waele (1978: 14-15), on the contrary suggests that the attitude of veneration at Guyum and Barm-i Dilak is in honour of the god venerated at the site. He identifies this god as Anahita in view of the presence of the water source, the lush vegetation and the gesture of the king towards the source.

On the whole, the relief at Guyum is badly weathered and damaged and the standard of carving is relatively poor. Vanden Berghe (1959b: 20) considered it as reflecting a provincial style. Eric De Waele (1978: 26) and Georgina Herrmann (2000: 42-43) suggested that Guyum and other reliefs like Sarab-i Qandil or Barm-i Dilak were non-official reliefs. These might not belong to the central Sasanian royal production and need not necessarily have been a royal commission. These relatively small rock carvings could

be private representations commissioned by a local nobleman or by a dignitary of high standing. These local high officials represented themselves and/or the king (Sarab-i Qandil, Barm-i Dilak and Guyum) as a token of gratitude or to please the sovereign. At the same time they emphasized their own importance.

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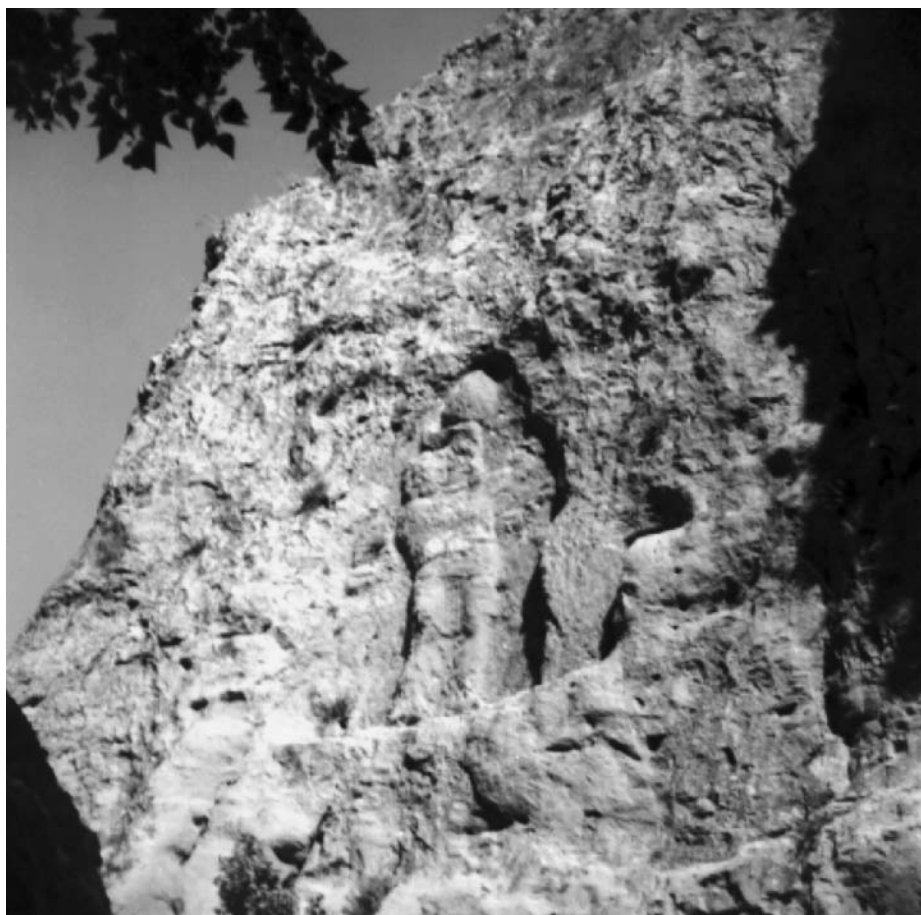
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Pl. 1. The rock relief at Guyum, photograph by Ernst Herzfeld on February 18, 1924.
(Ernst Herzfeld papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives,
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Ernst Herzfeld photo file 8, vol. 2, image 154
= neg. 2490 / Gift of Ernst Herzfeld, 1946).



Pl. 2. The rock relief at Guyum, photograph by Ernst Herzfeld on February 18, 1924. (Ernst Herzfeld papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Ernst Herzfeld photo file 8, vol. 2, image 155 = neg. 2491 / Gift of Ernst Herzfeld, 1946).



Pl. 3. Guyum: general view (photo L. Vanden Berghe, May 1957).



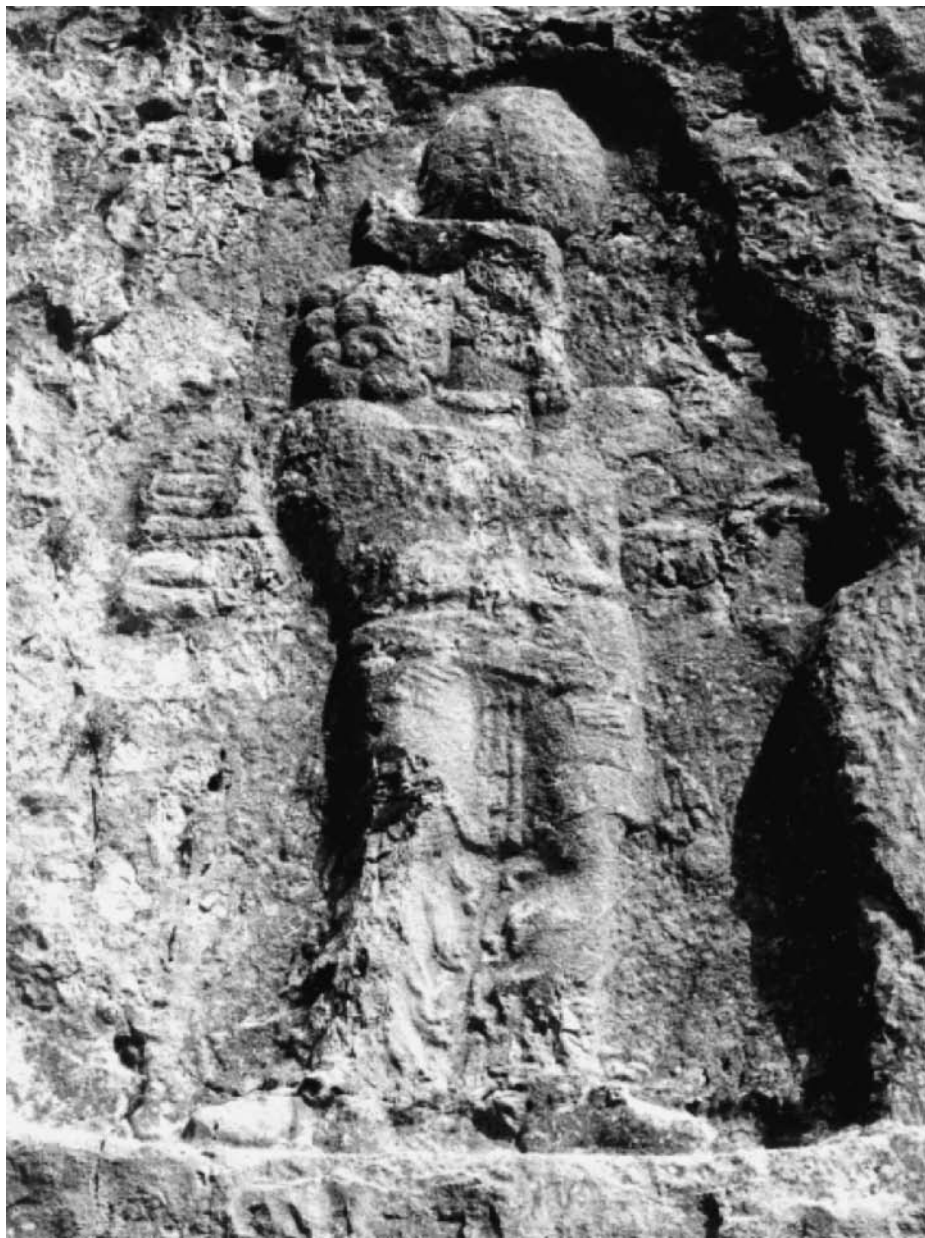
Pl. 4. Guyum: general view (photo L. Vanden Berghe, May 1957).



Pl. 5. Guyum. (photo L. Vanden Berghe, May 1957).



Pl. 6. Guyum. (photo L. Vanden Berghe, May 1957).



Pl. 7. Guyum. (photo Erik Smekens, late May 1975).



Pl. 8. Guyum. (photo Erik Smekens, November 1972).



Pl. 9. Guyum. (photo taken with flash, Erik Smekens, late May 1975).



Pl. 10. Guyum: detail (photo Erik Smekens, November 1972).



Pl. 12. Guyum: Field sketch by Erik Smekens (November 1972).



Pl. 13. The unfinished rock sculpture ascribed to Narseh at Naqsh-e Rostam (photo Erik Smeekens).



Pl. 14. Barm-i Dilak: general view (photo Erik Smekens, November 1972).



Pl. 15. Barm-i Dilak: panel IIA & IIB (photo Erik Smekens, November 1972).



Pl. 16. Barm-i Dilak: panel IIA (photo Erik Smekens, November 1972).



Pl. 17. Barm-i Dilak: panel IIA (photo Erik Smekens, November 1975).



Pl. 18. Barm-i Dilak: panel IIA, detail (photo Erik Smekens, May 1972).



Pl. 19. Barm-i Dilak: panel IIA, detail (photo Erik Smekens, May 1972).



a.



b.



c.



d.

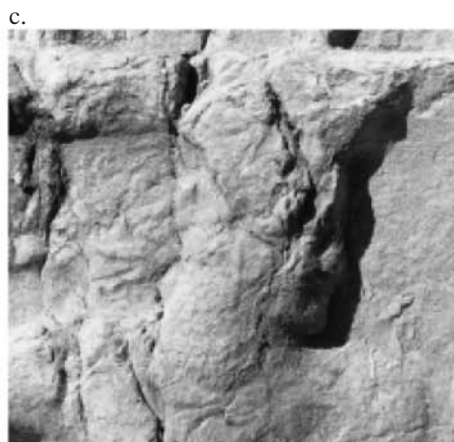
Pl. 20. Head of Bahram II on a. Naqsh-i Rostam II (1975); b. Bishapur IV (1972);
c. Sar Mashhad (1975); d. Sarab-i Bahram (1972) (photos Erik Smekens).



a.



b.



c.

Pl. 21. Head of Bahram II (?) on a. Naqsh-i Rostam III and b. Naqsh-i Rostam VII, top panel, c. Naqsh-i Rostam VII, lower panel (photos Erik Smekens 1975).

WAHRĀM II., KÖNIG DER KÖNIGE VON ĒRĀN UND ANĒRĀN

BY

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Abstract: »Wahrām II, King of kings of Ērān and Anērān«. After three years of kingship, Wahrām I died and his son Wahrām II ascended the throne. He ruled the Sasanian Empire for seventeen years (276-293 AD). Wahrām II was the fifth šāhān šāh of the so-called New Persian Empire that had been founded by Ardašīr I in 224 AD. During his long reign, Wahrām endeavoured to secure the throne for his family and to fix the succession correctly to his father's mind.

Numerous rock reliefs commissioned by him show him within the family and with the highest dignitaries of the empire. Those images were a proven device for displaying his entitlement to the Sasanian throne.

As regards domestic policy and foreign affairs, difficulties characterize Wahrām's reign. The most prominent of them were the many years' rebellion of his brother (or cousin?), prince Ormies (Hormezd), and the serious setbacks in the Sasanian fight against Rome. The main reasons for this development were the king's turning away from the tolerant religious policy of his predecessors and the rebellion of Ormies (Hormezd) that lasted for almost ten years. The situation became even worse because of the struggle for the throne after Wahrām's death.

Four people stand out from the great number of Wahrām's relatives and are documented in the sources: his brother Ormies (Hormezd); his wife, the 'Queen of queens', whose name remains unknown; his concubine, the Christian martyr Qandīdā, who originally came from the territories of the Roman empire; and his son and successor Wahrām III (293 AD).

Like his predecessors, Wahrām II was a devout follower and patron of Zoroastrianism. His conviction follows from his titles, his coins and reliefs. His religious policy was decisively shaped by his promotion of the *mowbed* Kerdīr on whom he showered extraordinary honours and powers. By that, Kerdīr got decisive space to intensively foster Zoroastrianism and, at the same time, to persecute all other religions, not the least the Christians and the Manichaeans. It was in Wahrām II's time that the first persecution of the Christians took place. However, it had not the dimensions of the later ones. During this persecution, Wahrām's concubine Qandīdā died a martyr's death.

Keywords: Iran, Sasanians, Wahrām II, Rock reliefs.

Als Wahrām I. nach dreijähriger Regierungszeit stirbt, folgt ihm sein Sohn Wahrām II. auf den Thron des Sāsānidenreiches. Er regierte 17 Jahre in der Zeit von 276-293 n.Chr.¹. Wahrām II. war der fünfte šāhān šāh des von Ardašīr I. [ŠKZ I 8] gegründeten neupersischen Reiches. Durch diese Erbfolge verstärkte sich das Bestreben Wahrāms I., seiner Familie den Thron zu sichern. Die siebzehnjährige Regierungszeit Wahrāms II. war aber geprägt von außen- und innenpolitischen Schwierigkeiten, von der langjährigen Rebellion seines Bruders (oder seines Vetters?), des Prinzen Ormies (Hormezd), und ernsthaften Rückschlägen gegenüber Rom². Unter Wahrām II. geriet das Sāsānidenreich auf diese Weise an den Rand einer schweren Krise. Die Innenpolitik Wahrāms II. erwies sich insgesamt als verhängnisvoll und führte letztlich zu einer Schwächung des Sāsānidenreiches. Wichtige Gründe dieser Entwicklung waren: Die Abkehr von der toleranten Religionspolitik seiner Vorgänger³, die fast ein Jahrzehnt lang dauernde Rebellion seines Bruders Ormies und schließlich der Bürgerkrieg im Thronfolgestreit nach dem Tode Wahrāms II. Im Jahre 293 n.Chr., nach dem Sieg Narsehs über den nur kurze Zeit regierenden Wahrām III. (ca. 4 Monate),

¹ Die Texte der hier zitierten Autoren finden sich in U. Weber, Prosopographie des Sāsānidenreiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (2002ff.), s. v. Wahrām II. unter der Internetadresse:

<http://www.uni-kiel.de/klassalt/projekte/sasaniden/index.html>

Die Angaben zur Regierungszeit Wahrāms II. stimmen im Allgemeinen überein und geben eine Dauer von 17 Jahren an; allein ad-Dīnawarī (ad-Dīnawari, Kitāb at-ṭiwāl 1(1888) 49,9-10. — Repr. 1980) zählt 17 Jahre für dessen Vorgänger Wahrām I. — Abweichende Jahresangaben finden sich auch bei Bel'ami, Chronique de...Tabari 2(1958) 90 (4 Jahre) und in der Histoire Nestorienne (Chronique de Séert) Ière partie. Repr. (1971) 239,1 (19 Jahre, 10 Monate), ferner bei Abou 'l-kasim Firdousi, Le Livre des rois V(1866) 413. — Repr. 1976 (19 Jahre). -

Agathias, Historiarum Libri Quinque (1967) IV,24,6 = 154,10-11 (17 Jahre). — Synkellos, Ecloga Chronographica (1984) 678 = 441,8 (17 Jahre). — Ibn Qutayba, Kitāb al-ma'ārif (1960) 655,7 (17 Jahre). — al-Ja'qubī, Historiae 1(1883) 182,12 (17 Jahre). — at-Tabari, Annales I (1881) 835,3 (18 bzw. 17 Jahre); Th. Nöldeke, Tabari (1879) 49,4. — Repr. 1973; C. E. Bosworth, al-Ṭabarī (1999) 46,12. — Mas'ūdī, Les Prairies d'or 1(1966) 292,11 = § 595; Übers. 1(1962) 222 = § 595 (17 Jahre). - al-Masūdī, Kitāb at-tanbīh wa 'l-ischrāf (1967) 100,17 (17 bzw. 18 Jahre). - Ibn al-Aṭṭār, al-Kāmil fi 'l-Ta'rīkh 1(1965) 390,14 (18 bzw. 17 Jahre). — Eutychius von Alexandria, Annales (1906) 111,12 (17 Jahre). — Bar Hebraeus, Chronicon Syriacum (1890) 58,2 (17 Jahre).

² E. Winter, Die sāsānidisch-römischen Friedensverträge des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. (1988) 128-151. — s. dazu auch die Rez. von E. Kettenhofen in: BiOr 47(1990) 163-178; hier 170-171.

³ J. Wiesehöfer, 'Geteilte Loyalitäten'. Religiöse Minderheiten des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. im Spannungsfeld zwischen Rom und dem sāsānidischen Iran. In: Klio 75(1993) 369.

gelangte dann wieder mit Narseh ein Mitglied der großköniglichen Gründerfamilie auf den Sāsānidenthron.

Genealogie (Fig. 1) und Thronfolgestreit

Die einzige Primärquelle für die Genealogie Wahrāms II. sind die Inschriften des immer mächtiger werdenden mowbeds Kerdīr [ŠKZ IV 51], die Wahrām II. als Sohn seines Vaters Wahrām bezeugen⁴. Auch die Texte der sekundären und tertiären Tradition⁵ bestätigen diese Genealogie⁶. Wahrām II. konnte sich daher als legitimen Thronfolger des Sāsānidenreiches betrachten. Dennoch dürfte die Thronfolge wohl nicht im Sinne der Söhne Šābuhrs I. erfolgt sein.

Zum besseren Verständnis dieser Situation ist es notwendig, an die unterschiedliche Stellung der Söhne Šābuhrs I. nach dem Tode ihres Vaters zu erinnern. Abgesehen von Wahrām [I.] werden die bevorzugten Söhne an zwei Stellen der Genealogie der Šābuhr-Inschrift erwähnt: Zunächst entsprechend ihrem Rang, dann entsprechend ihrem Lebensalter (Fig. 1. Genealogie)⁷. Bei der ersten Erwähnung findet sich folgende Rangordnung:

⁴ KSM und KNRM § 9 [S. 41; 54; 58] s. D. N. MacKenzie, Kerdīr's Inscription. In: G. Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock reliefs at Naqsh-e Rostam*. Berlin (1989) 55-72. (Iranische Denkmäler, Lfg. 13, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs I.): »And after Bahram, king of kings, son of Shapur went to the place of the gods and Bahram, king of kings, son of Bahram, who in the empire (is) generous and righteous and kind and beneficent and altruistic, established himself in the kingdom...«. — KNRb Z. 29-30 [S. 36; 39]. — KKZ 7 [S. 58; 68] in: Ph. Gignoux, *Les quatre inscriptions du mage Kirdīr. Textes et concordances*. Paris 1991. (Stfr. Cahier 9.)

⁵ Agathias IV,24,6. — Elias von Nisibis 95,20-22. — Manichäische Homilien 81,9-10. — ad-Dīnawarī 49,10. — Ibn Qutaiba 655,4-7. — al-Ya'qūbī 182,12. — Eutychius von Alexandria 111,12-17. — at-Ṭabarī 834,19f. — Bal'amī 90,5ff. — at-Ta'ālībī 503. — Histoire Nestorienne (Chronique de Séert) 237. — Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī I 50,11. — Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or* I (1966) 291,16; id., *Kitāb at-tanbīh wa 'l-ischrāf* 100,16. — Ibn al-Aṭfīr 390,12. — al-Maqdisī 159,12f. — Firdausī 407; 411. — Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* 58,2.

⁶ Anzumerken ist, daß Wahrām I. vor allem in der arabischen Überlieferung fälschlicherweise als Sohn Hormezds I. auftritt und nicht als sein älterer Bruder. Eine Ausnahme innerhalb dieser tertiären Tradition bilden die Chronik von Séert und Ibn an-Nadīm, die Wahrām I. zu Recht als Sohn Šābuhrs I. nennen. — Dazu s. »Wahrām I.«, S. 14f. in: U. Weber, *Prosopographie* (2002ff.).

⁷ W.B. Henning, *Notes on the great inscription of Šāpūr I* (1954) 44 Anm. 6: »I am now convinced that the second list of the sons (line 24) represents the order of the sons according to age«. — id., *The great Inscription of Šāpūr I* (1939) 847f.; 848 Anm. 1. — s. auch M. Sprengling, *Shahpuhr I, the Great on the Kaabah of Zoroaster* (KZ) (1940) 392. — M.-L. Chaumont, *Les grands rois sassanides d'Arménie* (III^e siècle ap. J.-C.) (1968) 81 Anm. 3.

Im Anschluß an Šābuhr I. folgt seine Tochter Ādur-Anāhīd [ŠKZ I 1], Königin der Königinnen; dann werden überraschenderweise nur drei der vier bekannten Söhne des Großkönigs erwähnt: Der Thronerbe Ohrmezd-Ardašīr, Großkönig der Armenier (der spätere Hormezd I.⁸ [ŠKZ I 2]), Šābuhr [ŠKZ I 3], König von Mēšān, und Narseh [ŠKZ I 4], König von Hind(estān), Sagestān und Tūrān bis ans Meeresufer (der spätere König der Könige [293-302 n.Chr.]). Wahrām [I.], im Jahre 262 n.Chr. noch König von Gēlān, ist jedoch von dieser Rangliste ausgeschlossen. Es ist aufschlußreich, daß Šābuhr I. in aller Deutlichkeit von »Unserer Tochter«, bzw. jeweils von »Unserem Sohn« spricht, um alle Zweifel an ihrer Herkunft auszuschließen. Obgleich Wahrām I. durch die Kerdīr-Inschriften als Sohn Šābuhrs I. bezeugt ist, erkennt ihn sein Vater nicht ausdrücklich als Sohn an. Wie herausragend die Stellung der bevorzugten Nachkommen innerhalb der gewiß zahlreichen Nachkommenschaft gewesen sein muß, beweisen Šābuhrs I. Feuerstiftungen zu ihren Gunsten. Šābuhr I. stiftete nicht nur für seine Seele⁹ und seinen Nachruhm (*mp. pad amā ruwān ud pannām/pa. pad amā arwān ud pāšnām*) Namenfeuer¹⁰ mit den dazugehörigen Feuertempeln, sondern in gleicher Intention auch solche für die vier bevorzugten Nachkommen. Noch entscheidender für deren Bevorzugung aber war wohl die zweite Intention, nach der ein heiliges Feuer zu deren Nachruhm entzündet werden sollte, wodurch die Geehrten »als ruhmestützig und ewig ruhmreich gekennzeichnet«¹¹ werden. Von diesen herausragenden Ehrungen war Wahrām, König von Gēlān, jedoch ausgeschlossen. Im Gegensatz zu diesen vier Geehrten wurden die anderen Familienmitglieder — unter ihnen auch Wahrām auf dem protokollarisch niederen 11. Rang — nur durch ein tägliches Opfer geehrt.

⁸ U. Weber, Hormezd I., König der Könige von Ērān und Anērān. In: *IrAnt* 42(2007) 387-418.

⁹ J.-P. de Menasce, *Feux et fondations pieuses dans le droit sassanide* (1964) 46; 59ff.; 14ff.: *Mātakdān i hazār datistān*: Kap. 18. Übers. J.-P. de Menasce. — [M. Macuch], *Das sasanidische Rechtsbuch »Mātakdān i hazār dātistān«* (Teil II). Vorgelegt von M. Macuch (1981) 163ff. — M. Macuch, *Charitable Foundations. I. In the Sasanian period*. In: *EncIr* V(1992) 380-382. — ead., *Die sasanidische Stiftung »für die Seele« — Vorbild für den islamischen waqf?* (1994) 174f.

¹⁰ Der Name eines solchen Feuers setzte sich zusammen aus dem Namen des Geehrten und dem Wort *Husraw*: *ādur* 1 *Husraw*-*Ādur*-*Anāhīd* = 1 Feuerheiligtum *Husraw*-*Ādur*-*Anāhīd* (»Ruhmreich ist *Ādur*-*Anāhīd*«).

¹¹ K. Mosig-Walburg, *Die frühen sasanidischen Könige als Vertreter und Förderer der zarathustrischen Religion* (1982) 57f.

Bei der zweiten Erwähnung der Nachkommen Šābuhrs I. findet sich eine abweichende Rangfolge; sie beruht auf der Grundlage des Lebensalters: Wahrām, König von Gēlān [ŠKZ I 11], der in der ersten Aufstellung fehlt, führt hier die Reihe der Söhne Šābuhrs I. an und verdrängt Ohrmezd-Ardašīr vom ersten auf den dritten Platz; an zweiter Stelle steht Šābuhr, König von Mēšān, auf dem vierten Rang folgt Narseh, der König von Sagestān.

Vergleicht man beide Listen miteinander, so wird klar, daß Šābuhr I. zunächst sich selbst und seine vier Kinder nach der protokollarischen Rangfolge aufgezählt hat. In dieser ersten Liste soll die großkönigliche Herrscherfamilie vorgestellt werden. Sie alle sind durch die Feuerstiftungen Šābuhrs I. aus der großen Zahl der weiteren königlichen Familienmitglieder herausgehoben und besitzen unsterblichen Rang. Daher kann man davon ausgehen, daß die Söhne Šābuhr, König von Mēšān, und Narseh, König von Sagestān, im Todesfalle Ohrmezd-Ardašīrs für eine Thronfolge durchaus prädestiniert waren¹².

Aus welchen Gründen Šābuhr I. seinen ältesten Sohn Wahrām nicht neben den bevorzugten Nachkommen bei der ersten Erwähnung auftreten ließ und für ihn auch keine Feuerstiftung vorgesehen hatte, läßt sich nicht mehr klären¹³.

Ebenso geht aus den Quellen nicht hervor, wie Wahrām I. angesichts seiner benachteiligten Stellung innerhalb der großköniglichen Familie

¹² M. Sprengling, *Shahpuhr I, the Great on the Kaabah of Zoroaster(KZ)* (1940) 384: »Of those who seem to form here a line of succession, as the aging Shahpuhr sees it, we know little or nothing of the fate of the Meshanshah Shahpuhr. Narseh, however, is signally distinguished by special epithets, and it is worthy of note that it was he who put an end to the succession of Varahrans favored and probably managed by Kartīr. That throws a very different light on Narseh's seizure of the throne and on his attempt to cancel the name Varahran from the dynasty and to substitute for it his own name,...«

¹³ Die bisher geäußerten Gründe helfen nicht weiter. W. B. Henning [*The great Inscription of Šāpūr I* (1939) 847] vermutete, daß Wahrām, der wohl zum Schutz der nord-östlichen Grenze eingesetzt war, sich nicht durch einen Einsatz in den römisch-persischen Kriegen hervorgetan hat. Es habe daher kein Grund bestanden, ihn durch eine Feuerstiftung zu ehren. — K. Mosig-Walburg [*ibid.* (1982) 58 Anm. 2.] dagegen gibt zu Bedenken, daß bei einer derartigen Begründung auch Ādur-Anāhīd nicht für eine Feuerstiftung in Frage gekommen wäre. — R. N. Frye [*The political History of Iran under the Sasanians*. In: *CHI* 3.1(1983) 127f.; — *id.*, *The History of ancient Iran* (1984) 303.] dagegen sah in der vermutlich niedrigen Herkunft seiner Mutter, über die keine Quellen vorliegen, einen Grund, Wahrām zu übergehen. — Es ist auch nicht ausgeschlossen, daß Wahrām durch persönliches Fehlverhalten oder durch mangelndes politisches oder militärisches Geschick in der ihm übertragenen Provinz Gēlān bei Šābuhr I. in Ungnade gefallen war.

zum šāhān šāh des Sāsānidenreiches aufsteigen konnte. Die Thronfolge wird gewiß nicht ohne Auseinandersetzungen der Thronprätendenten vor sich gegangen sein. Das beweist die Tatsache, daß Narseh nach seiner Thronbesteigung (293 n.Chr.) eine »damnatio memoriae« an der Inschrift Wahrāms I. in Bīšābuhr¹⁴ vornahm und seinen eigenen Namen an die Stelle seines Bruders setzte.

Innenpolitisch gesehen war der Thronfolgestreit, der nach dem plötzlichen Tode Hormezds I. (273 n.Chr.) entbrannt war, eine unübersehbare Belastung für das Reich. Die Auseinandersetzungen um die Erbfolge zogen sich noch bis zur Thronbesteigung des Narseh im Jahre 293 n.Chr. hin. Wie aber war es zu diesem Streit um die Thronfolge gekommen? Der Ausgangspunkt lag zweifellos in der Thronfolgeregelung Šābuhrs I. Nach der Eroberung

¹⁴ s. »Wahrām I.« (S. 29-31) in U. Weber, Prosopographie (2002ff.) — E. Herzfeld, Paikuli. Monument and inscription of the early history of the Sasanian empire. Berlin 2(1924) 120. — D.N. MacKenzie, 2. The Inscription [NVŠ]. In: G. Herrmann, The Sasanian Rock reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2. Berlin (1981) 14-17. (Iranische Denkmäler, Lfg. 10, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs F.): 'This (is) the image of the Mazda-worshipping god Bahram <Narseh>, king of kings of Eran and Non-Eran, whose seed [or, origin] (is) from the gods, son of the Mazda-worshipping god Shapur, king of kings of Eran and Non-Eran, whose seed (is) from the gods, grandson of the god Ardashir, king of kings'. — E. Herzfeld, La sculpture rupestre de la Perse sassanide. In: RAA 5(1928) 136. — R.N. Frye, The History of ancient Iran (1984) 305: »Narseh must have blamed Bahram I for the usurpation of the throne which was his right, for Narseh put his name in the place of the name of Bahram I on an inscription and relief of Bahram I at Bishapur, although he acquiesced in the rule of Bahram I and II«. —

Bestätigt wird diese Annahme durch die Entdeckung einer liegenden Figur unter den Hufen des königlichen Pferdes, die A.A. Sarfaraz im Jahre 1974/75 entdeckte (A.A. Sarfaraz, A new Discovery at Bishapur. In: Iran 13(1975) 171, Taf. III-IV. — id., Kašf-i naqš-i bar-ĵastahāyi muhim-i sāsānī dar Tang-i Čūgān [The Discovery of important Sasanian rock reliefs in the Tang-i Chogan]. In: Proceedings of the IVth Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran, 3-8 November 1975. Tehran (1976) 28-33.). Aus stilistischen Gründen muß diese Figur zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt, nachdem Narseh das Relief für sich beansprucht hatte, eingemeißelt worden sein. Die Deutung der liegenden Figur, die mit Sicherheit einen Erzfeind des Großkönigs Narseh darstellt, blieb in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion umstritten. — R. Ghirshman hielt sie für den Religionsstifter Mānī, R.N. Frye, G. Herrmann, W.G. Lukonin und L. Vanden Berghe glaubten in ihr den besiegten Wahrām III. zu sehen (R. Ghirshman, Rez. zu R. Göbl, Der Triumph des Sāsāniden Šāpuhr. Wien 1974. (Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. 116.). In: ArtAs 37(1975) 318. — R.N. Frye, The Tang-i Qandil and Barm-i Dilak Reliefs. In: Bulletin of the Institute of Pahlavi University 1-4(1976) 43. — G. Herrmann, The Iranian Revival (1977) 87-95; Abb. S. 90. — V.G. Lukonin, Iran v III veke. Novye materialy i opyt istoričeskoj rekonstrukcii (1979) 59-73; fig. 12-19 [russ.]; 125-133 [engl. Rés.]; hier 132. — L. Vanden Berghe, Lumière nouvelle sur l'interprétation des reliefs sassanides. In: IrAnt 15(1980) 269-282; Pl. II-III.

Armeniens im Jahre 252 n.Chr.¹⁵, an der Šābuhrs Sohn Ohrmezd-Ardašīr maßgeblich beteiligt war¹⁶, stellte Šābuhr I. Armenien wegen seiner geopolitischen und strategischen Bedeutung über alle anderen Vasallenkönigtümer des Sāsānidenreiches. Er ernannte Ohrmezd-Ardašīr, seinen drittältesten Sohn, zum wuzurg šāh Arminān (Großkönig der Armenier) [ŠKZ I 2], der durch diese Maßnahme den ersten Rang unter den anderen Vasallenkönigen einnahm und dadurch gleichzeitig für die Thronfolge prädestiniert war. Als Hormezd I. jedoch schon nach einjähriger Regierungszeit starb, gelangte mit Wahrām I. (273-276 n.Chr.) ein Mitglied aus einer Nebenlinie des Herrscherhauses auf den Sāsānidenthron, das nach dem Zeugnis der Šābuhr-Inschrift weder durch eine Feuerstiftung geehrt noch ausdrücklich von Šābuhr I. als Sohn bezeichnet worden war. Es muß überraschen, daß sowohl Šābuhr von Mēšān als auch Narseh von Sagestān nach dem Tode Hormezds I. in der Thronfolge unberücksichtigt geblieben sind. Man darf hingegen annehmen, daß nach Hormezds Tod die Autorität Šābuhrs I. nicht mehr nachwirkte und infolgedessen seine bevorzugten Söhne kein so hohes Ansehen mehr besaßen wie zu Lebzeiten ihres Vaters. Die Gewichtung der Verhältnisse am sāsānidischen Königshof hatte sich verändert. Daraus ergibt sich, daß Wahrām I. sich wohl mit Hilfe eines Teils des Adels und mit Unterstützung der zarathustrischen Geistlichkeit gegen seine Brüder bei der Königswahl durchgesetzt hatte. Dabei kam Wahrām zu gute, daß er sich auf das Prinzip der Primogenitur bei der Königswahl stützen konnte. Sein Anliegen war es fortan, für seine Nachkommen die Rechte an der Erbfolge zu sichern und seine Brüder von der Regierungsgewalt fern zu halten. Die Regentschaft seines Sohnes Wahrām II. (276-293 n.Chr.) dauerte ungeachtet großer innen- und außenpolitischer Schwierigkeiten 17 Jahre. Mit dessen Sohn, Wahrām III., der von einem Teil des Adels und der zarathustrischen Priesterschaft abgelehnt wurde und sich nur vier Monate an der Macht halten konnte, endete die Regentschaft der drei aus einer Nebenlinie des Königshauses stammenden Herrscher. Nach einem Bürgerkrieg¹⁷, in dem Wahrām III. und Narseh um die Thronfolge kämpften, gelangte mit König Narseh (293-302 n.Chr.) dann wieder ein Mitglied der unsprünglichen Familie auf den Thron des Reiches.

¹⁵ E. Kettenhofen, Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. nach der Inschrift Šāhpuhrs I. an der Ka'be-ye Zartošt (ŠKZ) [1982] 41; 38-43.

¹⁶ E. Kettenhofen, *ibid.* (1982) 61. — Bericht des Ps.- Trebellius Pollio in der *Historia Augusta*: SHA T 2,2.

¹⁷ H. Humbach/P.O. Skjærvø, *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*. 3 Parts. Wiesbaden 1978-1983.

Es bleibt die Frage, wie Šābuhr von Mēšān und Narseh von Sagestān auf den dreimaligen Thronwechsel reagiert haben. Während Šābuhr im Jahre 262 noch als König von Mēšān inschriftlich bezeugt ist [ŠKZ I 3], erwähnt die Pāikūlī-Inschrift (293 n.Chr.) Ādur-Farrōbay [NPi II b 3] als neuen König von Mēšān. Aufhorchen läßt eine Nachricht des Turfanfragments M 4579, daß Mani im Jahre 276 n.Chr., kurz vor seinem Tod in Bēlāpāt, den zerstörten Palast des Königs von Mēšān gesehen habe¹⁸. Wie es zu dieser Zerstörung kommen konnte, darüber schweigt das Fragment. Festzuhalten ist aber, daß dieses Ereignis in die Jahre nach dem Tode Hormezds I. zwischen 273 und 276 n.Chr. zu datieren ist und auf Thronstreitigkeiten um die Erbfolge im Reich zurückzuführen sein könnte. Nicht auszuschließen ist ferner, daß nicht der Bruder Wahrāms II. mit Namen Hormezd (Panegyri. III 17,2: Ormies = Hormezd), sondern sein Vetter gleichen Namens [ŠKZ I 22] (Fig. 1: Genealogie), der älteste Sohn Šābuhrs von Mēšān, in den achtziger Jahren des 3. Jahrhunderts den Versuch gemacht haben könnte, Wahrām II. durch seine Rebellion in Sagestān vom Thron zu stürzen, um die Rechte seiner Familie durchzusetzen.

Wie aber verhielt sich Narseh nach dem Tode Hormezds I.? Nach der Šābuhr-Inschrift steht fest, daß Narseh im Jahre 262 n.Chr. (ŠKZ I 4) noch den Titel eines Königs von Sagestān führte. Weiterhin ist durch die Pāikūlī-Inschrift gesichert, daß Narseh im Jahre 293 n.Chr. nicht als Großkönig, sondern überraschenderweise nur mit dem herabgestuften Titel eines Königs

¹⁸ S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the later Roman empire and medieval China* (1985) 79f.: »However, according to a Parthian Manichaean fragment which has recently come to light, Mani was shocked to discover that the palace of the Mesun-Šāh [Parth.: myšwn š'h = myšwn xwd'y(?)] had been destroyed«. — W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (1981) 69f.: »Und er grub die Erde jenes Palastes aus und erschütterte wahrlich, w[as] früher des Mēšūn-šāh Eigentum gewesen war [.....] ...«].

W. Sundermann führt an anderer Stelle die Zerstörung des Palastes auf erste antimanichäische Maßnahmen durch Wahrām I. zurück. Dazu s. id., *Iranische Lebensbeschreibungen Manis*. In: *ActOr* 36(1974) 125-149; hier 140f.: »Interessanterweise scheint der Anfang des hier behandelten parth. Fragments zu berichten, daß jemand den Palast des Mēšūn-Šāh bis auf den Grund zerstörte. Bekanntlich wird in einem parth. Blattbruchstück von der Bekehrung eines Mēšūn-Xvadāy namens Mihršāh durch Mani berichtet. Darf man also annehmen, daß damals eine erste antimanichäische Aktion das Andenken oder den Nachfolger eines vornehmen Anhängers Manis traf?« — Zur Historizität des Mihršāh s. »Mihršāh« in: U. Weber, *Prosopographie* (2002ff.): »Das Turfanfragment M 47 I überliefert eine hagiographisch gefärbte Bekehrungsgeschichte des Mihršāh*, deren historischer Wahrheitsgehalt im Hinblick auf die Existenz Mihršāhs* doch angezweifelt werden muß«.

von Armenien figuriert¹⁹. Diese Aussage wiegt umso schwerer, als dieser Titel in einem Selbstzeugnis des Narseh überliefert ist, an dessen Authentizität nicht gezweifelt werden kann. Es sei daran erinnert, daß Narsehs Vorgänger in Armenien, sein Bruder Ohrmezd-Ardašīr (= Hormezd I.) noch den Titel eines Großkönigs der Armenier trug²⁰. Die Änderung dieser Titulatur wird nicht auf einem Versehen des Schreibers der Pāikūlī-Inschrift beruhen, sondern muß auf königliche Anweisung erfolgt sein. Außerdem weist E. Kettenhofen daraufhin, daß eine Ergänzung zu »wuzurg šāh Arminān« trotz des lückenhaften Textes der Pāikūlī-Inschrift nicht möglich ist²¹.

Ungewiß bleibt aber, zu welchem genauen Zeitpunkt Narseh zum Herrscher von Armenien, dem wichtigsten Vasallenkönigtum im Sāsānidenreich, aufgestiegen ist. Mehrere Möglichkeiten lassen sich denken. Hormezd I. könnte seinen jüngeren Bruder Narseh bei seinem Regierungsantritt 270/272 n.Chr. zu seinem Nachfolger als Großkönig von Armenien ernannt haben²². Daß Hormezd I. aber die Herabstufung des armenischen Königstitels vornahm, ist undenkbar. Weiterhin ist es möglich, daß Wahrām I. nach seiner Krönung im Jahre 273 n.Chr. seinen Bruder Narseh als Entschädigung für fehlgeschlagene Thronansprüche zum Herrscher von Armenien ernannt hat. Gleichzeitig verfolgte Wahrām I. im Zuge dieses Verfahrens vermutlich den Plan, durch Herabstufung des Titels Narsehs Anspruch

¹⁹ E. Kettenhofen, Tirdād und die Inschrift von Paikuli (1995) 43: »Gerne verweist man auf die Inschrift Šāhpuhrs I. an der Ka'be-ye Zartošt, wo beim Titel Hormizd Ardašīrs noch LB' bzw. RB' zu MLK' hinzugefügt ist (Anm. 295). Diese Wortfolge scheidet in NPK aus. Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang, daß einerseits NPK, pa. c 3,04 — 4,04 (... 'YK LN MN 'rmny 'L 'ry'nhštr) keinen Zusatz zu 'rmny bietet [Anm. 296: H. Humbach/P.O. Skjærvø, NPi 3.1(1983) 43], andererseits D 7,02 — 8,02 den 'einfachen' Titel *König von Armenien* belegt (... 'D 'lmn'n MLK' LHYK 'nd [..]n) [Anm. 297: H. Humbach/P. O. Skjærvø, NPi 3.1(1983) 45. In Parthisch ist nur HN 'rmnyn [] noch erhalten (c 7,05 — 8,05)«.

²⁰ E. Kettenhofen erinnert mit vollem Recht [ibid. (1995) 44f. mit ausführlicher Diskussion] an die unterschiedliche Titulatur des Herrschers von Armenien, auf die schon P.O. Skjærvø aufmerksam gemacht hatte [H. Humbach/P.O. Skjærvø, NPi 3.1(1983) 28 = A 3,02; 3.2(1983) 10f.]: Danach trug Ohrmezd-Ardašīr in der Šābuhr-Inschrift (262 n.Chr.) den Titel eines Großkönigs der Armenier, Narseh aber 30 Jahre später den herabgestuften Titel eines Königs von Armenien. — Die Tragweite dieser Herabstufung ist bislang in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion nicht beachtet worden.

²¹ E. Kettenhofen s. Anm. 19.

²² H. Humbach/P.O. Skjærvø, NPi 3.2(1983) 11: »On his accession [Hormezd I.] the title was obviously passed on and in 293 Narseh held the title. Possibly he received it from Ohrmazd I«. — s. auch M.-L. Chaumont, *Recherches sur l'histoire d'Arménie de l'avènement des Sassanides à la conversion du royaume* (1969) 91.

Šābuhr I., König der Könige

Ādur-Anāhīd, Königin der Königinnen, Unsere Tochter [ŠKZ I 1], Ohrmezd-Ardašīr, Großkönig der Armenier, Unser Sohn [ŠKZ I 2] Šābuhr, König von Mēšān, Unser Sohn [ŠKZ I 3] Narseh, König von Hind(estān), Sagestān und Turān bis ans Meeresufer, Unser Sohn [ŠKZ I 4]	1. Aufzählung der Nachkommen Šābuhrs I. nach protokollarischer Ordnung
Sāsān, Herr [ŠKZ I 5] Pābag, König [ŠKZ I 6] Šābuhr, König, Sohn des Pābag [ŠKZ I 7] Ardašīr [I.], König der Könige [ŠKZ I 8] X^war(r)rānzēm, Königin des Reiches [ŠKZ I 9]	
Ādur-Anāhīd, Königin der Königinnen (s. o. ŠKZ I 2) Dēnag, Königin [ŠKZ I 10] Wahrām, König von Gēlān [ŠKZ I 11] (der spätere Wahrām I.) Šābuhr, König von Mēšān (s. o. ŠKZ I 3) Ohrmezd-Ardašīr, Großkönig der Armenier (s. o. ŠKZ I 2) Narseh, König der Saken (s. o. ŠKZ I 4)	2. Aufzählung der Nachkommen Šābuhrs I. nach dem Lebensalter
Šābuhrduxtag, Königin der Saken [ŠKZ I 12] Narsehduxtag, Herrin der Saken [ŠKZ I 13] Čāšmag, Herrin [ŠKZ I 14] Pērōz, Prinz [ŠKZ I 15] *Murrōd, Herrin, Mutter des Šābuhr, des Königs der Könige [ŠKZ I 16] Narseh, Prinz [ŠKZ I 17] Rōdduxtag, Prinzessin, Tochter von Anōšag [ŠKZ I 18] Warāzduxtag, Tochter von X^war(r)rānzēm [ŠKZ I 19] Staxryād, Königin [ŠKZ I 20]	
Hormeزدag, Sohn des Königs der Armenier [ŠKZ I 21] s. ŠKZ I 2 Hormeزد, Sohn des Königs von Mēšān [ŠKZ I 22] s. ŠKZ I 3 Hormeزدag, Sohn des Königs von Mēšān [ŠKZ I 23] s. ŠKZ I 3 Ōdābaxtag, Sohn des Königs von Mēšān [ŠKZ I 24] s. ŠKZ I 3 Wahrām, Sohn des Königs von Mēšān [ŠKZ I 25] s. ŠKZ I 3 Šābuhr, Sohn des Königs von Mēšān [ŠKZ I 26] s. ŠKZ I 3 Pērōz, Sohn des Königs von Mēšān [ŠKZ I 27] s. ŠKZ I 3 Šābuhrduxtag, Tochter des Königs von Mēšān [ŠKZ I 28] s. ŠKZ I 3 Ohrmeزد(d)uxtag, Tochter des Königs der Saken [ŠKZ I 29] s. ŠKZ I 4	Neun Enkel und Enkelinnen Šābuhrs I.

Fig. 1. Genealogie Šābuhrs I. in der Šābuhr-Inschrift
 Nach Ph.Huyse, ŠKZ 1-2(1999).(CII, P. III, 1,1,1-2.)

auf die Stellung des Thronfolgers abzuerkennen und ihm dadurch den ersten Rang unter den Vasallenkönigen zu nehmen. Narses herausragende Stellung in der königlichen Familie und am Hofe stellte ein Hindernis für Wahrām II. dar, die Erbfolge für seine Familie zu sichern. Auf diesem feindlichen Verhalten Wahrāms I. beruhte m. E. Narsehs »*damnatio memoriae*« an dessen Inschrift von Bīšābuhr. Von daher ist es wenig wahrscheinlich, daß Wahrām II. erst 276 n.Chr., zu Beginn seiner Herrschaft, Narseh mit Armenien entschädigt hat.

Name

Der Thronname Wahrāms II. geht auf einen der höchsten Götter des Zaratrustismus zurück. Sein Name leitet sich ab von altiran. *vr̥θragna-, entwickelte sich weiter zu mpI wlhl'n²³ und später zu np. Bahrām. In den zahlreichen Quellen ist der Name des Großkönigs auf unterschiedliche Weise überliefert²⁴.

Der Kult des Gottes Wahrām war in Iran und den angrenzenden, iranisch beeinflussten Ländern weit verbreitet. Verehrt als Kriegsgott und Gott des Sieges war Wahrām Schutzherr seines kriegsführenden Volkes und hoch geachtet von der kriegsbereiten Aristokratie des Reiches. Unter dem Einfluß des Hellenismus wurde der Gott Wahrām mit dem griechischen Kriegsgott Ares in Verbindung gebracht und in Gestalt des Herakles

²³ Zum Namen Wahrām s. u. a. M. Back, SSI (1978) 270, Nr. 359a. — Ph. Gignoux, Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique (1986) 171, Nr. 926. — G. Gnoli, Bahrām. I. In Old and Middle Iranian Texts. In: EncIr III(1989) 510-513; hier 512f. — Ph. Huyse, ŠKZ 2(1999) 103 mit ausführlicher Diskussion und zahlreichen Literaturangaben. — R. Schmitt, Byzantinoiranica: Zum Beispiel Prokop (2004) 673.

²⁴ s. KSM § 7, KNRm § 7, KKZ 5-7, KNRb 27-31. — **gr.**: Während Agathias (Historiarum Quinque Libri IV 24,5-6) eine einzige gräzisierte Namensform Οὐραράνης für Wahrām I-III angibt, finden sich bei Synkellos (Ecloga Chronographica 678,13-15 = 441,7-9) zwei unterschiedliche Namensformen: Οὐραράνης, Οὐραράκης, Οὐραράνης.

Zonaras (Annales XII 31,9-10) nennt sie dagegen Οὐραράνης, Οὐραράκης, Οὐραράνης. Theophanes (Chronographia II 6,6) zitiert Wahrām II. dagegen als Οὐραράκης. — **syr.** WRHRN: Elias von Nisibis I(1910) 95,13-15. — WRTRN: S. Brock, A Martyr at the Sasanid court under Vahran II: Candida. In: AnalBolland 96(1978) 173-177 [syr. Text passim]. — **kopt.** Ouarharan: G. Wurst, Die Bema-Psalmen (1996) 106f. = p. 43,5-9. — Barharan: S. Giversen, The Manichaean Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library. Vol.1: Kephalaia (1986) 312,3; 309,24 = W.-P. Funk 2 Ke 444,3; 2 Ke 445,24. — **arab.** Bahrām — daneben auch Warhārān: Histoire Nestorienne (Chronique de Séert). Première partie (I) (1981) 233, 8.

dargestellt²⁵. Mit Sicherheit darf man annehmen, daß Wahrām II. diesem Gott in Verehrung zugetan war, da nach dem Zeugnis der Kerdīr-Inschriften sein Kult sehr gefördert und die Zahl der Wahrām-Feuer im ganzen Reich stetig vermehrt wurde. Wie stark die Verbindung Wahrāms II. zu diesem Gott war, zeigt ferner das kennzeichnende Emblem seiner Krone: die Flügel des vāragna-Vogels, Symbol des Gottes Wahrām.

Den gleichen Thronnamen wird Wahrām I. offenbar nicht ohne Grund für seinen Sohn gewählt haben. Auf diese Weise wollte Wahrām I. die Eigenständigkeit und den Fortbestand seiner Familie²⁶ betonen.

Kronprinz

Über die Zeit vor Wahrāms Krönung zum šāhān šāh im Jahre 276 n.Chr. gibt uns nur eine Quelle Auskunft. Nach dem Zeugnis der Histoire Nestorienne (Chronik von Séert)²⁷, die sich auf den Märtyrerbischof Mīlās ar-Rāzī²⁸ von Susa († ca. 340 n.Chr.) beruft, soll Wahrām in der Stadt Karḥ Ġuddān²⁹ (Fig. 2) erzogen worden sein und sich Grundkenntnisse in der

²⁵ G. Gnoli, Bahrām. I. In *Old and Middle Iranian Texts*. In: *EncIr* III(1989) 510-513. — P. Jamzadeh, Bahrām. II. Representation in Iranian art. In: *EncIr* III(1989) 513-514.

²⁶ Es fällt auf, daß gleich drei aufeinander folgende Großkönige im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. diesen Namen trugen. Der nächste Herrscher, der denselben Thronnamen führt, ist erst Wahrām IV. (388-399 n.Chr.) am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. — vgl. auch die Namensgebung bei Narsehs Thronfolger Hormezd II. (302-309 n.Chr.): Daß Narseh bewußt diesen Namen für seinen Nachfolger ausgesucht hat, darf als sicher gelten. Er sollte an den letzten Herrscher der großköniglichen Gründerfamilie auf dem Sāsāniden-thron vor der Regierungszeit Wahrāms I. und seiner beiden gleichnamigen Nachfolger erinnern.

²⁷ Histoire Nestorienne (Chronique de Séert). Première Partie (I). Publ. par A. Scher. Paris 1908. — Repr. Turnhout (1971) 237-239. (*Patrologia Orientalis* T. IV, Fasc. 3.).

²⁸ M.-L. Chaumont, La christianisation de l'empire iranien (1988) 104 Anm. 22.

²⁹ syr.: Karḥā ḡ-Ġuddān; arab.: Karḥ Ġuddān. — G. Hoffmann, Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer (1880) 275f. und Anm. 2169. — Histoire Nestorienne (Chronique de Séert), *ibid.* (1971) 237-239.

E. Honigmann, Σελεύχεια (4). In: *RE* II A 1(1921) 1203. — M.-L. Chaumont, Les Sassanides et la christianisation de l'empire iranien au III^e siècle de notre ère. In: *RHR* 165(1964) 165-202; hier 189. — J.-M. Fiey, Assyrie chrétienne 3(1968) 71-74. — *id.*, Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq (1970) 53f. — F. Decret, Les conséquences sur le christianisme en Perse de l'affrontement des empires romain et sassanide (1979) 91-152; hier 127. — M.-L. Chaumont, Recherches sur quelques villes helléniques de l'Iran occidental (1982) 147-173; 161f. — M. Morony, Continuity and change in the administrative geography of late Sasanian and early Islamic al-'Iraq (1982) 1-49; hier 15. — J. Duchesne-Guillemin, Religion and politics under the Sasanians. In: *CHI* 3.2(1983) 881.

syrischen Sprache erworben haben. Yāqūt³⁰ beschreibt Karḥ Ğuddān als »kleine Stadt am äußersten Ende des Wilāyat von al-ʿIrāq, welche Ḥāniqīn von Fern gegenüberliegt«. Für G. Hoffmann³¹ ist Karḥ Ğuddān, am rechten Ufer des Diyāla gelegen, eine der wichtigen Städte der Diözese von Bēt Garmai. Die Lokalisierung dieser Stadt, deren iranischer Name nicht bekannt ist, konnte jedoch bisher nicht präzise festgelegt werden³². Zwei Deutungsvorschläge sollten aber erwähnt werden. M. Fiey³³ war der Meinung, daß es plausibler sei, diese Stadt eher in Karḥ Ğilān im Süden des Kaspischen Meeres zu vermuten. Karḥ Ğilān war die Hauptstadt des šahr Gēlān und gleichzeitig die Residenz König Wahrāms I. In dieser Stadt könnte auch sein Sohn seine Jugendjahre verbracht haben. M.-L. Chaumont glaubt dagegen, daß Wahrām I. seinen Sohn ganz bewußt nach Karḥ Ğuddān geschickt habe, um sich mit den Wissenschaften des Westens auseinanderzusetzen³⁴. Seine syrischen Sprachkenntnisse und sein Interesse an Christentum und Manichäismus wird Wahrām II. daher wohl eher in Bēt Garmai als in Gēlān erworben haben. Für die These von M.-L. Chaumont spricht vor allem, daß es im Iran üblich war, Prinzen und Söhne adeliger Familien weit ab von ihrer Heimat zur Erziehung in namhafte, befreundete Familien zu entsenden³⁵.

Nicht unerwähnt bleiben soll E. Herzfelds These³⁶ über eine eventuelle Statthalterschaft Wahrāms II. in Ḥurāsān vor seiner Krönung zum šāhān

— M. G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest* (1984) 133; 344f. — M.-L. Chaumont, *La christianisation de l'empire iranien* (1988) 22 Anm. 82; 104 Anm. 25; 105: neuer Lesungsvorschlag: Karḥ Lēdān (syr. Karkā d-Lēdān in der Nähe von Susa) an Stelle von Karḥ Ğuddān). — M. Streck-[J. Lassner], *Al-Karkh*. In: *El² IV* (1997) 652-653.

³⁰ Mu'ḡam al-buldān. Vol. IV. Ed. by Farīd ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ġundī. Bairūt (o.J.) 509.

³¹ Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer (1880) 275f.

³² E. Kettenhofen, dem ich wichtige Hinweise zu Karḥ Ğuddān verdanke, teilte mir brieflich mit, daß an eine präzise Lokalisierung dieser Stadt derzeit nicht zu denken sei.

³³ J.M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne* 3(1968) 71-74. — id., *Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq* (1970) 53f.

³⁴ M.-L. Chaumont, *Les Sassanides et la christianisation de l'empire iranien*, *ibid.* (1964) 189f. — ead., *Recherches sur quelques villes helléniques de l'Iran occidental* (1982) 161f.

³⁵ s. »Sāsān, Prinz, der im Hause Farragān Erzogene« [ŠKZ IV 6] in U. Weber, *Prosopographie* (2002ff.).

³⁶ E. Herzfeld, Paikuli. Monument and inscription of the early history of the Sasanian empire 1(1924) 41-47. — id., *New Light on Persian history from Pahlavi inscriptions*. In: *JCOI* (1926) 103-114; hier 109-114; 111: »Hence we learn, that during the whole of the third century all the heirs to the throne occupied the position of 'Great Kūshānshāh' before their accession to the throne«. — id., *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*. Calcutta 1930. (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*. 38.)

šāh. E. Herzfeld war der Ansicht, daß Wahrām als Kronprinz in der Funktion eines Vizekönigs in Ḥurāsān den Titel eines Kūšān šāh geführt habe. Dieser These schlossen sich A. Christensen, W. Enßlin³⁷ und A.D.H. Bivar an³⁸. Herzfeld stützte sich dabei vornehmlich auf »skytho-sasanidische Münzen«³⁹. Ihre Zuordnung zu Königen des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. muß aber wegen der heute fallengelassenen Datierung der sāsānidisch-kūšānischen Münzprägung ins 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr. aufgegeben werden⁴⁰.

V.G. Lukonin vertritt dagegen eine andere These. Danach habe Wahrām II. vor seiner Thronbesteigung in Sagestān als König geherrscht⁴¹. Ausgangspunkt für V.G. Lukonins Überlegungen ist die bekannte Szene im Turfantext M 3. Der Text berichtet von der letzten Begegnung Mānīs mit Wahrām I. (276 n.Chr.), der von Kerdīr, Sohn des Ardawān [ŠKZ IV 61]⁴²,

³⁷ A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (21944) 102: »Parmi les rois sassanides, Shāhpuhr I, Hormizd I, Vahrām I et Vahrām II, avant leur avènement au trône, ont été gouverneurs du Khorassan et rois des Kūshāns«. — W. Enßlin, *Wahram I*. In: *RE VII A 2* (1948) 2078-2079: »Vor seiner Thronbesteigung war er wie seine beiden Vorgänger Statthalter von Chorassan und Herr der Kuschan, Kuschanschah«.

³⁸ A.D.H. Bivar, *The History of Eastern Iran*. In: *CHI 3.1*(1983) 181-298; hier 209ff.

³⁹ E. Herzfeld, *New Light on Persian history from Pahlavi inscriptions*, *ibid.* (1926) 110: »There is a class of coins called Scytho-Sasanian coins. ...they are nothing else but the coinage issued by the Sasanian viceroys of Khurāsān during the third century«. — Als Beispiel führt Herzfeld u.a. den aus dem *Fihrist* des Ibn an-Nadīm bekannten Prinz Pērōz [ŠKZ I 15], einen Bruder Šābuhrs I. an. Die Identifizierung dieses Prinzen Pērōz mit dem gleichnamigen Großkönig der Kūšān ist nach heutigem Forschungsstand nicht mehr aufrecht zu halten. — s. »Pērōz« [ŠKZ I 15] in: U. Weber, *Prosopographie* (2002ff.). — Auch die Beweisführung an Hand von literarischen Quellen ist nicht überzeugend. Was Hormezd I. betrifft, so stützte sich Herzfeld dabei allein auf eine Nachricht bei Ṭabarī (I 833,4-5; Th. Nöldeke, *Tabarī* 45; C.E. Bosworth, *al-Ṭabarī* 42, 15-17) eine Quelle der dritten Tradition. Für Wahrām I. zieht E. Herzfeld *Mas'ūdī* (*Prairies d'or* I 291,16f; § 594; S.222,1-2, § 594) als Beweis heran, der sehr ungenau von Kriegen gegen Könige des Ostens berichtet. Wahrāms II. militärische Aktivitäten im Osten beschäftigen sich vornehmlich mit der Niederschlagung einer Rebellion seines Bruders (oder seines Vetters?) Ormies [Hormezd]. Über diese Ereignisse informieren Agathias (IV 24,8; S. 127,8) und der *Panegyricus* III 17,2.

⁴⁰ s. die zahlreichen Veröffentlichungen R. Göbels zu diesem Thema; hier u.a.: *Die Münzprägung der Kušān von Vima Kadphises bis Bahrām IV*. In: F. Altheim/R. Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* (1957) 173-256. — *id.*, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien* I(1967) 15-21; II(1967) 291-301. — *id.*, *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kušānreiches*. Wien 1984. (Veröffentlichungen der Numismatischen Kommission. Sonderband.) — *id.*, *Donum Burns. Die Kušānmünzen im Münzkabinett Bern und die Chronologie*. Wien 1993.

⁴¹ *Varachran II i Narse* (Iran, 70-90 — e gody III.v.). In: *VDI* [1964(3)] 51. — *id.*, *Iran v III veke* (1979) 50ff.

⁴² Es handelt sich hier nicht um den mowbed Kerdīr, sondern um den hohen Würdenträger Kerdīr, Sohn des Ardawān.

und einer anonymen gebliebenen Königin der Saken begleitet wird⁴³. In dieser Königin glaubte V.G. Lukonin Šābuhrduxtag⁴⁴, die Frau Wahrāms II., zu sehen, deren Name angeblich durch Münzen belegt sei. Diese Šābuhrduxtag [ŠKZ I 28] sei nach der Meinung des russischen Gelehrten die Tochter des Königs Šābuhr von Mēšān. Allein aus der Tatsache, daß die Königin des Turfantextes M 3 den Titel Königin der Saken trägt, wollte V.G. Lukonin den Schluß ziehen, daß Wahrām II. noch vor seinem Herrschaftsantritt Vizekönig von Sagestān war.

Über die Identität der Königin im Turfantext M 3 ist in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion viel gerätselt worden, so daß auch heute noch keine übereinstimmende Meinung besteht. W.B. Henning⁴⁵ hielt sie gar für die Ehefrau Wahrāms III., der vor seiner Thronbesteigung in Sagestān selbständig regiert hatte. Dieser Meinung schlossen sich H.-C. Puech, G. Widengren und M.-L. Chaumont an⁴⁶. W. Hinz⁴⁷ verwarf aber diese Identifizierung aus Gründen der Altersdifferenz. Für eine Gleichsetzung der anonymen Königin der Saken mit Šābuhrduxtag, der Frau des Sakenkönigs Narseh, entschieden sich O. Klíma, W. Hinz⁴⁸ und A. Böhlig⁴⁹.

⁴³ s. »Anonyma, Königin der Saken [Turfantext M 3]« in: U. Weber, Prosopographie (2002ff.).

⁴⁴ V.G. Lukonin, Iran v III veke (1979) 10ff. — s. v. »Anonyma, Königin der Königinnen, Frau Wahrāms II.« in: U. Weber, ibid (2002ff.): m. E. gibt es bislang keine Quelle, die den Namen der Šābuhrduxtag, der Frau Wahrāms II. erwähnt. Von daher kann auch nicht mit Sicherheit angenommen werden, daß die Tochter des Königs von Mēšān, Šābuhrduxtag, deren Namen aber durch die Šābuhr-Inschrift belegt ist [Ph. Huyse, ŠKZ 1(1999) 52: mpI 27; paI 21; grI 51], mit der Ehefrau Wahrāms II. identisch sei: s. »Šābuhrduxtag, Tochter des Königs von Mēšān [ŠKZ I 28]« in: U. Weber, ibid. (2002ff.). — Vgl. auch »Šābuhrduxtag, Königin der Saken, Frau des Königs Narseh [ŠKZ I 12]« in: U. Weber, ibid. (2002ff.).

⁴⁵ Mani's last Journey. In: BSOAS 10(1942) 952f.

⁴⁶ H.-C. Puech, Le Manichéisme. Son fondateur — sa doctrine (1949) 51. — G. Widengren, Mani und der Manichäismus (1961) 47 und M.-L. Chaumont, A propos de quelques personnages féminins figurant dans l'inscription trilingue de Šāhpuhr I^{er} à la »Ka'ba de Zoroastre« (1963) 199.

⁴⁷ Mani and Kardēr (1971) 489 Anm. 29: »She could never have been the wife of the later king Bahrām III (who reigned four months in 293), as W. B. Henning had surmised (<BSOAS> 10, p. 953) and M.-L. Chaumont accepted (<JNES>, 22, 1963, p. 199), because in 276 Bahrām II was only about 16 years old and Bahrām III not yet born«.

⁴⁸ Die Ansicht von W. Hinz [Mani and Kardēr, ibid. 489], daß Šābuhrduxtag die Schwester Wahrāms I. gewesen sei und seinen jüngeren Bruder Narseh geheiratet habe, ist abzulehnen; diese These läßt sich durch die Genealogie der Šābuhr-Inschrift oder durch andere Quellen nicht belegen.

⁴⁹ O. Klíma, Iranische Miscellen II. In: ArOr 28(1960) 464f. — W. Hinz, ibid. 489. — A. Böhlig, Der Manichäismus (1980) 319 Anm. 61.

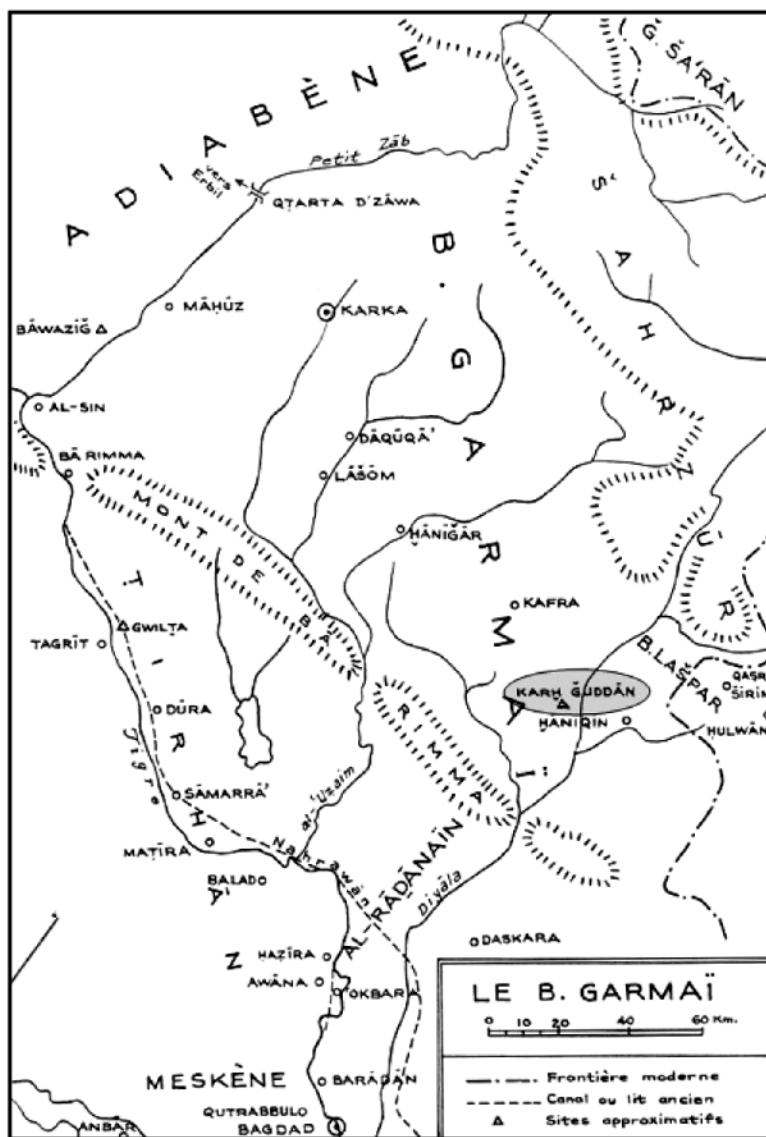


Fig. 2. Karḥ Ǧuddān in Bēt Garmāi
 Aus: J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne III*(1968) 16.

W. Sundermann⁵⁰ zweifelte diese Identifizierung jedoch zunächst an; er ging davon aus, daß zwischen Narseh und Wahrām III. weitere unbekannte Sakenkönige regiert haben könnten⁵¹. Letztendlich hielt W. Sundermann den von O. Klíma, W. Hinz und A. Böhlig in die Diskussion geworfenen Vorschlag — die Gleichsetzung der anonymen Königin der Saken mit Šābuhrduxtag, der Frau des Narseh, — für die »gegenwärtig am wenigsten problematische Lösung«⁵².

Wahrām II., šāhān šāh (276-293 n.Chr.)⁵³

Nach einer kurzen, dreijährigen Regierungszeit Wahrāms I. wurde sein Sohn Wahrām II. im Jahre 276 n.Chr. zum šāhān šāh des Sāsānidenreiches gekrönt. In welchem Alter Wahrām II. Großkönig wurde, muß wegen fehlender Quellen offen bleiben. Daß Wahrām II. jedoch bei seiner Thronbesteigung »nicht älter als siebzehn, höchstens achtzehn Jahre«⁵⁴ gewesen sein könnte, wie W. Hinz annimmt, ist abzulehnen. Der Gelehrte begründet seine Meinung mit der fehlenden Erwähnung Wahrāms II. in der Šābuhr-Inschrift aus dem Jahre 262 n.Chr. und nimmt an, daß er zu diesem Zeitpunkt wohl noch ein Kleinkind war. Dieser Meinung schlossen sich in der Folge weitere Gelehrte an⁵⁵. Dabei übersah W. Hinz die eindeutige Zurücksetzung Wahrāms I. unter den

⁵⁰ W. Sundermann, Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer III(1987) 60 und Anm. 141.

⁵¹ Einer dieser Könige von Sagestān, dessen Herrschaft in diesen Zeitraum fällt, ist wegen seines Aufstandes gegen Wahrām II. namentlich bekannt: Dem Panegyri. III 17,2 zufolge handelt es sich um Ormies [Hormezd], einen Bruder oder Vetter Wahrāms II, der auch Gatte der Sakenkönigin im Turfantext M3 sein könnte.

⁵² W. Sundermann, *ibid.* 60.

⁵³ s. die unterschiedlichen Datierungen: W. Enßlin, Wahrām II. In: RE VII A 2(1948) 2079-2081 (Datierung: 276-293, die auch hier vertreten wird.). — A.Sh. Shahbazi, Bahrām. II. Bahrām II. In: EncIr III(1989) 516-517 (Datierung: 274-291 n.Chr.) — M. Morony, Sāsānids. In: EI² IX(1997) 72-73 (Datierung: 276-293 n.Chr.).

⁵⁴ Altiranische Funde und Forschungen (1969) 189. — Abzulehnen sind des weiteren W. Hinz' präzise Altersangaben der sāsānidischen Könige, die schnell zu Fehlinterpretationen führen. — Die von V.G. Lukonin [Varachran II i Narse (Iran, 70-90 — e gody III.v.). In: VDI [1964(3)] 52; — *id.*, Iran v III veke (1979) 13.] vertretene Ansicht, daß Wahrām II. vor seinem Regierungsantritt bereits als Thronfolger im Königreich Sagestān geherrscht habe, ist nicht nachweisbar.

⁵⁵ V.G. Lukonin, Iran v III veke (1979) 5. — M.-L. Chaumont, La christianisation de l'empire iranien (1988) 102 und Anm. 11. — K. Schippmann, Grundzüge der Geschichte des sasanidischen Reiches (1990) 28. — J. Rist, Die Verfolgung der Christen im spätantiken Sasanidenreich: Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen. In: OrChr 80(1996) 28.

Nachkommen Šābuhrs I. In der Genealogie der Šābuhr-Inschrift (Fig. 1) bezeichnet Šābuhr I. allein Šābuhr von Mēšān, Hormezd-Ardašīr von Armenien und Narseh von Sagestān als seine Söhne und hält auch deren Nachkommen für erwähnenswert. Von dieser Bevorzugung ist Wahrām I. jedoch ausgeschlossen und muß auch einen niedrigeren protokollarischen Rang hinnehmen [ŠKZ I 11]. Von daher dürfte sich auch die fehlende Erwähnung Wahrāms II. unter den Enkeln Šābuhrs I. erklären.

Bei seinem Regierungsantritt sah sich Wahrām II. zunächst mit keinen außenpolitischen Schwierigkeiten konfrontiert. Seine beiden Vorgänger Hormezd I. (270/72-273 n.Chr.) und Wahrām I. (273-276 n.Chr.) hatten wegen ihrer kurzen Herrschaftszeit keine kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit dem römischen Reich zu bestehen⁵⁶. Die Angabe der *Historia Augusta*, Kaiser Aurelian (270-275 n.Chr.) habe im Jahre 275 n.Chr. einen Feldzug gegen die Sāsāniden vorbereitet, darf »als Erfindung gelten«⁵⁷.

Ein Jahr später, im Jahre 276 n.Chr., gelangte Kaiser Probus⁵⁸ (276-282 n.Chr.) zeitgleich mit Wahrām II. an die Regierung. Die Frage allerdings, ob es unter Kaiser Probus zu kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Rom und dem Sāsānidenreich gekommen ist, läßt sich wegen der dürftigen Quellenlage nur schwer beantworten. Drei Quellen sind zu nennen, die in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion erörtert werden: Die *Vita Probi* in der *Historia Augusta*, der griechische Historiker Zosimos und der Papyrus Oxyrhynchus XIV 1713. Das Zeugnis der von zahlreichen Gelehrten als unzuverlässig angesehenen *Vita Probi* in der *Historia Augusta* muß wegen chronologischer und sachlicher Ungenauigkeiten abgelehnt werden⁵⁹. Während

⁵⁶ Nicht aufrecht zu erhalten ist ferner die Nachricht über ein römisch-persisches Friedensabkommen zwischen Kaiser Aurelian und Šābuhr I. Obwohl Aurelian in zwei Papyri des Jahres 275 n.Chr. den Titel eines *Persicus Megistos* führt (s. Anm. 57), kann von einem Krieg der Römer mit dem Perserreich nicht gesprochen werden. Durch welche militärischen Ereignisse Aurelian sich aber den Siegestitel erworben haben könnte, ist nicht sicher zu ermitteln. Die häufig erwähnten persischen Hilfstruppen auf Seiten der palmyrenischen Königin Zenobia, die nach dem Zeugnis des ‚Pseudo-Vopiscus‘ in der *Historia Augusta* für eine sāsānidische Beteiligung am Kampf gegen Aurelian genannt werden, können nicht als Beweis für einen Krieg gegen das römische Reich herangezogen werden.

⁵⁷ SHA A 35,4. — G. Kreucher, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Kaiser Aurelians* (1998) 111f. — W. Felix, *Antike literarische Quellen zur Außenpolitik des Sāsānidenstaates I* (1985) 94f.

⁵⁸ Zur Situation an der römisch-persischen Grenze s. A. Luther, *Roms mesopotamische Provinzen nach der Gefangennahme Valerians* (260) [2006] 203-219; hier 210-217.

⁵⁹ Es ist hier nicht der Ort, auf die vielen kontroversen Beiträge zur Beurteilung der *Vita Probi* (SHA Pr. 17, 4-6; 20,1) in der *Historia Augusta* einzugehen. Die in dieser *Vita*

Zosimos, die Hauptquelle für die Zeit des Kaisers Probus, eingehend über dessen Aktivitäten im römischen Reich berichtet, findet sich bei ihm keine Erwähnung von außenpolitischen Divergenzen oder Kontakten zum Sāsānidenreich. Andererseits erfahren wir aus dem untrüglichen Zeugnis des Papyrus Oxyrhynchus XIV 1713 vom 21. Oktober 279 n.Chr.⁶⁰, daß Kaiser Probus den Titel eines Περσικὸς μέγιστος getragen hat, der jedoch mit den zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen schwerlich zu vereinbaren sein dürfte. Aufschlußreich ist dagegen, daß dieser Siegestitel in den Inschriften des Probus⁶¹ fehlt. Außerdem gibt es auch keine numismatischen Zeugnisse für Kriegszüge des Probus an der Grenze zum Sāsānidenreich. Nach K. Pink »ist eine Unternehmung des Probus gegen Persien unwahrscheinlich«⁶². Auch liegen keine Prägungen der östlichen Münzstätten, die auf einen Feldzug des Probus bezogen werden könnten, für diesen Zeitraum vor. Desungeachtet muß aber ein nur schwer zu bestimmender Erfolg für das römische Reich vor dem Herbst des Jahres 279 n.Chr. angenommen werden. Ein Friedensabkommen mit Wahrām II., wie ihn die *Historia Augusta* in der unzuverlässigen *Vita Probi*⁶³ erwähnt, findet keine Entsprechung in anderen Quellen. Die Ermordung des Kaisers Probus im Jahre 282 n.Chr. setzte seinen Unternehmungen ein Ende.

angeführten Ereignisse werden von anderen Quellen nicht bestätigt: Gesandtschaften der Parther mit Geschenken an den Kaiser Probus, Brief des Kaisers Probus an Narseus (!), Friedensabkommen mit den Persern und Vorbereitungen für einen neuen Perserfeldzug. — Zur Bewertung der Quellen s. E. Kettenhofen, Rez. zu E. Winter, [Die sāsānidisch-römischen Friedensverträge des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. Frankfurt a.M. 1988. (EHS III, 350.)] in: *BiOr* 47(1990) 163-178; hier 170. — s. auch die ausführliche Diskussion bei E. Kettenhofen, *Tirdād und die Inschrift von Paikuli* (1995) 62-64 und ebenfalls bei G. Kreucher, *Der Kaiser Marcus Aurelius Probus und seine Zeit* (2003) 158-161: Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Sasanidenreich (vor Mitte 279 n.Chr.).

⁶⁰ E. Kettenhofen, *Tirdād und die Inschrift von Paikuli* (1995) 63. — id., *Zur Siegestitulatur des Kaisers Probus*. In: *Živa Antika* 36(1986) 39-43. — M. Peachin, *Roman imperial Titulature and chronology, A.D. 235-284* (1990) 47; 94-98; 423-441.

⁶¹ E. Kettenhofen, *Zur Siegestitulatur des Kaisers Probus*, *ibid.* 43. — A. Luther, *Roms mesopotamische Provinzen nach der Gefangennahme Valerians (260)* [2006] 211 und Anm. 50.

⁶² K. Pink, *Der Aufbau der römischen Münzprägung in der Kaiserzeit VI/1 Probus*. In: *NumZ* 73(1949) 13-74.

⁶³ SHA, *Prob.* 18,1: *facta igitur pace cum Persis*. — s. auch W. Enßlin, *Wahram II.* In: *RE VII A 2*(1948) 2079. — E. Winter, *Die sāsānidisch-römischen Friedensverträge des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.* (1988) 128 Anm. 6. — Dazu die Rez. von E. Kettenhofen in: *BiOr* 47(1990) 163-178; hier 170.

Eindeutiger stellt sich die Quellenlage für Probus' Nachfolger Kaiser Carus (282-283 n.Chr.) und sein Wirken an der Grenze⁶⁴ zum Sāsānidenreich dar. Zahlreiche Quellen⁶⁵ bezeugen Carus' Feldzug des Jahres 283 n.Chr. gegen das Sāsānidenreich, etwa sein Einfall nach Mesopotamien, vor allem aber sein überraschendes Vordringen auf sāsānidisches Reichsgebiet⁶⁶ bis nach Coche (Seleukeia am Tigris) und die Aufsehen erregende Einnahme der persischen Hauptstadt Ktesiphon. Für diesen militärischen Erfolg erhielt Kaiser Carus⁶⁷ den Titel Περσικὸς μέγιστος. Daß Carus' Kriegszug ohne erkennbaren Widerstand geblieben ist, scheint kaum glaubhaft, deutet aber mit Sicherheit auf eine schwere innenpolitische Schwäche der Regierung Wahrāms II. und der militärischen Abwehr im Westen des Sāsānidenreiches hin. Festus berichtet neben der Historia Augusta und Eutropius⁶⁸ über den Grund des fehlenden persischen Widerstandes⁶⁹. Eutropius und die Historia Augusta sprechen lapidar von *Persarum tumultus* und *Persis domestica seditio*. Tatsächlich waren im Osten des Sāsānidenreiches Unruhen ausgebrochen: Ormies (Hormezd), nach dem Panegyricus III 17,2⁷⁰ wohl Bruder⁷¹ Wahrāms II., ein Prinz aus dem regierenden

⁶⁴ A. Luther, *ibid.* 211-213; 217.

⁶⁵ Aurelius Victor 38,2f. — Eutropius IX,18,1f. — Festus 24,5-10. — Hieronymus 284, S. 224,22-225,1 — Paulus Orosius VII, 24,4. — Epitome de Caesaribus 38,1. — Iordanes 294, S. 38,6-9. — Malalas 302,20-303,4. — Synkellos 472,11-12. — SHA Car. 8,1-6. — Kedrenos 464,6-9. — Zonaras XII 30, S. 610,20-611,6.

⁶⁶ Eutropius IX,18,1. — Festus 24,8-10. — SHA, Car. 8,1. — Hieronymus 284, S. 224,22-225,1. — Paulus Orosius VII,24,4 — Iordanes 294, S. 38,6-9. — Aurelius Victor 38,3. — Ammianus Marcellinus XXIV,5,3. — Synkellos 472, 11-12.

⁶⁷ M. Peachin, *Roman imperial Titulature and chronology, A.D. 235 — 284* (1990) 48-50; 98-99; 444-471.

⁶⁸ Eutropius IX 18,1: *sed dum bellum adversus Sarmatas gerit, nuntiatio Persarum tumultu ad Orientem profectus res contra Persas nobiles gessit*. — Auch die Historia Augusta hat Kenntnis von innenpolitischen Schwierigkeiten: SHA, Car. 8,1.

⁶⁹ Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 38,2f. — Eutropius IX,18,1. — Hieronymus 284f. — Festus 24, 5-10. — SHA, Car. 8,1-2: *Ingenti apparatu et toti[u]s viribus Probi profligato magna ex parte bello Sarmatico, quod gerebat, contra Persas profectus nullo sibi occurrente Mesopotamia[m] Carus cepit et <C>tesiphontem usque pervenit occupatisque Persis domestica seditione imperatoris Persi<c>i nomen emeruit*.

⁷⁰ *In Praise of later Roman emperors. The Panegyrici Latini*. Introd., transl., and historical commentary with the Latin text of R.A.B. Mynors, C.E.V. Nixon and B. Saylor Rodgers (1994) 541 [Text]; 101 [Übers.]: «Ipsos Persas ipsumque regem adscitis Sacis et Rufiis et Gelis petit frater Ormies nec respicit uel pro maiestate quasi regem uel pro pietate quasi fratrem». Weber, U. & Wiesehöfer, J., 2008: 217-225.

⁷¹ V.G. Lukonin [*Iran v III veke* (1979) 13: genealogische Tafel 1; 123] und R.N. Frye [*The History of ancient Iran* (1984) 304f.] vermuteten, daß es sich bei Ormies wohl eher um Hormezd, einen Vetter Wahrāms II. handeln müsse. Dieser Hormezd [ŠKZ I 22] war der älteste Sohn König Šābuhrs von Mešān. — s. Fig. 1. Genealogie der Šābuhr-Inschrift.

Königshaus, hatte sich mit Hilfe der Saci, der Rufii und der Geli⁷² gegen den Großkönig erhoben. Ausgangspunkt für Ormies' (Hormezds) Rebellion gegen Wahrām II. war das Vizekönigtum Sagestān, das schon Narseh der Šābuhr-Inschrift (262 n.Chr.) zufolge neben Tūrān und Hind(estān) selbständig verwaltet hatte. Die Quellenlage zu diesem Aufstand bleibt aber äußerst dürftig. Primärquellen zu diesen Ereignissen existieren nicht, noch geben die arabisch-persischen Quellen irgendwelche Hinweise auf die sehr bedrohliche Lage im Sāsānidenreich während der achtziger Jahre des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. Jedoch erwähnen drei Sekundärquellen, der Panegyricus III 17,2, Eutropius und die Historia Augusta⁷³ diese innerpersischen Machtkämpfe. Daß es sich um einen dynastischen Kampf innerhalb der sāsānidischen Königsfamilie gehandelt haben muß, darf vorausgesetzt werden. Über Beginn und Länge des Aufstandes machen die Sekundärquellen allerdings keine Angaben. Daß diese Unruhen schon länger andauerten, beweist Eutropius' Nachricht von einer Erhebung im Sāsānidenreich. Danach soll Kaiser Carus schon während der Vorbereitungen

⁷² Die Identifizierung und Lokalisierung dieser Volksstämme, der Rufii und Geli — ausgenommen der Saci (Saken) — bleibt ungeklärt, obwohl J. Marquart [Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i (1901) 36] eine neue Lesung versucht hat: danach sei der Name Rufi in Cussi (Kūšān) zu verbessern. — Diese Lesung vertrat auch A. Herrmann [Sakastane. In: RE I A 2(1920) 1807-1812; hier 1812], E. Herzfeld [Paikuli 1(1924) 42] und M.-L. Chaumont [Recherches sur l'histoire d'Arménie (1969) 100 Anm. 5: »Il n'est guère contestable que dans ce texte Rufiis soit à corriger en Cusiis (Kushans)«]. — Weiterhin ist zu fragen, ob es sich bei den Geli [Gaeli] tatsächlich um die Bevölkerung des Königreiches Gēlān im Süden des Kaspischen Meeres handelt, in dem Wahrām I. vor seiner Thronbesteigung als König herrschte. Dieses Gebiet dürfte zu weit von der eigentlichen Region des Ormies (Hormezd) — Aufstandes entfernt gelegen haben, als daß man in den Bewohnern von Gēlān die hier genannten Geli sehen könnte. — Eher könnte es sich bei diesen Gelani um westliche Grenzstämme von Kūšānšahr handeln, wie J. Harmatta vermutete [Chionitae, Euseni, Gelani. In: AAntHung 31(1985-1988) 43-51; hier 46: »In fact, we have reliable evidence for the existence of a land Gēlān lying southeast of Marv-i rōd and Tālaqān. ... They [Gelani] might have been one of the western frontier-guard tribes of Kušānšahr and the later Chionite kingdom«]. — Ebenso Ph. Huyse, ŠKZ 2(1999) 118 Anm. 199: »Die Gelani in Amm. Marc. XVII, 5,1 haben nichts mit der Bevölkerung an der Südwestküste des Kaspischen Meeres zu tun, sondern sind wahrscheinlich an der Westgrenze des Kušānreiches zu lokalisieren (vgl. J. Harmatta, ibid. (1985-88), 46) und vielleicht mit baktr. Γηλανο, Γιλανο identisch (Davary 1982, 197)«. — G. J. Davary, Baktrisch. Ein Wörterbuch auf Grund der Inschriften, Handschriften, Münzen und Siegelsteine. Heidelberg (1982) 197: »...während der Ausdruck Gilani bei Ammianus zum Titel des Königs von Gīlān in Marw ar-Rūd gehört, wie aus den Angaben von Ibn Xurdādbih (almasālik wa 'l-mamālik, ed. de Goeje 39) hervorgeht. Danach führte der König von Marw ar-Rūd den Titel kīlān (lies: gīlān), der als gīlān šāh bzw. als Appellativum zu deuten wäre«.

⁷³ Paneg. III 17,2. — Eutropius IX 18,1. — SHA Car. 8,1.

seines Sarmatenfeldzuges im Jahre 282/283 n.Chr. über die innerpersischen Unruhen informiert gewesen sein. Wahrām II. sah sich gezwungen, alle militärischen Kräfte im Osten des Reiches zu bündeln, um den Aufstand niederzuschlagen. Nach annähernd zehnjährigen Auseinandersetzungen, nahezu gegen Ende seiner Regierungszeit, gelang es Wahrām II., den Aufstand des Ormies niederzuschlagen. Zum Ausdruck des Sieges in diesem langen dynastischen Kampf ernannte⁷⁴ Wahrām II. seinen gleichnamigen Sohn zum sagān šāh. Ormies (Hormezd) selbst, dessen Name in der Pāikūlī-Inschrift (293 n.Chr.) unter den Anhängern des Großkönigs Narseh fehlt und über den keine weiteren Nachrichten mehr vorliegen, dürfte in diesen Kämpfen umgekommen sein⁷⁵.

Durch den Einfall der römischen Truppen auf das westliche sāsānidische Reichsgebiet, verbunden mit der Eroberung der Hauptstadt Ktesiphon, und durch die Bekämpfung des fast zehn Jahre dauernden Aufstandes des Ormies im Osten Ērāns, waren Wahrāms II. politische Abwehrmaßnahmen stark eingeschränkt. Außen- und innenpolitisch war das Sāsānidenreich in große Bedrängnis geraten. So kam der plötzliche Tod des Kaisers Carus im Jahre 283 n.Chr. und die baldige Beendigung⁷⁶ des römischen Angriffskrieges durch seinen Nachfolger Numerian Wahrām II. sehr gelegen und verhinderten die Eroberung weiterer Gebiete des Sāsānidenreiches durch die Römer. Über einen Friedensabschluß oder Gebietsabtretungen finden sich bei Aurelius Victor⁷⁷ und in anderen Quellen keine Hinweise. Der anfangs siegreiche Feldzug des Kaisers Carus blieb für das Sāsānidenreich außen- und innenpolitisch somit ohne Folgen⁷⁸. Auch das Problem einer

⁷⁴ Agathias IV 24,6-8: »Wahrām, sagān šāh«. Diesen Titel trägt Wahrām III. auch in der Pāikūlī-Inschrift: passim [H. Humbach/P.O. Skjærvø, *The Sasanian Inscription of Paikuli*. 3 Parts. Wiesbaden 1978-1983]. Vgl. auch V.G. Lukonin, *Varachran II i Narse* (Iran, 70-90 — e gody III.v.). In: VDI [1964(3)] 57.

⁷⁵ Daß es noch weitere Aufstände gegen Wahrām II. gegeben haben könnte, ist nicht völlig auszuschließen. So berichtet allein die Chronik von Arbela (ed. P. Kawerau X, S. 37,20-40,3) von der Rebellion des Gūprašnasp, des mauhaptā der Adiabēnē (Oberhaupt der Magier). Allerdings bleiben sowohl die genauere Datierung während der Regierungszeit Wahrāms II. wie auch die Gründe für diese Rebellion unbekannt. Gegen die Historizität dieser Rebellion spricht aber vor allem der legendenhafte Stil des Berichts.

⁷⁶ F. Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie* (1987) 13.

⁷⁷ Aurelius Victor 38,6.

⁷⁸ W. Enßlin, *Zur Ostpolitik des Kaisers Diokletian* (1942) 7ff. — U. Asche, *Roms Weltherrschaftsidee und Aussenpolitik in der Spätantike im Spiegel der Panegyrici Latini* (1983) 71. — E. Winter, *Die sāsānidisch-römischen Friedensverträge des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.* (1988) 134. — zu E. Winter s. auch die Rez. von E. Kettenhofen, in: BiOr 47(1990) 163-178; hier 171.

Grenzregulierung oder gar eines Friedensabschlusses war zunächst ungelöst. Erst als Kaiser Diokletian 286/287 n.Chr. in den Osten zurückkehrte, um Maßnahmen zur Konsolidierung des Grenzgebietes vorzubereiten, schickte Wahrām II. 287 n.Chr., vermutlich beunruhigt durch die Präsenz des Kaisers, Gesandte mit kostbaren Geschenken an Diokletian⁷⁹, um dessen Freundschaft zu gewinnen und ein Friedensabkommen auszuhandeln. Für Wahrām II. war eine friedliche Einigung mit Rom unerlässlich, da der dynastische Kampf gegen seinen Bruder Ormies (Hormezd) in Sagestān immer noch andauerte und wohl den Großteil seiner Streitkräfte in Anspruch nahm. Ein Zweifrontenkrieg hätte für Wahrām II. in dieser schwierigen Situation wahrscheinlich den Verlust der Herrschaft bedeutet. Daß Wahrām II. jedoch nach Aussage des Panegyrikers Mamertinus (289 n.Chr.) sich völlig dem römischen Kaiser Diokletian unterworfen habe, muß als typischer Stil eines Panegyrikers gewertet werden. Es kam wohl im Jahre 288 n.Chr. zu einer Friedensregelung, die eher auf einem »mündlichen Übereinkommen«⁸⁰ als auf einem exakt formuliertem Friedensvertrag beruhte. Mit Sicherheit kann man davon ausgehen, daß es zu Gebietsabtretungen auf Seiten der Sāsāniden nicht gekommen ist, da derartige Annexionen in den Panegyrici zum Ruhme des Kaisers erwähnt worden wären. Als Beweis für diese noch im Jahre 293/294 n.Chr. gültige Friedensregelung kann die Aussage des Großkönigs Narseh auf seiner Inschrift von Pāikūlī gewertet werden: »And Caesar and the Romans were in gratitude (?) and peace and friendship with Us«⁸¹.

Persönlichkeit Wahrāms II.

Die Persönlichkeit Wahrāms II. an Hand der zahlreichen Quellen zu beschreiben, bleibt wegen der gegensätzlichen Aussagen eine schwierige Aufgabe. Die einzigen Primärquellen, die Wahrāms II. Charakter, seine Einstellung zum Zarathustrismus und seine Religionspolitik widerspiegeln, sind die Inschriften des mowbed Kerdīr. Nahezu enthusiastisch preist Kerdīr Wahrām II. als einen großzügigen, rechtschaffenen, freundlichen,

⁷⁹ In Praise of later Roman emperors. The Panegyrici Latini, ed. R.A.B. Mynors/C.E.V. Nixon/B.S. Rodgers (1994) X (2) 9,2; X (2) 10,6; X (2) 10,7; X (2) 7,5.

⁸⁰ E. Winter, *ibid.* (1988) 141.

⁸¹ Zu Recht macht E. Kettenhofen auf diesen komplexen Zusammenhang aufmerksam in: *Rez. zu E. Winter, ibid.* 171. — H. Humbach/P.O. Skjærvø, *NPi* 3.1(1983) 70 = § 91.

wohltätigen und altruistischen Herrscher. Den Inschriften zufolge habe Wahrām II. allein aus Liebe zu Ahura Mazda und den Göttern mit der Unterstützung Kerdīrs die Kulthandlungen gefördert und die Irrlehren Ahremans und der Daewas bekämpft. Wahrām II. war in der Tat ein eifriger Förderer des Zarathustrismus⁸², indem er unter Mitwirkung Kerdīrs und der zarathustrischen Geistlichkeit die anderen Religionen des Sāsānidenreiches, die der Juden, Buddhisten, Bramanen, Mandäer, Christen, Jainas und der Manichäer harten Verfolgungen aussetzte⁸³. Kerdīrs sehr positives Urteil über Wahrām II. darf nicht als objektiv bewertet werden, sondern erklärt sich verständlicherweise aus dem engen Verhältnis zu Wahrām I. und seinem Sohn Wahrām II. Während ihrer Regierungszeit stieg Kerdīr zu höchsten Ehren im Sāsānidenreich auf.

Weitere Beurteilungen der Herrschaft Wahrāms II. finden sich nur in den arabischen Quellen der dritten Tradition. Auch diese Quellen zeichnen ein sehr unterschiedliches Bild von Wahrām II. Ṭabarī⁸⁴ bescheinigt ihm vorzügliche Kenntnisse in den Regierungsgeschäften. Dieser Beurteilung schließt sich auch Ṭabarīs persischer Übersetzer Balʿamī⁸⁵ an, der die Gerechtigkeit Wahrāms II. gegenüber seinen Untergebenen hervorhebt. Eine ähnliche Äußerung findet sich in der *Histoire Nestorienne*⁸⁶, in der die Fürsorge des Großkönigs gegenüber seinen Soldaten erwähnt wird.

Kraß gegensätzliche Äußerungen lassen sich auf das Oberhaupt der zarathustrischen Geistlichkeit zurückführen, dessen Name jedoch nicht überliefert ist. At-Taʿālibī⁸⁷ unterstellt Wahrām II. Überheblichkeit, Arroganz und Brutalität. Al-Maqdisī⁸⁸ kommt zu einem ähnlichen Urteil und bescheinigt dem Großkönig Dummheit, Verachtung des Volkes und eine allgemein inhumane Verhaltensweise. Al-Masʿūdī⁸⁹ wirft Wahrām II. einen leichtfertigen Lebenswandel vor, seine ausschließliche Vorliebe für Zerstreuungen,

⁸² K. Mosig-Walburg, *Die frühen sasanidischen Könige als Vertreter und Förderer der zarathustrischen Religion* (1982) passim.

⁸³ M. Back, *SSI* (1978) 414-416.

⁸⁴ At-Tabarī, *Annales I* (1881) 834,20. — Th. Nöldeke, *Tabarī* (1879) 48. — C.E. Bosworth, *al-Ṭabarī* (1999) 46.

⁸⁵ Balʿamī, *Chronique de Tabarī* 2(1958) 90.

⁸⁶ *Histoire Nestorienne* (*Chronique de Séert*) I^e partie (1971) 237.

⁸⁷ al-Thaʿālibī, *Histoire des Rois des Perses* (1900) 503-507.

⁸⁸ el-Maqdisī, *Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire de ...* (1903) 158,14-159,12; 162.

⁸⁹ Masʿūdī, *Les Prairies d'or* 1(1966) 292,11-294,23 = § 595-599; 1(1962) 222 = § 595: « ...le pays tomba en ruine, les cultures diminuèrent, les finances de l'Etat s'épuisèrent, les éléments forts de l'armée s'affaiblirent et les faibles périrent ».

seine Jagdleidenschaft und die Vernachlässigung der Regierungsgeschäfte. Zusätzlich faßt al-Masʿūdī seine Vorwürfe zusammen in ungerechtfertigter Begünstigung der Höflinge und des Adels, einer Clique, die mit Landbesitz und Steuerermäßigung bevorzugt wurde. Folge dieser Politik seien der Ruin der Staatsfinanzen, der Niedergang der Landwirtschaft und die Ineffizienz der Armee gewesen.

Eine Religionspolitik, die den Zarathustrismus einseitig begünstigte, wird man Wahrām II. bescheinigen müssen. Es bleibt aber das Urteil al-Masʿūdīs bestehen, der den allgemeinen Niedergang des Sāsānidenreiches unter Wahrām II. feststellt.

Familie Wahrāms II.

Aus der großen Zahl der Familienmitglieder Wahrāms II. ragen vier Persönlichkeiten heraus, deren Existenz durch Quellen belegt ist: Zunächst sein Bruder (oder Vetter?) Ormies (Hormezd), ferner zwei Ehefrauen, an erster Stelle Anonyma, die Königin der Königinnen, in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur bislang Šābuhrduxtag genannt, dann seine Nebenfrau Qandīdā und des weiteren Wahrāms Sohn und Nachfolger Wahrām III.

Die Persönlichkeit der »Šābuhrduxtag« an Hand der Quellen zu beschreiben, bleibt ein schwieriges Unterfangen. Im Gegensatz zur vorherrschenden Meinung einiger Gelehrter ist ihr Name m. E. weder durch Inschriften und Münzen belegt, noch durch literarische Quellen bekannt geworden. Der russische Gelehrte V.G. Lukonin glaubte sich auf eine einzige Münze stützen zu können, die nach seiner Meinung neben dem Namen und Titel Wahrāms II. auch Name und Titel seiner Frau überliefert: MLKTʿn MLKTʿ šhypwḥrdwḥtky⁹⁰, Šābuhrduxtag, Königin der Königinnen⁹¹. R. Gyselen, die sich ein-

⁹⁰ Diese Münze befindet sich nach V.G. Lukonin im Historischen Museum in Moskau unter der Inventarnummer GIM 47987 [V.G. Lukonin, Varachran II i Narse. In: VDI [1964(3)] Beilage Nr. 8]. — Sowohl die voneinander abweichende Nummerierung der zitierten Münzen als auch die unterschiedliche Lesung von Namen und Titel der »Šābuhrduxtag« sorgen für Verwirrung. — Vgl. V.G. Lukonin, *ibid.* 48-63; hier 61, Nr. 2; 62, Nr. 8: šhpwḥrdwḥtky MLKTʿn MLKTʿ. — *id.*, Kulʿtura Sasanidskogo Irana: Iran v III-V vv.(1969) 44; 116: GIM 899-902; 174: šhypwḥrdwḥtky ZY MLKTʿn MLKTʿ; Taf. VIII, 901; 903. — *id.*, Iran v III veke (1979) 44: šhypwḥrdwḥtky MLKTʿ [sic] MLKTʿ; 102 [russ.]; 116: MLKTʿn MLKTʿ [engl. Übers.]; Tabl. 5, Nr. 2 (GIM 902).

⁹¹ Nach W. Hinz [Altiranische Funde und Forschungen (1969) 194] habe V.G. Lukonin diese Münze während des V. Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie in Teheran 1968 vorgestellt [M.A. Dandamaev, V Meždunarodnyj kongress iranskogo iskusstva i

gehend mit den Münzen Wahrāms II. befaßt hat, ist der Ansicht, daß auf keiner seiner Münzen, auch nicht auf der von Lukonin herangezogenen, der Name Šābuhrduxtag eingraviert sei⁹². Nur der Titel MLKT'n MLKT' sei auf dieser einen Münze zu erkennen. Auch M. Alram »zweifelt grundsätzlich an der Existenz« einer solchen Münze⁹³ mit dem Namenszug Šābuhrduxtag.

Der Name Šābuhrduxtag ist in der Genealogie der Šābuhr-Inschrift (Fig. 1) nicht ungewöhnlich und von zwei Mitgliedern der sāsānidischen Königsfamilie bekannt: So von Šābuhrduxtag, der Königin der Saken [ŠKZ I 12] und Ehefrau des Sakenkönigs Narseh, des späteren Großkönigs, und von Šābuhrduxtag [ŠKZ I 28], der Tochter des Königs Šābuhr von Mēšān, der Cousine Wahrāms II. Letztere wurde in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion vorschnell als Beweis für Lukonins Lesung der Münzlegende herangezogen. Obgleich eine eheliche Verbindung Wahrāms II. mit seiner Cousine Šābuhrduxtag nicht grundsätzlich ausgeschlossen werden kann, darf ihre Identifizierung mit der Königin der Königinnen nicht zwingend vorausgesetzt werden. Daher halte ich es für sinnvoll, die Ehefrau Wahrāms II. als Anonyma⁹⁴ zu bezeichnen. Für diese These spricht, wie dargelegt, daß Hinweise zu ihrem Namen in den Quellen fehlen.

Wenn es auch nicht gelingt, den Namen dieser Königin der Königinnen aufzuspüren, so geben jedoch die archäologischen Zeugnisse, wie Münzen, Felsreliefs und das Silbergefäß aus Sargveši (Georgien), immerhin Kenntnis vom Erscheinungsbild der Ehefrau Wahrāms II. und von ihren königlichen Insignien. Bemerkenswert ist, daß Wahrām II. der erste Sāsānidenkönig ist, der auf der Vorderseite von Münzen seine Frau verewigt hat. Auf den verschiedenen Münzen trägt die Königin stets eine hohe Kronenhaube mit umgebundenen Diadem. Die Haube selbst kann mit Perlen oder einem Wellenband geschmückt sein, oder in einem Tierkopf enden. Solche Tierkopfhäuben (Fig. 3) zeigen entweder den Kopf eines Ebers, eines Pferdes oder eines Greifs⁹⁵. Der Symbolgehalt der drei letzten Häuben weist auf

archeologii. In: VDI (1969,3) 205-208]. Angaben zu V.G. Lukonins Vortrag liefert der Kongreßbericht Dandamaevs jedoch nicht.

⁹² Briefliche Mitteilung vom 11.6.2007.

⁹³ Briefliche Mitteilung vom 6.3.2007. — Auch konnte M. Alram in seinem Buch »Nomina Propria Iranica in Nummis«, Wien 1986, keine Münze mit dem Namen der Šābuhrduxtag, die neben der Büste Wahrāms II. abgebildet ist, anführen.

⁹⁴ »Anonyma, Königin der Königinnen, Ehefrau Wahrāms II.« in: U. Weber, Prosopographie (2002ff.)

⁹⁵ R. Göbl, Sasanidische Numismatik (1968) 44. — id., Sasanian Coins. In: CHI 3,1(1983) 326-327. — J.K. Choksy, A Sāsānian Monarch, his queen, crown prince, and deities: the coinage of Wahrām II. In: AJN, 2nd series, 1(1989) 117-135; Pl. 10-11; hier 122.

eine besondere Nähe zu Vərəθraϥna, einem der höchsten Götter des Zaratrustrismus hin, dessen Kult die beiden Großkönige Wahrām I. und sein Sohn Wahrām II. in besonderem Maße gefördert haben. Unter der runden Kronenhaube der Königin, die ihre Haartracht verdeckt, kommen auf diesem Münztypus rechts und links ihrer Wangen nur zwei bis auf die Schultern herabfallende Haarflechten zum Vorschein. Zum königlichen Schmuck gehört ferner eine aus dicken runden Perlen bestehende Halskette.

Das einzige vollständige Abbild dieser Königin zeigt das Felsrelief von Sar Mašhad⁹⁶ (Fig. 7-9): Es ist der Moment festgehalten, in dem Wahrām II. sich schützend vor die Königin und die beiden nachfolgenden Personen stellt. Sie trägt ein bodenlanges, weites Gewand mit langen Ärmeln, das in der Taille gegürtet ist. Zwei Schließen halten den lang über die Schultern herabfallenden Überwurf. Die Verhüllung ihres linken Armes weist darauf hin, daß es sich bei dieser Figur nur um die Königin und nicht um die Göttin Anāhitā handeln kann. Ihre hohe Kronenhaube, mit einem Diadem geschmückt, ist in dieser Szene durch ein senkrecht verlaufendes, aufgesetztes Band gekennzeichnet. Deutlich sichtbar sind die langen vor und hinter ihrem Ohr herabhängenden Haarflechten. Zu den königlichen Insignien gehört die aus großen Perlen gefaßte Halskette⁹⁷.

Auf dem Felsrelief von Naqš-i Rostam (Fig. 16-17) ist die Frau Wahrāms II. aber wieder nur als Brustbild, zu sehen. Sie trägt die bekannte Kronenhaube mit umgebundenem Diadem, hier jedoch ergänzt durch einen Wangen- und Nackenschutz⁹⁸.

Das Silbergefäß von Sargveši⁹⁹ (Fig. 23-25) in Form einer Kylix überliefert ein eindrucksvolles Brustbild der Frau Wahrāms II., das in einem der vier vorhandenen Medaillons zu sehen ist. Die Darstellung der königlichen Kronenhaube auf dem Silbergefäß von Sargveši zeigt — abgesehen von dem Wellenband — große Ähnlichkeiten mit der Haube auf dem Relief von Naqš-i Rostam. Beide Kronenhauben zeichnen sich durch einen Wangen- bzw. Nackenschutz aus, der von den Kronen der Großkönige her bekannt ist. Unterhalb dieses Schutzes sind zwei Haarflechten zu erkennen.

⁹⁶ L. Trümpelmann, Das sasanidische Felsrelief von Sar Mašhad. Berlin (1975) Taf. 7. (Iranische Denkmäler, Lfg. 5, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs A).

⁹⁷ Zur unterschiedlichen Interpretation dieses Reliefs s. den Abschnitt: Felsreliefs Wahrāms II.

⁹⁸ Dieses Relief ist ausführlicher besprochen im Abschnitt: Felsreliefs Wahrāms II.

⁹⁹ P.O. Harper, Sasanian Medallion Bowls with human busts (1974) 61-80; hier 63f.; 70; Fig. 2. — Ebenf. abgedr. in: P.O. Harper/P. Meyers, Silver vessels of the Sasanian period I (1981) 24-39; hier 25; 30f.; 165; Pl. 2 (S. 203).



a)



b)



c)



d)

Fig. 3. Kronenhauben der Anonyma, der Königin der Königinnen,
der Ehefrau Wahrāms II.

- a) und b) Münzen Wahrāms II. aus dem Kunsthistorischen Museum, Wien
c) Felsrelief von Sar Mašhad: Königin der Königinnen (Ausschnitt)
d) Silbergefäß von Sargveši: Königin der Königinnen

Das von den Münzen her bekannte Wellenband der königlichen Haube ist auch auf dem Silbergefäß von Sargveši zu sehen. Es verläuft oberhalb der Stirn und schmückt gleichzeitig die Konturen der Haube. Zum festen Bestandteil der königlichen Insignien gehört ferner die aus dicken runden Perlen bestehende Halskette. Kennzeichnend für die Darstellung der Königin an dieser Kylix ist ihre rechte erhobene Hand, die eine Blüte hält und diese offenbar dem König überreichen will.

An Qandīdā¹⁰⁰, die zweite Frau Wahrāms II., erinnern zwei Quellen, ein syrisches Manuskript der British Library (Add. 12142, ff. 104^a-107^b) aus dem 6. Jahrhundert n.Chr.¹⁰¹, und die *Histoire Nestorienne* in arabischer Sprache¹⁰² aus dem 11. Jahrhundert n.Chr. Als Hauptquelle darf die syrischsprachige Märtyrerakte der Qandīdā gelten, während die *Histoire Nestorienne* nur sehr knapp über Qandīdā, jedoch mehr über das Verhältnis Wahrāms II. zu Manichäern und Christen berichtet.

Qandīdā dürfte nicht aus dem Sāsānidenreich stammen, wie schon ihr Name nahe legt. Vermutlich gehörte sie oder sogar schon ihre Eltern zu den Bewohnern der römischen Provinzen Syrien, Kilikien oder Kappadokien, die Šābuhr I. während seiner Kriegszüge gegen das römische Reich erobert hatte. Aus dem Tatenbericht Šābuhrs I. [ŠKZ]¹⁰³ und aus der *Histoire Nestorienne*¹⁰⁴ geht hervor, daß der Großkönig viele römische Kriegsgefangene, darunter auch viele Christen, deportiert¹⁰⁵ und in Mesopotamien, in der Persis und in Parthien angesiedelt hatte.

In den beiden genannten Quellen und in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion tritt ihr Name in drei Versionen auf: Candida, Qandīdā und Qandīrā. Wegen ihrer Herkunft aus dem römischen Reich dürfte ihr ursprünglicher Name Candida gewesen sein, der später auf Grund ihrer syrisch-sprachigen

¹⁰⁰ s. »Qandīdā« in: U. Weber, *Prosopographie* (2002ff.).

¹⁰¹ S. Brock, A Martyr at the Sasanid court under Vahran II: Candida. In: *AnalBolland* 96(1978) 167-181. — F. Nau, *Résumé de monographies syriaques*: X. — Martyre de Qandida (1). In: *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 2^e série, X(XX) [1915-17] 23-24.

¹⁰² *Histoire Nestorienne* (Chronique de Séert). Première Partie (I). Publ. par A. Scher. Paris 1908. — Repr. Turnhout (1971) 237-239. (*Patrologia Orientalis* IV,3).

¹⁰³ Ph. Huyse, ŠKZ 1(1999) 43f. = mpI 20-21; paI 15-16; grI 34-35.

¹⁰⁴ *Histoire Nestorienne*, *ibid.* (1971) 220-223.

¹⁰⁵ S.N.C. Lieu, *Captives, refugees and exiles: A Study of cross-frontier civilian movements and contacts between Rome and Persia from Valerian to Jovian* (1986) 475-505; hier 483f. — E. Kettenhofen, *Deportations. II. In the Parthian and Sasanian periods*. In: *EncIr* VII,3(1994) 297-308; 298-299.

Umgebung in Qandīdā umgeformt wurde. Die in der arabischen Histoire Nestorienne zu findende Version Qandīrā beruht auf einer falschen Lesung des syrischen Namens Qandīdā, da die Buchstaben dālat und rēš im Syrischen leicht verwechselt werden können¹⁰⁶.

Die Märtyrerakte der Qandīdā des syrischen Manuskripts der British Library trägt legendenhafte Züge. Sie schildert die Beziehung zwischen Wahrām II. und seiner Frau Qandīdā, berichtet von ihrer Schönheit aber auch von den grausamen Folterungen, die sie wegen ihres standhaften Glaubens erleiden mußte. Wahrām II. habe Qandīdā zunächst zu seiner Frau gemacht, ʾattat malkā, und habe ihr versprochen, wenn sie ihrem christlichen Glauben abschwöre und zum Zarathustrismus überträte, ihr den Titel einer rēšā d malkātā ... b-malkūt(y) [syr.], d.h. einer »chief queen of my realm«¹⁰⁷, zu verleihen. Wie aber könnte der entsprechende Titel im Mittelpersischen geheißen haben? Die Šābuhr-Inschrift erwähnt zwei Titel, den einer bāmbišnān bāmbišn, einer Königin der Königinnen, und den nur einmal verwendeten, protokollarisch tiefer rangierenden Titel einer šahr bāmbišn, einer Königin des Reiches¹⁰⁸. S. Brock nimmt an¹⁰⁹, daß das mittelpersische Äquivalent zum syrischen Titel »rēšā d malkātā«, 'chief queen of the realm', šahr bāmbišn heißen könnte. Daß jedoch Wahrām II. einer Frau, die weder persischer Herkunft war, noch aus königlicher Familie stammte, sondern zu den deportierten Kriegsgefangenen gehört haben dürfte, den zweithöchsten Titel, der für Frauen im Sāsānidenreich vorbehalten war, verliehen hätte, muß recht zweifelhaft erscheinen¹¹⁰. Es ist eher anzunehmen, daß Qandīdā als Nebenfrau Wahrāms II. in herausragender Position in seinem Harem gelebt hat¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁶ M.-L. Chaumont, *La christianisation de l'empire iranien des origines aux grandes persécutions du IV^e siècle* (1988) 109 Anm. 46.

¹⁰⁷ S. Brock, *ibid.* 174,5: ʾattat malkā; 174,28-29: rēšā d malkātā ... b-malkūt(y).

¹⁰⁸ s. »X^war(r)ānzēm, Königin des Reiches« [ŠKZ I 9] in: U. Weber, *Prosopographie* (2002ff).

¹⁰⁹ S. Brock, *ibid.* 169-170.

¹¹⁰ M.-L. Chaumont, *ibid.* 110.

¹¹¹ F. Nau, *ibid.* 23: »Le roi de Perse la prend au nombre de ses femmes et la chérit tout particulièrement«. — M. - L. Chaumont, *ibid.* 110: « ...car il est peu douteux que ce sommet de la hiérarchie féminine ait été réservé à une princesse d'origine sassanide ou, à tout le moins, d'extraction royale. Assurément, nous avons ici l'une de ces exagérations propres au récit hagiographique«. — J. Wiesehöfer, *Das antike Persien* (1994) 269: »Martyrien wie das besonders gut bezeugte der Vahrāmnebenfrau Candida waren allerdings bis in die vierziger Jahre des 4. Jahrhunderts die Ausnahme«.

Es ist jedoch zu fragen, welche Ereignisse dazugeführt haben, daß die Christin Qandīdā, ein Mitglied des königlichen Harems, zur Märtyrerin wurde. Im Gegensatz zur toleranten Religionspolitik Ardašīrs I., Šābuhrs I. und Hormezds I., verschlechterte sich das Verhältnis zu den nicht-zarathustrischen religiösen Gruppen unter den beiden folgenden Königen, Wahrām I. und Wahrām II. Ihre Förderung des machtbewußten mowbed Kerdīr bildete die Grundlage für den Wechsel in der sāsānidischen Religionspolitik. Kerdīrs Inschrift an der Kaʿba-i Zardušt¹¹², die allein den vollständigen Text der vier Parallelinschriften enthält, überliefert das religionspolitische Programm seiner Maßnahmen als Oberhaupt der Magier.

Titulatur

Die Titulatur Wahrāms II. ist durch Primärquellen, nämlich durch eigene Münzen und durch die Inschriften des mowbed Kerdīr, hinreichend belegt. Es sind jedoch bisher keine von Wahrām II. verfaßte Inschriften bekannt geworden.

Nach dem Zeugnis der Münzen hat Wahrām II. die schon bekannte Titulatur seiner Vorgänger übernommen. Auf der Vorderseite seiner Münzen steht folgender Königstitel: »mzdysn bgy wrhrʿn MRKAn MRKA ʿyrʿn (W- ʿnyrʿn) MNW ctry MN yzdʿn«/ mazdēsn bay Warhrān šāhān šāh Ērān ud-Anērān kē čīhr az yazdān/»der Mazdā-verehrende, Gottʿ Wahrām, König der Könige von Ērān und nicht-Ērān, dessen Abstammung von den Göttern ist»¹¹³. Die Legende auf der Rückseite ist dagegen sehr kurz gehalten: NWRA ZY wrhrʿn/ādur ī Warhrān/»Feuer des Wahrām«. — Kennzeichnend für diese Titulatur sind drei Epitheta. Mit dem Hinweis »der Mazda-verehrende Gott Wahrām« bekennt sich Wahrām II. wie seine Vorgänger eindeutig zum Zarathustrismus. Sein Epitheton bay, mp. Gott, mit dem Wahrām II. sich selbst kennzeichnet, besagt, daß er sich als König mit

¹¹² M. Back, SSI (1978) 414-416: Und die (Irr-)Lehren Ahreman's und der Daewas verschwanden aus dem Reich und wurden unglaubwürdig gemacht. Und die Yahūd (= Juden), Š(r)amān (= Buddhisten), Brāmān (= Hindus), Našurā (= Mandäer), Kristiyān (= Christen), Muktak (?) (= Jainas) und Zandik (= Manichäer) wurden im Reich zerschlagen, ihre Götzenbilder wurden zerstört und die Behausungen der Daewas wurden vernichtet und zu Stätten und Sitzen der Götter gemacht...»

¹¹³ Zuletzt Ph. Huyse, Die sasanidische Königstitulatur: Eine Gegenüberstellung der Quellen. In: Ērān ud Anērān (2006) 181-201; hier 184.



Fig. 4. Münzen Wahrāms II. (Britisches Museum)¹¹⁴

göttlichen Eigenschaften, als Gottmensch, sieht. Der Zusatz »kē čīhr az yazdān«/dessen Abstammung von den Göttern ist, weist auf die göttlichen Ahnen hin, als deren Abkömmling und Werkzeug er sich empfindet. Der Titel šāhān šāh/βασιλεὺς βασιλέων/König der Könige, schon von früheren iranischen Dynastien bekannt, erhält durch den Zusatz Ērān/Ἀριανῶν eine tiefere Bedeutung. Hinter diesem Begriff verbirgt sich von nun an

¹¹⁴ Fotos des Kunsthistorischen Museum in Wien. Abdruck mit freundlicher Genehmigung M. Alrams.

»das politisch-religiöse und kulturelle Konzept von Ērānšahr«¹¹⁵, das auf die beiden ersten Sāsānidenkönige zurückgeht und ein hoch offizielles Medium der Propaganda in Ērān und Anērān darstellte. Der zweite Zusatz Anērān/Ἀναρτιανῶν ist seit Šābuhr I. inschriftlich nachgewiesen, aber — wie man bis jüngst annahm — erst seit Hormezd I. auch numismatisch belegt. Der Neufund einer Münze Šābuhrs, der von M. Alram, M. Blet-Lemarquand und P.O. Skjærvø veröffentlicht wurde¹¹⁶, liefert nun den Beweis, daß bereits Šābuhr I. auf seinen Münzen in seinem Titel den Zusatz ‚Anērān‘ führte. Auf der Vorderseite dieser Goldmünze ist die bisher von Šābuhr I. bekannte Titulatur durch den Zusatz »King of Kings of Iranians and non-Iranians« erweitert: mzdysn bgy šhpwhry MRKAn MRKA ’yr’n W’nyr’n MNW ctry MN yzd’n = mazdēsn bay šābuhr (šāpūr) šāhān šāh ērān ud anērān kē čihr az yazdān. Hinter diesem Zusatz verbirgt sich jedoch nicht ein Besitzanspruch auf weitreichende Territorien außerhalb Ērāns, sondern soll wohl eher die von seinem Vater Ardašīr und ihm selbst eroberten Gebiete, die über das von den Arsakiden ererbte Reich hinausgehen, bezeichnen¹¹⁷.

Das auf der Rückseite der Münzen erwähnte Feuer Wahrāms II. versinnbildlicht jenes Feuer, das jeweils bei der Thronbesteigung des Königs entzündet wurde¹¹⁸.

Im Gegensatz zu der offiziellen Titulatur Wahrāms II. auf seinen Münzen findet sich in den Inschriften des mowbed Kerdīr nur eine sehr verkürzte Version. Kerdīr erwähnt Wahrām II. in seinen Inschriften als »den König der Könige, den Sohn Wahrāms, des Königs der Könige«¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁵ J. Wiesehöfer, *Das antike Persien* (1994) 220f. — Ph. Huyse, *ŠKZ* 2(1999) 2-5; 9-12.

¹¹⁶ Shapur, King of Kings of Iranians and non-Iranians. In: *Des Indo-grecs aux Sassanides: données pour l’histoire et la géographie historique* (2007) 11-40; hier 12; 23.

¹¹⁷ Ph. Huyse, *ibid.* 9-11. — R. Gyselen, Shapur Ier. In: M. Alram/R. Gyselen, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum* (2003) 186-190. — Zum Begriff Anērān s. E. Kettenhofen, *Rez. zu Ērān ud Anērān. Beiträge des Intern. Colloquiums in Eutin, 8-9. Juni 2000.* Hrsg. von J. Wiesehöfer/Ph. Huyse. Stuttgart 2006. (*Oriens et Occidens*.13.). In: <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2006-4-135> = *Historische Literatur* 4, 2006 (4), 97-102.

¹¹⁸ Aufschlußreich ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Inschrift von Bīšābuhr, die der Schreiber Afsā [ŠVŠ] an einem aufwendigen Monument zu Ehren Šābuhrs I. angebracht hatte. Die Entdeckung dieser Inschrift ist von herausragender Bedeutung, da sie auf Grund der Jahresangaben in Verbindung mit der Gründung der königlichen Feuer wichtige Daten für die Chronologie der ersten Sāsānidenkönige liefert. — s. »Afsā« in: U. Weber, *Prosopographie* (2002ff.).

¹¹⁹ M. Back, *SSI* (1978) 406; 418.

Religionspolitik Wahrāms II.

Während die drei ersten Herrscher des Sāsānidenreiches sich durch eine tolerante Politik gegenüber den Anhängern der nichtzoroastrischen Religionen, der Juden, Buddhisten, Hindus, Mandäer, Christen¹²⁰, Jainas und Manichäer¹²¹ auszeichneten, begann sich diese Einstellung schon während der dreijährigen Regierungszeit Wahrāms I. zu ändern. Der zarathustrischen Priesterschaft unter der Führung des machtbewußten Kerdīr gelang es, den Religionsstifter Mānī bei Wahrām I. anzuklagen¹²². Nach dem Zeugnis al-Bīrūnīs stellte Mānī für die Anhänger des Zarathustrismus eine Gefahr für den inneren Frieden des Reiches dar¹²³. Mānīs sehr erfolgreiche Missionstätigkeit im Iran war der zarathustrischen Priesterschaft ein Stein des Anstoßes und ein Hindernis für den Konsolidierungsprozeß ihrer Religion¹²⁴. Auch stand Mānī mit seiner Lehre dem sinnensfreudigen Lebensstil der feudalistischen Gesellschaft im Sāsānidenreich, ihren kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen und auch ihrer Jagdleidenschaft, ablehnend gegenüber. Vor allem aber mißachtete Mānī, der das Gottkönigtum der Sāsānidenkönige leugnete, ihren Obrigkeitsanspruch¹²⁵. Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Mānī und Kerdīr endeten mit Mānīs Ergreifung, seinem Gefängnisaufenthalt und Tod im Jahre 276 n.Chr. in Bēlāpāt. Nach der Überlieferung der Homilien¹²⁶ setzte nach dem Tode Mānīs jedoch keine allgemeine Verfolgung der Manichäer ein, sondern es folgte eine »Schonfrist«¹²⁷ von drei Jahren. Jedoch überliefert Ibn an-Nadīm, daß die

¹²⁰ Zur Diskussion des Begriffes Christen s. J.M. Fiey, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq* (1970) 54 Anm. 44. — M.-L. Chaumont, *La christianisation de l'empire iranien* (1988) 113f. und Anm. 61.

¹²¹ Ph. Gignoux, *Les quatre inscriptions du mage Kirdīr* (1991) 69-70.

¹²² G. Wurst, *Die Bema-Psalmen* (1996) 49 (p. 15,21-16,3). — Manichäische Homilien. Hrsg. von H.J. Polotsky (1934) 45,9-23; 48,1-22. — Turfantext M 6031: W.B. Henning, *Mani's last Journey*. In: *BSOAS* 10(1942) 948. — M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (1975) 44,1ff. — J.P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature* (1975) 55.

¹²³ Albērūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*. Hrsg. von C.E. Sachau (1878) 208,16f. [arab.]. — *ibid.*, 191,12 [engl.].

¹²⁴ Manichäische Homilien, *ibid.* (1934) 46,12-15. — Dt. Übers. in: *Die Gnosis III: Der Manichäismus*. Unter Mitw. von J.P. Asmussen eingel., übers. und erl. von A. Böhlig (1980) 96. — M. Hutter, *Manichäismus oder Zoroastrismus. Das Ringen zwischen Mani und Kirdīr um die Staatsreligion*. In: *Akten des Melzer-Symposiums 1991[1992]* 152-169.

¹²⁵ G. Wurst, *Die Bema-Psalmen* (1996) 49 (= p. 15,27,3-16,4). — Manichäische Homilien, *ibid.* (1934) 47,1-2; 6-11; 22-25.

¹²⁶ Manichäische Homilien, *ibid.* (1934) 76-78.

¹²⁷ J. Wiesehöfer, *'Geteilte Loyalitäten'. Religiöse Minderheiten des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.* (1993) 372 und Anm. 48.

Manichäer auch nach dem Tode Mānīs weiterhin schweren Verfolgungen ausgesetzt waren. Nach dieser Quelle wären die Manichäer vor den Nachstellungen Wahrāms I. geflohen und hätten erst jenseits des »Flusses von Balḥ«, des Amudar'ja, Zuflucht gefunden¹²⁸.

Wahrām II. war wie seine Vorgänger überzeugter Vertreter und Förderer des Zarathustrismus¹²⁹, eine Haltung, die in seiner Titulatur, seinen Münzen und Felsbildern zum Ausdruck kommt. Von entscheidender Bedeutung für seine Religionspolitik war die Förderung des mowbed Kerdīr, den er mit außergewöhnlichen Ehrungen überhäufte. Durch die Inschriften gibt uns Kerdīr Kenntnis von seinem *cursus honorum*, erwähnt seine privaten religiösen Stiftungen und ermahnt die Anhänger des Zarathustrismus »um der Götter, Fürsten und um der eigenen Seele (willen?), freigebig und gerecht zu werden«¹³⁰. Während Kerdīr unter Ardašīr I. und Šābuhr I. noch die Stellung eines *Kerdīr ī ēhrbed* [ŠKZ I 51] innehatte, verlieh ihm Hormezd I. neben äußeren Zeichen seiner Würde wie »Hut und Gürtel« auch den Titel *Kerdīr ī Ohrmezd mowbed* (mowbed des Gottes Ohrmezd). Wahrām I. bestätigte Kerdīr nur in seiner Stellung und verlieh ihm keine weiteren Ehrentitel. Erst unter Wahrām II. errang Kerdīr die höchsten Würden im Sāsānidenreich. Wahrām II. erhob Kerdīr in den Hochadel, ernannte ihn zum *mowbed ud dādwār* (Richter¹³¹) des ganzen Reiches, zum *āyēnbed* (Zeremonienmeister¹³²) des Feuers der Anāhitā-Ardašīr und der Herrin Anāhitā in Eštaxr¹³³. Er verlieh ihm zusätzlich den Titel *Kerdīr ī bōxt-ruwān- Wahrām ī Ohrmazd mowbed* (*Kerdīr, soul-saver of Bahram, Mobed*

¹²⁸ Ibn an-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel 1(1871) 337,14-16. — Übers.: The *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*. B. Dodge, editor and translator 2(1970) 802.

¹²⁹ K. Mosig-Walburg, Die frühen sasanidischen Könige als Vertreter und Förderer der zarathustrischen Religion (1982) 70-73. — Die Aussagen des Autors der *Nihāyatu 'l-irab*, daß Wahrām II. wegen seiner Ablehnung der Verwandtenehe zum Christentum übertreten wollte, entbehrt jeder Grundlage [Ms. Qq 225, Cambridge f. 106-107; engl. Übers. von E.G. Browne in: *JRAS* [1900] 221: »Bahrām II is here stated to have conceived a dislike to the Zoroastrian religion because of the incestuous marriages sanctioned by it, and to have sent to India for Christian teachers. Seven missionaries are sent. He becomes a Christian, attempts to convert his people, is threatened with deposition, and conceals his faith (cf. *Ardashīr*, p. 219, supra)«]. — M.-L. Chaumont, *La christianisation de l'empire iranien* (1988) 103. — J. Wiesehöfer, 'Geteilte Loyalitäten', *ibid.* (1993) 369.

¹³⁰ M. Back, *SSI* (1978) 477-478.

¹³¹ M. Shaki, *Dādwār, dādwārīh*. In: *EncIr* VI(1993) 557-559.

¹³² Ph. Gignoux, *ēwēnbed*. In: *EncIr* IX(1999) 87-88.

¹³³ M.-L. Chaumont, *Le culte d'Anāhitā à Staxr et les premiers Sassanides*. In: *RHR* 153(1958) 154-175.

of *Ohrmezd*¹³⁴. Durch diese hohen Ämter verschaffte Wahrām II. dem mowbed Kerdīr entscheidende Freiräume für eine intensive Förderung des Zarathustrismus, gleichzeitig aber auch die Möglichkeit, alle nicht-zoroastri-schen Religionen, so auch die der Christen und Manichäer, zu verfolgen¹³⁵.

Als Grund für die unbegrenzte Machtfülle Kerdīrs auf dem Gebiet der Religion und der Justiz (mowbed ud dādwar des Reiches) glaubte W. Hinz das jugendliche Alter Wahrāms II. bei seinem Regierungsantritt¹³⁶ sehen zu müssen. Kerdīr habe die Unerfahrenheit Wahrāms II. ausnutzen können; er habe die Rolle eines Mentors übernommen und auf diese Weise großen Einfluß auf ihn ausgeübt. So wäre es Kerdīr gelungen, seine eigenen weitreichenden religionspolitischen Pläne zu verwirklichen. Zum Dank für Kerdīrs große Aktivitäten zur Konsolidierung des Zarathustrismus habe Wahrām II. ihn mit herausragenden Ehrentiteln und hohen Stellungen im Sāsānidenreich belohnt.

Die von W. Hinz vertretene These, Wahrām II. habe schon im jugendlichen Alter die Regierungsgeschäfte übernommen, kann durch Quellen nicht belegt werden. W. Hinz begründete seine Meinung mit der fehlenden Erwähnung Wahrāms in der Šābuhr-Inschrift. Diese Tatsache erklärt sich jedoch eher daraus, daß der Vater, Wahrām I., in der Šābuhr-Inschrift im

¹³⁴ D.N. MacKenzie, Kerdīr's Inscription [hier: KNRm]. In: G. Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Naqsh-e Rostam*. Berlin (1989) 35-72; hier 54, § 10, 26f.; 58, 10. (Iranische Denkmäler, Lfg. 13, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs I.) -

Die Deutung und Übersetzung des letzten Titels bleibt weiterhin umstritten. s. u. a. M.-L. Chaumont, *L'inscription de Kartir à la 'Ka'bah de Zoroastre'*. In: JA 248(1960) 339-380; hier 347; 357. — Ph. Gignoux, *L'inscription de Kartir à Sar Mašhad*. In: JA 256(1968) 413 Anm. 25. — id., *L'inscription de Kirdīr à Naqš-e Rostam*. In: StIr 1(1972) 177-205; hier 187 Anm. 1. — id., *Les quatre inscriptions du mage Kirdīr* (1991) 18f.; 39 und Anm. 113. — Vgl. dazu die Rezension von P.O. Skjærvø in: BiOr 50(1993) 695f. — C. Brunner, *The Middle Persian Inscription of the priest Kirdēr at Naqš-e Rostam* (1974) 97-113; hier 98; 105. — M. Back, SSI (1978) 203, Nr. 94b; 411; 509 Anm. 263. — Zu M. Back s. die Rezension von D.N. MacKenzie in: IF 87(1982) 280-297; hier 286. — F. Grenet, *Observations sur les titres de Kirdīr*. In: StIr 19(1990) 87-94; 91. — J.R. Russell, *Kartīr and Mānī: a shamanistic model of their conflict*. In: Acta Iranica. Liège, Téhéran 30(1990) 180-193; hier 187. — P.O. Skjærvø, *Counter-Manichean Elements in Kerdīr's inscriptions*. Irano-Manichaica II (1993 [1997]) 313-342; hier 316. — Ph. Huyse, *Kerdīr and the first Sasanians* (1995[1998]) 109-120; hier 116-118. — M. Stausberg, *Die Religion Zarathustras* 1(2002) 256.

¹³⁵ M. Back, SSI (1978) 414-416. — s. hier Anm. 112. — W. Schwaigert, *Das Christentum in Hūzistān im Rahmen der frühen Kirchengeschichte Persiens bis zur Synode von Seleukeia-Ktesiphon im Jahre 410* (1989) 43.

¹³⁶ W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (1969) 189. — M.-L. Chaumont, *La christianisation de l'empire iranien* (1988) 102.

Vergleich zu seinen Brüdern deutlich zurückgesetzt worden ist. Daher erscheinen auch seine Nachkommen nicht unter den Enkeln Šābuhrs I.

Die erstaunliche Machtfülle Kerdīrs dürfte sich eher aus der oben schon erwähnten Vernachlässigung der Regierungsgeschäfte durch Wahrām II. erklären, auf die die Autoren der dritten Tradition wie al-Maqqdisī, at-Taʿālibī und al-Masʿūdī¹³⁷ hingewiesen haben. Nicht verwunderlich ist die starke Position der zarathustrischen Geistlichkeit in diesen drei Quellen. Angesichts des wirtschaftlichen Niedergangs hätte sich das Volk an den mowbed des Reiches gewandt, um Abhilfe in seiner Not zu erreichen. Da das Königtum aber versagt hätte, obläge es allein der Priesterschaft, für Hilfe zu sorgen. Nach der arabischen Tradition zeigt sich der mowbed des Reiches als höchste moralische Instanz und bringt den König wieder auf den rechten Weg. Die besonders kritische Beurteilung al-Masʿūdīs entspricht dem von inneren und äußeren Krisen geschüttelten Sāsānidenreich zur Zeit Wahrāms II. Daß der Großkönig beispielsweise das wichtige Amt eines »mowbed ud dādwar des ganzen Reiches« mit seinen weitreichenden Kompetenzen auf dem Gebiet der Religion und der Justiz an Kerdīr abgab, läßt auf mangelnde politische Urteilskraft Wahrāms II. schließen. Mit Recht hebt M.-L. Chaumont hervor, daß der Verzicht auf dieses Amt die Autorität Wahrāms II. zerstört haben dürfte¹³⁸. Die zarathustrische Priesterschaft unter dem mächtigen Kerdīr hatte es verstanden, sich eine breite Machtbasis im Sāsānidenreich zu verschaffen und sich gegenüber Königtum und Adel zu einem dritten politischen Machtfaktor zu entwickeln.

Kerdīrs Maßnahmen gegen die nicht-zoroastrischen Religionen beruhen auf dem religionspolitischen Konzept, das er in seinen vier Inschriften bekannt gemacht hatte. Es ist ein »authentischer Bericht über die erste, systematische Verfolgung nicht-zoroastrischer Religionen« im Sāsānidenreich, die auch durch die Märtyrerakte der Qandīdā bestätigt wird¹³⁹. Daß es tatsächlich zu einer ersten Christenverfolgung unter Wahrām II. kam, ergibt sich auch aus der Erwähnung weiterer Märtyrer wie des Qārībā, des Sohnes des Ḥananyā, und des Pāpā, des Bischofs von Seleukeia-Ktesiphon¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁷ s. Anm. 87-89.

¹³⁸ M.-L. Chaumont, *ibid.* (1988) 102.

¹³⁹ W. Schwaigert, *ibid.* (1989) 43.

¹⁴⁰ *Histoire Nestorienne (Chronik de Séert)*. I^e partie [1]. Publ. par A. Scher. Paris 1908. — Repr. Paris (1971) 238. (*Patrologia Orientalis* IV,3.). — Während über Qārībā, Sohn des Ḥananyā, keine weiteren Nachrichten vorliegen, beschreibt das Martyrologium

Es bleibt die Frage, wie es unter Wahrām II. zur ersten Christenverfolgung im Sāsānidenreich gekommen ist. Wahrām II. hatte sich bereits als Kronprinz in der Stadt Karḥ Ġuddān (vermutlich in Bēt Garmai)¹⁴¹ nach dem Zeugnis der Chronik von Séert¹⁴² Grundkenntnisse in der syrischen Sprache angeeignet und sich mit dem Christentum auseinandergesetzt. Dieser Quelle zufolge war er aber nicht in der Lage, die wesentlichen Unterschiede zwischen dem Manichäismus und den christlichen Glaubensvorstellungen zu erkennen. Als Wahrām II. sah, daß »die Manichäer sich Christen nannten, sich wie diese kleideten, die Ehe wie auch die Zeugung von Kindern verachteten ..., da glaubte er, daß beide Religionen identisch seien«. Dieses Mißverständnis führte so zur Bekämpfung der manichäischen und christlichen Religion. Erst nachdem Wahrām II. die Unterschiede beider Religionen erkannt hatte, ließ er von der Verfolgung der Christen ab¹⁴³.

J. Wiesehöfer macht mit Recht darauf aufmerksam, daß die von Kerdīr erwähnten Verfolgungen nicht die Ausmaße späterer Verfolgungen gehabt haben können¹⁴⁴.

Bekanntester Märtyrer der Manichäer unter Wahrām II. war Mār Sīsin (Sisinnios)¹⁴⁵, der nach dem Tode des Religionsstifters Mānī (276 n.Chr.), nach einer Vakanz von fünf Jahren, als erster ἀρχηγός an dessen Stelle getreten war¹⁴⁶. Nach zehnjähriger Leitung der manichäischen Religionsgemeinschaft starb Sisinnios wohl im Jahre 291/292 n.Chr., gegen Ende der Herrschaft Wahrāms II., zusammen mit drei Presbytern den Märtyrertod¹⁴⁷.

der Qandīdā ihre Rolle als Nebenfrau Wahrāms II. und ihre schweren Folterungen [Acta S. Candidae: Manuskript des British Museums Add. 12142, ff. 104-107].

¹⁴¹ Histoire Nestorienne (Chronik de Séert), *ibid.* (1971) 237.

¹⁴² Histoire Nestorienne (Chronik de Séert), *ibid.* (1971) 237-239.

¹⁴³ Histoire Nestorienne (Chronik de Séert), *ibid.* 237f.

¹⁴⁴ J. Wiesehöfer, 'Geteilte Loyalitäten'. Religiöse Minderheiten des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. In: *Klio* 75(1993) 362-382; hier 369f. Anm. 26.

¹⁴⁵ S. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library. Facsimile Edition. I: Kephalaia. II: Homilies and Varia.* Genève (1986) 212,10-15. — Manichäische Homilien. Hrsg. von H.J. Polotsky (1934) 81,8-83,20: Tod des Sisinnios. — W. Sundermann, *Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer I*(1986) 52.

¹⁴⁶ G. Wurst, *Die Bema-Psalmen* (1996) 109 = p. 44,10: »Du setztest Sisinnios ein als Archêgos über Deine Söhne«.

¹⁴⁷ Es handelt sich um die Brüder Apket, Abesira und einen weiteren Märtyrer, dessen Name in der Handschrift nicht erhalten ist. — O. Klíma, *Manis Zeit und Leben* (1962) 439 Anm. 157. — M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (1975) 3. — R. Merkelbach, Wann wurde die Mani-Biographie abgefaßt, und welches waren ihre

Unter Sisinnios' Nachfolger Innaios¹⁴⁸ verbesserte sich jedoch die Lage der Manichäer entscheidend, und die Verfolgungen der Manichäer fanden ein vorläufiges Ende. Nach der Überlieferung der Manichäischen Homilien¹⁴⁹ war der Grund für die Sinnesänderung Wahrāms II. die Heilung des schwer erkrankten Großkönigs durch Innaios. Dieser Quelle zufolge ließ Wahrām II. für Innaios sogar Schutzbriefe ausstellen, um dessen Missionsarbeit im Reiche zu erleichtern. In den letzten drei Jahren der Regierung Wahrāms II. konnten die Manichäer — so die parteiische Sicht der manichäischen Autoren — ihrer Religionsausübung ohne Furcht vor Verfolgungen nachgehen. Überraschenderweise kam es zu engen Kontakten und sogar zu Freundschaften der Manichäer mit sāsānidischen Würdenträgern¹⁵⁰.

Felsreliefs Wahrāms II¹⁵¹.

Von den mehr als 30 Felsreliefs, die die sāsānidischen Könige hinterlassen haben, werden von einigen Forschern zehn¹⁵², von anderen jedoch weniger Reliefs Wahrām II. zugeschrieben. Durch das Fehlen von Inschriften und die oftmals starke Verwitterung ist die Deutung dieser Reliefs in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion stark umstritten. Wahrām II. hatte sich dieser Kunstgattung in besonderem Maße bedient, um seinen Anspruch auf den sāsānidischen Königsthron auch bildlich darzustellen. Seine Reliefs finden sich in der Provinz Fārs (Fig. 5), oft jedoch an abgelegenen Orten wie Gūyūm, Naqš-i Bahrām, Sar Mašhad und Barm-e Dilak¹⁵³. Auffallend ist,

Quellen? In: *Studia Manichaica. II. Intern. Kongreß zum Manichäismus* (1989[1992]) 160f. — J. Tubach, *Die Namen von Manis Jüngern und ihre Herkunft* (1993[1997]) 387-390 (mit umfangreichen Literaturangaben).

¹⁴⁸ A. Henrichs/L. Koenen, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex. Edition der Seiten 72,8-99,9*. In: *ZPE* 32(1978) 94-95. — L. Koenen/C. Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex. Über das Werden seines Leibes. Kritische Edition aufgrund der von A. Henrichs und L. Koenen besorgten Erstedition*. Opladen (1988) 50-51. (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe Papyrologia Coloniensia XIV).

¹⁴⁹ *Manichäische Homilien*, *ibid.* 83,21-84,34: zu Sisinnios und Innaios. — J. Tubach, *ibid.* (1993[1997]) 384-386. — W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (1981) 142f.

¹⁵⁰ *Manichäische Homilien*, *ibid.* 85,1-9.

¹⁵¹ Im Folgenden soll lediglich ein Überblick über Wahrāms II. Felsreliefs gegeben werden; zu Fragen der Chronologie der Reliefs und ihrer umstrittenen Deutungen verweise ich auf die unter *Secondary Literature* angeführten Beiträge zu diesem Thema.

¹⁵² L. Vanden Berghe, *Reliefs rupestres de l'Irān ancien* (1983) 77.

¹⁵³ E. Kettenhofen, *Das Sāsānidenreich*. Wiesbaden 1993. (TAVO — Karte B VI 3; hier Nebenkarte III.)

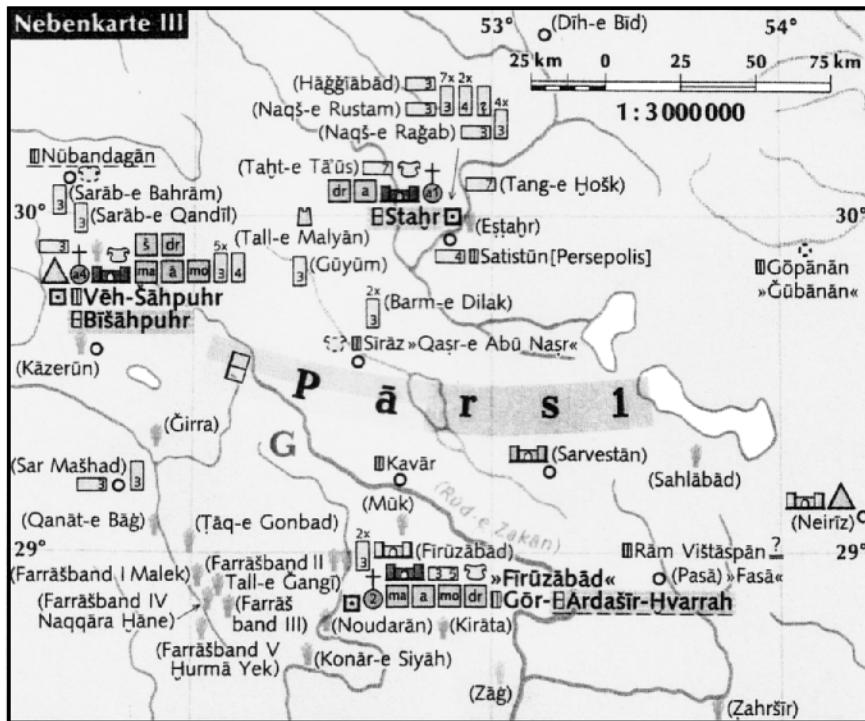


Fig. 5. Karte der Persis mit den Fundstätten der Felsreliefs¹⁵⁴

daß Wahrām II. sich gern im Kreise seiner Familie und zusammen mit hohen Würdenträgern, darunter mit dem mowbed Kerdīr, abbilden ließ. Überraschenderweise ist jedoch ein Investiturelief Wahrāms II. nicht überliefert. Bei der Beschreibung dieser Reliefs soll vor allem auf den Ornat Wahrāms II. eingegangen werden.

Im Jahre 1924 entdeckte E. Herzfeld¹⁵⁵ das unvollendet gebliebene, stark zerstörte **Felsrelief von Gūyūm** (Abb. 6)¹⁵⁶, das sich ca. 30 km nordwestlich von Šīrāz befindet. Danach geriet es in Vergessenheit. Während einer Exkursion im Jahre 1957 photographierte L. Vanden Berghe das Relief

¹⁵⁴ E. Kettenhofen, *ibid.* (1993).

¹⁵⁵ E. Herzfeld, Reisebericht. In: ZDMG 80(1926) 250.

¹⁵⁶ G. Gropp/S. Nadjmabadi, Bericht über eine Reise in West- und Südiran. In: AMI N.F. 3(1970) 183.

und stellte es in einer wissenschaftlichen Abhandlung¹⁵⁷ der Öffentlichkeit vor. Erst im Jahre 2008 nahmen E. Haerinck und B. Overlaet die Diskussion um das Felsbildnis von Gūyūm¹⁵⁸ wieder auf. Das Relief zeigt einen aufrecht stehenden, überlebensgroß dargestellten König, dessen Krone aus einem Diademreif mit lang herabhängenden plissierten Bändern besteht. Kennzeichnend für die Krone Wahrāms II. sind die am Diademreif angebrachten großen Flügel, die auf den vāragna-Vogel, Symbol des Gottes Wahrām, hindeuten. Der sehr hohe Korymbos überragt die Krone und wirkt sehr dominierend. Während das im Profil wiedergegebene Gesicht des Königs stark zerstört ist, sind die unter der Krone bis auf die Schultern herabfallenden dichtgelockten Haare, gut zu erkennen. Auch der mit einem Ring zusammengehaltene Bart ist nicht zu übersehen. Die breite Halskette gehört zu Wahrāms II. königlichem Ornat. Sein Gewand besteht aus einem bis zu den Knien reichenden weiten Obergewand, das von einem Gürtel gehalten wird. Die Haltung seiner Arme ist nicht leicht nachzuvollziehen, da der weiche Stein in diesem Bereich stark verwittert ist. Den Spuren nach könnte der rechte Arm zur Verehrung erhoben sein, ähnlich wie auf dem kleineren Relief von Barm-e Dilak¹⁵⁹.

Ḥamza al-İşfahānī¹⁶⁰ (ca. 893, † zwischen 961 und 970) Beschreibung der Krone Wahrāms II. im »Bilderbuch der Sāsānidenkönige«¹⁶¹ unterscheidet sich aber in wesentlichen Elementen von dem archäologischen

¹⁵⁷ L. Vanden Berghe, Het Rotsrelief te Guyum in het licht van de hofkunst van de Sassanidische koning Bahram II (1957-58) 1-22; Fig. 1. — Franz. Rés. 23-25. — Das Relief ist ca. 5 m über dem Bodenniveau angebracht; nach L. Vanden Berghe ist es ca. 2,50 m hoch und 1,70 m breit. — G. Gropp, *ibid.*, gab folgende Maße an: 4 m hoch, 2 m breit.

¹⁵⁸ E. Haerinck/B. Overlaet, The Sasanian Rock Relief of Bahram II at Guyum (Fars, Iran). In: *IrAnt* 44(2009) 531-558.

¹⁵⁹ G. Gropp/S. Nadjmabadi, *ibid.* (1970) 183.

¹⁶⁰ Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium Libri X. Edidit I. M. E. Gottwaldt. Tom. I. Textus Arabicus. Petropoli, Lipsiae (1844) 50,11-15: Bahrām b. Bahrām. Šī'āruhū aḥmar muwaššā wa-sarāwīluhū aḥḍar wa-tāḡuhū 'alā laun as-samā' baina šurfatai ḡahab wa-hilāl ḡahab qā'idan 'alā sarīrihī wa-fī yumnāhu qaus muwattar wa-fī yusrāhu ṭalāt nuššābāt wa-huwa a'lam. — Engl. Übers.: The Annals of Ḥamzah al-İşfahānī. Transl. from Arabic by U.M. Daudpota. In: *JCOI* 22(1932) 97: Bahrām b. Bahrām. His vest is red and embroidered; his trousers are green; and his tiara is sky-blue between two crests and a crescent of gold. He is seen sitting on his throne, with a strung bow in his right hand and three arrows in his left. God knows best!

¹⁶¹ Zum »Bilderbuch der Sāsānidenkönige«, auf das sich al-Mas'ūdī (Kitāb at-tanbīh wa 'l-işchrāf 106,5-107,5) und Ḥamza al-İşfahānī (Anm. 160) beziehen, s. H. H. Schaeder, Über das »Bilderbuch der Sasaniden-Könige« (1936) 231-232. — Kontrovers verlief die Diskussion über die Zuverlässigkeit dieser Quelle: E. Herzfeld, Khusraus II Krone: Al-Tādīj



Fig. 6. Felsrelief von Gūyūm: Wahrām II¹⁶².

Befund auf Wahrāms Münzen und seinen Felsreliefs. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī erwähnt nicht die charakteristischen Kennzeichen der Krone, sondern spricht von einer himmelblauen Krone, womit wohl der hohe Korymbos gemeint ist, und zwei Halbmonden neben einem weiteren Halbmond aus Gold. Außerdem habe Wahrām II. ein rotes, besticktes Hemd mit grünen Hosen getragen. Nach dem »Bilderbuch der Sāsānidenkönige« sei Wahrām II. auf einem Throne sitzend abgebildet gewesen, indem er in der rechten Hand einen gespannten Bogen hielt, während die Linke drei Pfeile umfaßte.

al-kabīr: die Kronen der sasanidischen Könige (1938) 101-104. — K. Erdmann, Die Entwicklung der sāsānidischen Krone (1951) 89f. Anm. 10; 96f. — R. Göbl, Der Triumph des Sāsāniden Šāhpuhr über die Kaiser Gordianus, Philippus und Valerianus (1974) 35 Anm. 109.

¹⁶² Foto: L. Vanden Berghe, *ibid.* (1957-58) 1-21; hier 3, Fig. 1.

Ein weiteres Relief Wahrāms II., das **Felsrelief von Sar Mašhad**¹⁶³ (Fig. 7-9), entdeckte E. Herzfeld auf der schon erwähnten Exkursion im Jahre 1924; in seinem ‚Reisebericht‘¹⁶⁴ stellte Herzfeld es dann der Öffentlichkeit vor. Das Relief zeigt einen dominierend groß dargestellten König im Kampf mit einem Löwen, während ein zweiter Löwe schon niedergestreckt zu seinen Füßen liegt. An seiner charakteristischen mit Flügeln geschmückten Krone ist die Deutung des Königs als Wahrām II. zweifelsfrei geklärt. Die Dramatik des Geschehens zeigt sich vor allem in der Geste des Königs. Es ist der Moment festgehalten, in dem Wahrām II. sich schützend vor eine weibliche Person stellt, wobei er mit der linken Hand ihren rechten Unterarm umfaßt. Auch die beiden männlichen Personen hinter dem König, in einer zurückliegenden Ebene dargestellt, können sich auf den Schutz des Königs verlassen.

Sowohl die bislang ungewöhnliche Thematik einer Löwenjagd auf einem sāsānidischen Felsrelief als auch die Deutung der abgebildeten Personen haben zu kontroversen Diskussionen geführt. E. Herzfeld, der Entdecker des Reliefs, erkannte im König Wahrām II., der einen Löwen bereits getötet hat und einen zweiten ihn angreifenden Löwen mit seinem Schwert erlegt. In der weiblichen Person, die Wahrām II. vor den Löwen zu schützen sucht, erkannte er die Königin, in den weiteren Personen den Thronfolger zusammen mit einem Würdenträger seines Gefolges¹⁶⁵. Dieser Interpretation schlossen sich K. Erdmann, R.N. Frye, L. Vanden Berghe und R. Ghirshman an¹⁶⁶. Einen neuen Anstoß für die Interpretation der letzten beiden Personen gab aber E.F. Schmidt¹⁶⁷, der darauf aufmerksam machte, daß

¹⁶³ E. Kettenhofen, *Das Sāsānidenreich*. Wiesbaden 1993. (TAVO — Karte B VI 3; hier Nebenkarte III)

¹⁶⁴ E. Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*. In: ZDMG 80 = N.F. 5(1926) 225-284; hier 256f. — id., *La sculpture rupestre de la Perse sassanide*. In: RAA 5(1928) 129-42; hier 137. — Das Relief ist nach der Vermessung von R.N. Frye [Report on a trip to Iran. In: *Oriens* 2(1949) 209] 2,14 m hoch und 4,65 m breit. — Nach W. Hinz [Altiranische Funde und Forschungen (1969) 215 Anm. 20] gibt G. Gropp folgende Maße an: 2,10 m hoch und 4,45 m breit.

¹⁶⁵ E. Herzfeld, *ibid.* (1926) 256. — An dieser Deutung hielt E. Herzfeld auch später fest: *Iran in the ancient East* (1941) 325; Pl. CXXIII (Wahrām II., Königin, Thronfolger, Großwesir).

¹⁶⁶ K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (1943) 65f. — id., *Die sasani- dischen Felsreliefs von Barm i Dilak*. In: ZDMG 99(1945-1949) 56 Anm. 4. — R.N. Frye, *An epigraphical Journey in Iran, 1948*. In: *Archaeology* 2(1949) 186-192; hier 188ff.; Fig. 7-10. — L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Irān ancien* (1959) 51f; Pl. 74a. — R. Ghirshman, *Iran — Parther und Sasaniden* (1962) 364.

¹⁶⁷ E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis III. The royal Tombs and other monuments* (1970) 132f.



Fig. 7. Felsrelief Wahrāms II. von Sar Mašhad¹⁶⁸



Fig. 8. Felsrelief Wahrāms II. von Sar Mašhad¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ L. Trümpelmann, Das sasanidische Felsrelief von Sar Mašhad. Berlin (1975) Taf. 1. (Iranische Denkmäler. Lfg. 5, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs A).

¹⁶⁹ L. Trümpelmann, *ibid.* (1975) Taf. 7: Zeichnung C. Wolff.

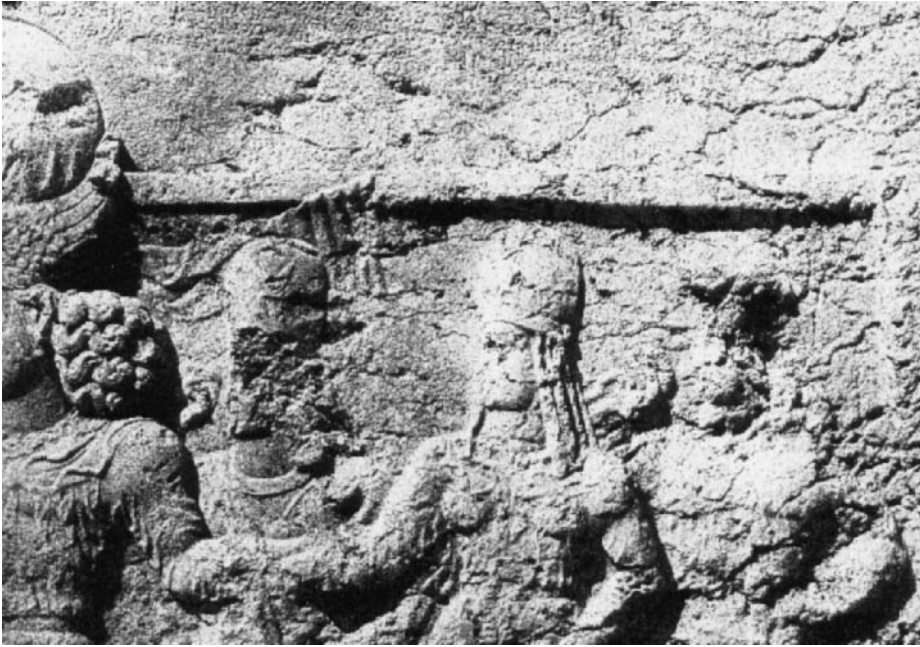


Fig. 9. Felsrelief Wahrāms II. von Sar Mašhad¹⁷⁰:
Ausschnitt: Kerdīr, die Königin, ein Würdenträger

sich hinter einer der beiden Persönlichkeiten der *mowbed* Kerdīr verbergen könnte. E.F. Schmidt nahm an, daß sich der ehrgeizige *mowbed* Kerdīr nicht nur durch seine über dem Relief angebrachte Inschrift, sondern auch durch eine bildliche Darstellung seiner Person verewigt wissen wollte. Zunächst glaubte er in dem hinter der Königin stehenden Würdenträger Kerdīr zu erkennen. Später entdeckte er jedoch auf der *kolāh* des bartlosen Mannes direkt hinter dem König das Emblem des *mowbed* Kerdīr.

Nachfolgend beschäftigte sich W. Hinz¹⁷¹ eingehend mit der Problematik dieses Reliefs. Mit Hilfe neuer Fotos konnte er die Annahme E.F. Schmidts bestätigen, daß Kerdīr und nicht der Kronprinz mit der männlichen Person direkt hinter Wahrām II. zu identifizieren sei. Als Beweis diene ihm das

¹⁷⁰ L. Trümpelmann, *ibid.* Taf. 4.

¹⁷¹ W. Hinz, *Kardērs Felsbildnisse*. In: *id.*, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (1969) 215ff.

auf den neuen Fotos klar erkennbare »Scherenemblem«¹⁷² auf der kolāh des mowbed. In der Person hinter der Königin wollte Hinz den Vizekönig erkennen.

L. Trümpelmann¹⁷³, der im Jahre 1975 die erste grundlegende Bearbeitung des Reliefs von Sar Mašhad veröffentlichte, beschäftigte sich insbesondere mit der Deutung der weiblichen Gestalt rechts neben dem König. Neu in der Diskussion war Trümpelmanns Vorschlag, daß in ihr nicht die Königin und Gemahlin Wahrāms II., sondern die Göttin Anāhitā selbst zu sehen sei. Sie sei es gewesen, die ihm »aus der Berührung ihres Armes«¹⁷⁴ und der Übergabe des Schwertes die nötige Kraft verliehen habe, den Kampf gegen die gefährlichen Tiere zu bestehen. Der Interpretation der ersten männlichen Gestalt als Kerdīr stimmte Trümpelmann zu, in der zweiten Person sah er jedoch einen Prinzen. Trümpelmanns Vorschläge zur Deutung dieses Reliefs blieben jedoch nicht unwidersprochen, sondern regten zu neuen Interpretationen an, die sich in mehreren Rezensionen niederschlagen haben¹⁷⁵. Eine gänzlich andere Interpretation dieses Reliefs geht

¹⁷² Dazu s. R. Göbls Rezension zu W. Hinz [Altiranische Funden und Forschungen. Berlin 1969]. In: *IJ* 14(1972) 269-274. — W. Eilers, Die Schere des Kartir. In: *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 7(1974) 71-83; Taf. 8-10.

¹⁷³ L. Trümpelmann, *ibid.* (1975). — s. hier Anm. 168.

¹⁷⁴ L. Trümpelmann, *ibid.* (1975) 11.

¹⁷⁵ Auf die Deutung der weiblichen Figur dieses Reliefs soll im Besonderen aufmerksam gemacht werden, da sich mit ihrer Interpretation der Sinngehalt des Reliefs verändert.

Ph. Gignoux [*StIr* 4(1975) 273-274] zweifelte die Deutung der weiblichen Figur als Göttin Anāhitā an; dennoch war er der Meinung, daß die Interpretation dieses Geschehens wegen des Mangels an vergleichbaren Beispielen unsicher bleiben müsse: »On peut donner un sens profane à cette scène, aussi bien qu'un sens religieux«.

H. von Gall [*ZA* 67(1977) 149-152] stellte in seiner Rezension vor allem die Nähe zwischen dem mowbed Kerdīr als Autor der Inschrift und als Initiator des Felsreliefs mit eigener Darstellung heraus. Er glaubte im Löwenkampf Wahrāms II. nicht eine »wirkliche historische Jagd«, sondern eher eine »allegorische Jagddarstellung« zu sehen wie schon vor ihm *A.D.H. Bivar* [*Cavalry Equipment and tactics on the Euphrates frontier*. In: *DOP* 26(1972) 281]. Nach von Gall stehen die beiden Löwen, gleichsam »ahrimanische Tiere« in der Vorstellung Kerdīrs für die beiden Erzfeinde des Zarathustrismus, den Manichäismus und das nestorianische Christentum. Diese Feinde weitgehend ausgeschaltet zu haben, rühmte sich Kerdīr in seinen Inschriften. Von Gall verwarf Trümpelmanns Deutung der weiblichen Gestalt als Göttin Anāhitā und schloß sich der oben beschriebenen Meinung von W. Hinz an, die auch A.D.H. Bivar vertrat. Danach sei in der weiblichen Figur »Šābuhrduxtag«, die Gemahlin Wahrāms II. zu sehen.

Mit überzeugenden Argumenten lehnte *R. Göbl* [*OLZ* 73(1978) 379-383] Trümpelmanns Deutung der weiblichen Gestalt als Göttin Anāhitā ab. Dabei vertrat er die Ansicht, daß Wahrām II. ebenso wie auf seinen Münzen mit Vorliebe zusammen mit seiner Gemahlin auftritt, um den »dynastischen Gedanken zu betonen«. In der letzten Gestalt hinter der

auf P. Calmeyer, H. Gaube und P.O. Skjærvø zurück¹⁷⁶, die auf den inneren Zusammenhang von Inschrift und Thema des Felsreliefs hinwiesen.

Das Relief Wahrāms II. von Bīšābuhr (IV)¹⁷⁷ (Fig. 10-12) gehört zu einem Komplex von sechs Felsreliefs, die auf Felswänden beiderseits des Šābuhr-Flusses bei Bīšābuhr angebracht sind. Zu den vier Reliefs auf dem westlichen Flussufer gehört auch das hier als Bīšābuhr IV bekannte Relief Wahrāms II. Zwei weitere Reliefs sind auf dem östlichen Flußufer zu sehen.

Königin erkannte auch Göbl wie Trümpelmann den Kronprinzen. Daß Kerdīr wegen seines »Scherenwappens« hinter dem König zu sehen ist, stand auch für R.Göbl einwandfrei fest.

M.C. Root [JNES 38(1979) 223-224] sieht in dem Geschehen des Reliefs von Sar Mašhad zusammen mit von Gall keine reale Jagddarstellung Wahrāms II. Sie ist der Meinung, daß es sich eher um eine allegorische Darstellung eines heroischen Kampfes zwischen dem König der Könige und dem König der Tiere handeln müsse. Weiter macht die Rezensentin darauf aufmerksam, daß die Thematik dieses Reliefs auf vorderasiatische Vorbilder zurückgehe, wie sie von achaimenidischen Palastreliefs bekannt sei. Ebenso wie auf den achaimenidischen Torreliefs der Kampf des Königs mit dem König der Tiere eine Wächterfunktion darstelle, so diene der Kampf Wahrāms II. jedoch einem politischen Zweck, dem Schutz der »religio-dynastic family« gegen die drohende Usurpation durch seinen Onkel Narseh, den späteren Großkönig. Root sieht Wahrām II. in der Rolle eines Heros, der von einer Trias von gleichberechtigten Persönlichkeiten wie der Göttin Anāhitā, dem Kronprinzen und dem inzwischen mächtigen mowbed Kerdīr im Kampf um den Fortbestand seiner Dynastie unterstützt wird.

Die Rezensionen von H. Humbach [ZDMG 129(1979) 402-403] und D. Thompson [BiOr 38(1981) 717-719] bringen keine weiterführenden Interpretationen, sollen aber der Vollständigkeit wegen hier erwähnt werden.

¹⁷⁶ P.O. Skjærvø, »Kirdir's Vision«: Translation and analysis. In: AMI 16(1983) 269-306; hier 302. — Auch nach P. Calmeyer/H. Gaube [Eine edlere Frau als sie habe ich nie gesehen. In: Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce. Leiden (1985) 43-60. (Acta Iranica 24)] handelt es sich hier nicht um eine übliche Jagddarstellung des Königs. Für Calmeyer war die Interpretation der weiblichen Gestalt von entscheidender Bedeutung. Aus ikonographischen Gründen lehnte er es ab, in ihr die Göttin Anāhitā zu sehen. Vor allem die Darstellung der großen »Intimität zwischen Herrscher und Göttin« hielt Calmeyer für undenkbar. Ferner wäre eher die Göttin Nanāi bei der Löwenjagd hilfreicher gewesen als Anāhitā in ihrer Rolle als »Göttin des strömenden Wassers«. Auch eine Deutung der weiblichen Gestalt als Königin und Gemahlin Wahrāms II. lehnte Calmeyer wegen der anders gearteten Kopfbedeckung ab. Er weist ebenso wie von Gall auf die Einheit von Relief und Inschrift in Sar Mašhad hin. Danach sollte sein in der Inschrift niedergeschriebenes »visionäres Erlebnis« im Relief seinen bildlichen Niederschlag finden. Calmeyer vermutete, daß sich hinter der weiblichen Figur die »Frau, von Osten her, und ich habe eine edlere als sie nie gesehen« aus Kerdīrs Vision handeln könnte.

¹⁷⁷ G. Herrmann, The Sculptures of Bahrām II. In: JRAS (1970) 165-171. — ead., The Sasanian Rock reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2: Bishapur IV, Bahram II receiving a delegation... Berlin (1981) 5-10; Pl. 1-7; Fig. 2. (Iranische Denkmäler, Lfg. 10 enthaltend Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs F.)

J. Morier¹⁷⁸ war der erste Europäer, der die Stadt Bīšābuhr im Jahre 1808/1809 entdeckte und dieses Relief in seinem Reisebericht bekannt machte. Es mißt ca. $3,78 \times 7,50$ m. Die Teilung des Reliefs in eine obere und eine untere Hälfte geht zurück auf den Bau eines an den Felsen angelehnten Aquädukts, dessen Wasserführung das Relief stark beschädigte. Der König reitet, vom linken Bildrand kommend, auf eine Gruppe von sechs, wohl unbewaffneten Personen zu, die ein Würdenträger des Hofes in der bekannten persischen Tracht anführt. In zwei hintereinander liegenden Bildebenen treten jeweils drei gleich gekleidete Personen auf, die vorn zwei Pferde und hinten zwei Dromedare an der Leine führen. Entsprechend ihrem Gewand und dem bis auf die Schultern reichenden Kopftuch könnte es sich um arabische Beduinen handeln, die als Tribut Pferde und Dromedare dem König überbringen wollen, wie einige Gelehrte vermuteten¹⁷⁹. Andererseits könnten hier aber auch Angehörige der Stämme der Geli und Rufii abgebildet sein, die sich an dem Aufstand des Ormies in Sagestān gegen Wahrām II. beteiligt haben¹⁸⁰ und besiegt worden sind¹⁸¹. Die ethnische Zugehörigkeit ist aber mit Sicherheit nicht zu deuten.

Welches historische Ereignis der Regierungszeit Wahrāms II. sollte hier verewigt werden? In Hinblick auf die benachbarten Felsreliefs seines Großvaters und Vaters, die Triumph- bzw. Investiturreliefs darstellen, hat auch Wahrām II. wohl ein bedeutendes Ereignis seiner Zeit hier festhalten wollen. Der Charakter dieses Reliefs spiegelt hingegen wohl kaum ein Triumphrelief wider, eher fühlt sich der Betrachter an eine friedliche

¹⁷⁸ J. Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809*. London 1812. — Weitere Berichte europäischer Orientreisender liegen vor von E. Flandin/P. Coste [*Voyage en Perse ... pendant les années 1840 et 1841: Perse ancienne* 1(1851) 57-58; Pl. 51], G. Rawlinson [*The seven great Monarchies of the ancient Eastern world ...* 3(1875) 297], F. Stolze/F.C. Andreas/Th. Nöldeke [*Persepolis II: die achaemenidischen und sasanidischen Denkmäler und Inschriften* (1882) Pl. 140], M. Dieulafoy [*L'art antique de la Perse* 5: *Monuments parthes et sassanides* (1884-1885) Pl. XXI], G.N. Curzon [*Persia and the Persian question* 2(1892) 209; 215f.].

¹⁷⁹ F. Sarre/E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (1910) 217-219; Pl. XLII. — E. Herzfeld, *La sculpture rupestre*. In: *RAA* 5(1928) 137. — id., *Archaeological History of Iran* (1934) 83. — id., *Iran in the ancient East* (1941) 324f. — L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Irān ancien* (1966) 55. — R. Ghirshman, *Bichâpour I* (1971) 73-75. — V.G. Lukonin, *Iran v III veke* (1979) 125-126 [engl.].

¹⁸⁰ In Praise of later Roman emperors. The *Panegyrici Latini*. Introd., transl., and historical commentary with the Latin text of R.A.B. Mynors, C.E.V. Nixon and B. Saylor Rodgers (1994) 541 [Text]; 101 [Übers.]: *Ipsos Persas ipsumque regem adscitis Sacis et Rufiis et Gelis petit frater Ormies nec respicit uel pro maiestate quasi regem uel pro pietate quasi fratrem*.

¹⁸¹ Schon im Jahre 1875 nahm G. Rawlinson an, daß dieses Felsrelief an den Sieg über das Volk von Sagestān erinnern sollte [s. G. Herrmann, *ibid.* (1981) 10].



Fig. 10. Felsrelief Wahrāms II. von Bīšābuhr (IV):
Wahrām II. empfängt eine Delegation von Nomaden¹⁸²

Übergabe von Tributen erinnert¹⁸³, die vermutlich auch zum Zeichen der Unterwerfung dargebracht werden könnten. Daß es sich nach V.G. Lukonins Annahme dagegen um die Niederschlagung des Aufstandes von König Šābuhr von Mēšān handeln könnte, der sich in der Thronfolge übergeben gefühlt habe, hielt R.N. Frye für eine interessante Hypothese, aber für nicht stichhaltig¹⁸⁴.

¹⁸² s. Anm. 177: G. Herrmann, *ibid.* (1981) Pl. 1.

¹⁸³ G. Herrmann, *ibid.* (1981) 9: s. Anm. 177.

¹⁸⁴ R.N. Frye, *The History of ancient Iran* (1984) 305 Anm. 57. — Trotzdem soll im Folgenden auf V.G. Lukonins Hypothese eingegangen werden. Das hier besprochene Relief von Bīšābuhr, das nach Auffassung von V. G. Lukonin [*Iran v III veke* (1979) 126] die Unterwerfung arabischer Stämme von Hīra im Gebiete von Mēšān abbildet, diente dem russischen Forscher als Beweis für einen zweiten Aufstand gegen Wahrām II. Dieser Aufstand des Königs Šābuhr von Mēšān sei von der in einer römischen Quelle belegten Rebellion des Ormies, des Bruders [oder Vetters?] Wahrāms II., im Osten des Reiches, in Sagerstān, zu unterscheiden. Nach V. G. Lukonins Meinung hätten die einfallenden Truppen des Kaisers Carus im Jahre 283 n.Chr. Šābuhr, den König von Mēšān, gegen Wahrām II. unterstützt. Obwohl V. G. Lukonin eingestand, daß die Gründe der Rebellion und auch die Rolle der arabischen Stämme unbekannt geblieben sind, glaubte er an eine Niederschlagung des Aufstandes. Als Beweis zog V. G. Lukonin den Dynastiewechsel in Mēšān heran.



Fig. 11. Felsrelief Wahrāms II. von Bīšābuhr (IV):
Wahrām II. empfängt eine Delegation von Nomaden: Ausschnitt¹⁸⁵

Nach der Inschrift von Pāikūlī aus dem Jahre 293 n.Chr. herrschte nun Ādur-Farrōbay in Mēšān und nicht einer der sechs Söhne der Vorgängerdynastie. — Daß es in der Tat zu einem Machtwechsel in Mēšān gekommen ist, steht außer Zweifel fest. Allerdings sind die näheren Umstände bisher durch Quellen nicht zu belegen. Aufschlußreich ist in diesem Zusammenhang das manichäische Fragment 4579, das von einem zerstörten Palast des Königs von Mēšān schon im Jahre 276 n.Chr. spricht, als sich Mānī auf seiner letzten Reise nach Bēlāpāt begab. — Ob der Verlust der Herrschaft in Mēšān mit dem Aufstand des Ormies, der nach der Auffassung einiger Forscher auch als ältester Sohn des Königs von Mēšān gedeutet werden könnte, in einem inneren Zusammenhang steht, bleibt weiterhin offen.

¹⁸⁵ G. Herrmann, *ibid.* (1981) Pl. 6: s. Anm. 177.



Fig. 12. Felsrelief Wahrāms II. von Bīšābuhr (IV):
Wahrām II. empfängt eine Delegation von Nomaden. Zeichnung von R.Howell¹⁸⁶

Das Relief Wahrāms II. von **Naqš-i Bahrām** (Fig. 13-15) wurde bereits von dem Forschungsreisenden Engelbert Kämpfer (1651-1716) im Jahre 1685 entdeckt und in seinen »Amoenitatum exoticarum ... fasciculi quinque« erwähnt¹⁸⁷. Dieses Relief liegt an der Straße von Kāzerūn nach Fahliyān, etwa 35 km nördlich von Bīšābuhr. Als nächster Orientreisender nahm es Baron C.A. de Bode in Augenschein. Er veröffentlichte die Zeichnung des Reliefs in seinem Reisebericht und machte es so einer weiteren Öffentlichkeit bekannt¹⁸⁸. Danach bildete E. Flandin das Relief in seinem Reisebuch über Persien ab¹⁸⁹. Von F. Stolze¹⁹⁰ stammte die erste Fotoaufnahme des Reliefs. Erst G. Herrmann verdanken wir die erste grundlegende Untersuchung des Reliefs aus dem Jahre 1983¹⁹¹.

¹⁸⁶ G. Herrmann, *ibid.* (1981) Fig. 1: s. Anm. 177.

¹⁸⁷ *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediciarum fasciculi quinque quibus continentur variae relationes, observationes et descriptiones rerum Persicarum et ulterioris Asiae... Lemgoviae 1712.*

¹⁸⁸ C.A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*. London 1(1845) 224ff.

¹⁸⁹ E. Flandin/P. Coste, *Voyage en Perse pendant les années 1840-1841: Perse ancienne*. Paris 1(1851) 51, Pl. 48.

¹⁹⁰ F. Stolze/F.C. Andreas/Th. Nöldeke, *Persepolis II: Die achaemenidischen und sasanidischen Denkmäler und Inschriften*. Berlin (1882) Pl. 146.

¹⁹¹ G. Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 3: Bishapur I, the Investiture/Triumph of Shapur I? — Bishapur II, Triumph of Shapur I and Sarab-e Bahram, Bahram II enthroned. The Rock Relief at Tang-i Qandil. — Inscription by D.N. MacKenzie. Drawings by R. Howell*. Berlin (1983) 27-31; Fig. 3; Pl. 25-31.

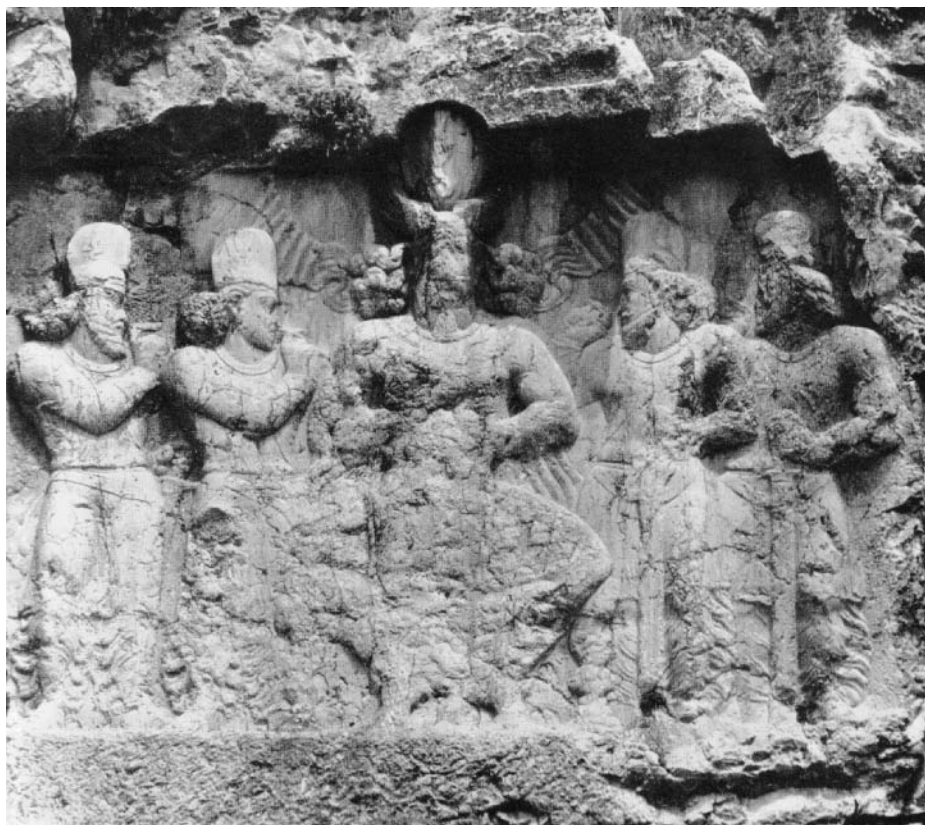


Fig. 13. Felsrelief Wahrāms II. von Naqš-i Bahrām¹⁹²

Das Relief mißt ca. 2,60 in der Höhe und 3,89 in der Breite. Dargestellt ist Wahrām II., erkenntlich an seiner charakteristischen Krone, im Kreise von je zwei hohen Würdenträgern zu seiner linken und rechten Seite. Mit dem bekannten Grußgestus erweisen sie ihm ihre Reverenz. Obgleich Wahrām II. in Frontalansicht auf einem Throne sitzt, überragt er mit seiner überlebensgroßen Gestalt die neben ihm stehenden Würdenträger. Während Wahrāms Gesicht weitgehend zerstört ist, sind die Charakteristika seiner Krone, die Flügel des vāragna-Vogels, ferner der sehr hohe Korymbos, das gelockte Haar, die seitwärts flatternden Enden des Diadems und die Halskette deutlich zu erkennen. Wahrām II. stützt sich mit beiden Händen auf den Knauf seines vor ihm stehenden sehr großen Schwertes.

¹⁹² s. *Anm. 191*: Pl. 25: Wahrām II. im Beisein von 4 Würdenträgern.



Fig. 14. Felsrelief Wahrāms II. von Naqš-i Bahrām¹⁹³

Die Kleidung der vier hohen Würdenträger stimmt weitgehend überein: sie sind in eine knielange Tunika mit mantelartigem Überwurf und langen weiten Hosen gehüllt. Drei von ihnen tragen einen Bart und reich gelocktes, hinter das Ohr zurückgekämmtes Haar. Zu ihrem Schmuck gehören Ohringe und eine breite Halskette. Um die Hüften ist ein Schwertgehänge gelegt, an dem die Waffe befestigt ist. Trotz der scheinbaren Übereinstimmung in ihrer äußeren Erscheinung sind einzelne Unterschiede erkennbar.

Zur Rechten Wahrāms II. steht ein Würdenträger, der wegen des fehlenden Barts und der »Schere« an der hohen kolāh unschwer als Kerdīr zu identifizieren ist. Aufschlußreich für die frühe Datierung dieses Reliefs ist nach Meinung G. Herrmanns das Fehlen eines Diadems, das Kerdīr auf drei anderen Reliefs nach seiner Aufnahme in den Adelsstand getragen hat. Hinter Kerdīr ist ein weiterer Würdenträger durch sein an der hohen, jedoch

¹⁹³ G. Herrmann, *ibid.* (1983) Fig. 3.



Fig. 15. Felsrelief Wahrāms II. von Naqš-i Bahrām¹⁹⁴: Ausschnitt.

leicht gebogenen kolāh zu erkennen, die ebenfalls mit einem Wappen versehen ist. In ihm glaubte W. Hinz den Vizekönig des Reiches zu sehen, obwohl an seiner kolāh kein Diademband zu entdecken ist. Es ist anzunehmen, daß diese beiden Würdenträger wegen ihrer Wappen an der kolāh und wegen ihrer Stellung zur Rechten des Großkönigs protokollarisch höher einzuordnen sind als die beiden Würdenträger zu seiner Linken.

Zur Linken Wahrāms II. steht ein Würdenträger, dessen hohe kolāh mit einem verhältnismäßig kurzen Diademband umwunden ist und ihn wohl als Angehörigen des Adelsstandes ausweist. Diese Persönlichkeit dürfte von daher eher als Vizekönig anzusehen sein. Die zweite Figur zur Linken des Großkönigs weist keine sichtbaren Besonderheiten auf.

Insgesamt kann man feststellen, daß über das Thema des Reliefs, die Darstellung Wahrāms II. im Kreise der höchsten Würdenträger des Sāsānidenreiches, Übereinstimmung herrscht, die Deutung der einzelnen Persönlichkeiten aber kontrovers bleibt¹⁹⁵.

¹⁹⁴ G. Herrmann, *ibid.* (1983) Pl. 28: links Vizekönig?, rechts mowbed Kerdīr.

¹⁹⁵ E. Herzfeld [La sculpture rupestre de la Perse sassanide. In: RAA 5(1928) 136. — *id.*, Iran in the ancient East (1941) 324.] nimmt an, daß die Gestalt rechts von Wahrām II.

Ein weiteres Relief zeigt Wahrām II. im Kreise seiner Familie und einiger Würdenträger. Dieses Relief gehört zum Komplex von **Naqš-i Rustam (II)** (Fig. 16-17) und befindet sich neben dem Investiturrelief Ardašīrs I. In der Mitte des Reliefs steht Wahrām II. in ganzer Figur, während seine Familie und die Würdenträger seines königlichen Gefolges nur als Brustbilder gestaltet sind. Links vom König (in Aufsicht) sind fünf Personen angeordnet, unter denen sich wohl einige Familienangehörige Wahrāms befinden. Diese Annahme ergibt sich aus der Tatsache, daß der Großkönig sich diesen Personen zuwendet. Vier von ihnen, außer dem mowbed Kerdīr, führen den bekannten Grußgestus nicht aus. — Unmittelbar neben Wahrām II. ist eine vermutlich weibliche Figur zu sehen. Sie nimmt zweifellos den Ehrenplatz neben dem Großkönigs ein. In der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion wird diese Person trotz einiger Bedenken¹⁹⁶, die in ihrem



Fig. 16. Felsrelief Wahrāms II. von Naqš-i Rustam (II)¹⁹⁷

den Kronprinzen, den späteren Wahrām III., darstelle. — K. Erdmann [Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden. Berlin (1943) 64-65] glaubte in den vier Würdenträgern die Vertreter der obersten Stände, den »Führer der Priesterschaft, den obersten Heerführer, den Kanzleichef und den Obersten der Handwerker« zu sehen.

¹⁹⁶ Eine ganz andere Interpretation schlug F. Sarre [F. Sarre/E. Herzfeld, Iranische Felsreliefs (1910) 73] vor. Sarre glaubte in ihr nicht die Frau Wahrāms II., sondern den Thronfolger, den späteren Wahrām III., zu erkennen.

¹⁹⁷ Aus: F. Krefter, Sasanidische Felsreliefs. In: Cassella-Riedel Archiv 60,1(1977) 13.

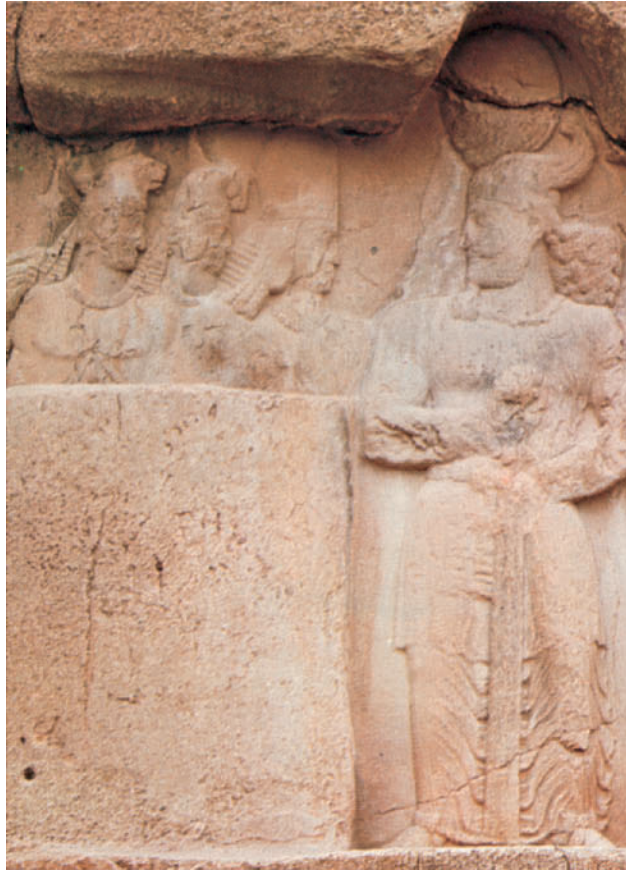


Fig. 17. Felsrelief Wahrāms II. von Naqš-i Rustam (II): Ausschnitt¹⁹⁸

männlichen Erscheinungsbild liegen, als Königin der Königinnen und Frau Wahrāms II. gedeutet¹⁹⁹. Sie trägt die bekannte hohe Kronenhaube mit umgebundenem Diadem, hier jedoch ergänzt durch einen Nacken- und Wangen-

¹⁹⁸ F. Krefter, *ibid.* (1977) 13: Ausschnitt: Wahrām II., die Königin der Königinnen, zwei Prinzen (von rechts).

¹⁹⁹ E. Herzfeld, *La sculpture rupestre de la Perse sassanide*. In: *RAA* 5(1928) 129-142; hier 136f. — W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (1969) 191-198; Taf. 117-122; 124-126. — G. Herrmann, *The Sculptures of Bahrām II.* In: *JRAS* (1970) 165-171; hier 168f. — E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis III* (1970) 129-130; hier 129. — K. Mosig-Walburg, *Die frühen sasanidischen Könige als Vertreter und Förderer der zarathustrischen Religion* (1982) 81f. — F. Krefter, *Sasanidische Felsreliefs*. In: *Cassella-Riedel Archiv* 60,1(1977) 7-15; hier 12-13. — L. Vanden Berghe, *Reliefs rupestres de l'Irān ancien* (1983) 134.

schutz. Ihre hohe Kronenhaube ähnelt der auf dem Felsrelief von Sar Mašhad. Deutlich erkennbar sind drei Haarflechten, die unter dem Nacken- und Wangenschutz herabfallen. Zu ihrem Ornat gehört des weiteren eine deutlich sichtbare Halskette.

Hinter der Königin der Königinnen stehen zwei jungen Prinzen ohne Barttracht, deren Kopfbedeckungen aus Tierkopfhäuben bestehen. Ihnen folgt der einflußreiche mowbed Kerdīr, den W. Hinz an seinem Scherenwappen auf der kolāh erkannte. Die fünfte Person jedoch ist nur schwer zu deuten, da sie kein Diadem trägt. Daß diese Person dennoch zur königlichen Familie gehören dürfte, besagt der fehlende Grußgestus der rechten Hand. Nach F. Sarre und W. Hinz soll hier in der fünften Figur Narseh, der spätere Großkönig und Onkel Wahrāms II., abgebildet sein²⁰⁰. Ob diese Zuweisung aber der Realität entspricht, muß angezweifelt werden, da sie dem mowbed Kerdīr nachgeordnet ist.

Auf der rechten Seite (in Aufsicht) des Reliefs sind drei hohe Würdenträger mit zum Gruße erhobenem rechten Zeigefinger zu sehen. Ihre Identität ist bislang ungeklärt.

Die beiden **Reliefs von Barm-e Dilak** (Fig. 18-21) sind von vielen Gelehrten kontrovers diskutiert worden. Sie gehören zu den »rätselhaftesten Felsbildwerken«²⁰¹, die zur Zeit Wahrāms II. entstanden sind. Die endgültige Interpretation wird noch auf sich warten lassen. Der Ort Barm-e Dilak liegt etwa 10 km südöstlich von Šīrāz und ist schon seit dem 17. Jahrhundert wegen seiner Felsreliefs bekannt geworden. Die ersten Forschungsreisenden, die diese Reliefs erwähnten, waren J.B. Tavernier, C. de Bruyn und E. Kämpfer²⁰²; von E. Kämpfer stammt auch die erste Zeichnung der Reliefs. Weitere Orientreisende, die Barm-e Dilak aufsuchten, sind Sir W. Ouseley, E. Flandin und P. Coste²⁰³. Die Zeichnungen der beiden letzten Forscher waren lange Zeit die beste Quelle, bis F. Stolze, F.C. Andreas und Th. Nöldeke die ersten photographischen Aufnahmen veröffentlichen

²⁰⁰ F. Sarre, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (1910) 71-73; hier 73. — W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (1969) 194.

²⁰¹ W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (1969) 217.

²⁰² J.B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes* 1(1676) 664. — C. de Bruyn, *Reizen over Moskovie door Persie ...* (1714) 323. — E. Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediarum Fasciculi V.* (1712) 361f.

²⁰³ Sir W. Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East* (1819) 46-50. — E. Flandin/P. Coste, *Voyage en Perse pendant les années 1840 et 1841* (o. J.) 65ff., Taf. 56.



Fig. 18. Felsrelief von Barm-e Dilak I²⁰⁴

konnten²⁰⁵. Eingehender beschäftigten sich F. Sarre und E. Herzfeld mit der Problematik dieser Reliefs²⁰⁶.

Zwei Reliefs mit jeweils zwei Personen sind zwar nebeneinander angeordnet, aber um einige Meter von einander entfernt. Nach den Angaben von G. Gropp

²⁰⁴ Aus: L. Vanden Berghe, Het Rotsrelief te Guyum in het licht van de hofkunst van de sassanidische koning Bahram II. In: *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*, deel XVII (1957-1958[1959]) 1-22; hier Fig. 3; Rés. 23-25.

²⁰⁵ *Persepolis II: die achaemenidischen und sasanidischen Denkmäler* (1882) Taf. 145.

²⁰⁶ F. Sarre/E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (1910) 178-188; hier 187f., Taf. XXXII.

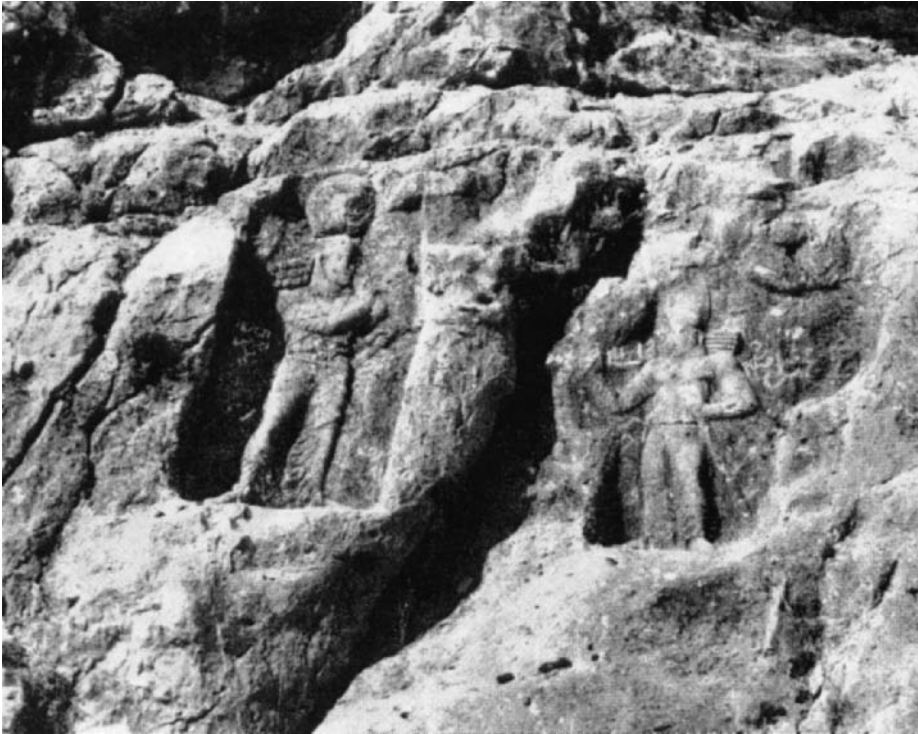


Fig. 19. Felsrelief von Barm-e Dilak II²⁰⁷

ist die linke Relieffläche 2,50 breit, während die rechte Fläche zweigeteilt ist und einmal eine Breite von 1,22 m, zum anderen von 1,18m mißt. Die Relieftiefe soll nur 7 cm betragen²⁰⁸. Beide Reliefs sind etwa 6,50 m über dem Bodenniveau angebracht.

Auf dem linken Relief stehen sich eine Frau (Größe 1,61 m) und eine männliche Gestalt (Größe 1,94 m) gegenüber. Die Frau ist in ein langes Gewand mit Überwurf gekleidet und trägt keine der für Königinnen oder Göttinnen bekannte Kopfbedeckung oder Frisur. Auffällig ist allein das Diadem mit seinen ungewöhnlich abstehenden Enden²⁰⁹. Ein in ihrem

²⁰⁷ Aus: L. Vanden Berghe, *ibid.* (1957-1958[1959]) Fig. 2.

²⁰⁸ Bei W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (1969) 217.

²⁰⁹ Auf Grund einer schwer lesbaren, stark verwitterten Inschrift, die zwischen den beiden Figuren eingemeißelt ist und auch nur ein Mal am Tag während 20 Minuten vom »Streiflicht der Sonne beschienen wird«, glaubte G. Gropp die Identität der weiblichen

Nacken bis auf die Schultern herabfallender dicker Haarstrang ist deutlich sichtbar. Während ihre linke Hand vom Ärmel verdeckt ist, streckt sie die rechte Hand dem ihr gegenüber stehenden bärtigen Würdenträger entgegen. Dieser Würdenträger ist wesentlich größer dargestellt und mit einem tunikaartigem Gewand über einer weiten Hose bekleidet. Während er der Frau mit der rechten Hand eine Blume (Lotusblüte?) überreicht, umfaßt die Linke den Schwertknauf, der an einem um die Hüften gelegten Gehänge befestigt ist. Seine Kopfbedeckung ist nicht die eines Königs. Sie kann als hohe kolāh eines Würdenträgers gedeutet werden. Diese kolāh ist von einem Diadem mit kurz herabfallenden Bändern umschlossen. Wie schon von anderen Felsreliefs bekannt, trägt auch dieser Würdenträger eine sorgfältig angeordnete Haartracht: fünf gelockte Haarsträhnen fallen auf die Schultern herab.

Das rechte Relief zeigt Wahrām II., erkenntlich an seiner spezifischen Krone mit überdimensionalem Korymbos. Seine linke Hand umfaßt den Schwertknauf, während die Rechte mit einer Gebärde der Ehrerbietung wohl in Richtung eines sehr groß gestalteten Feueraltars weist. Auf der rechten Seite des Feueraltars ist eine bedeutend kleinere Figur zu sehen, deren Haltung spiegelbildlich zur gegenüber stehenden Figur dargestellt ist. Daß es sich hier ebenfalls um einen hohen Würdenträger handeln muß, beweist die hohe kolāh.

Die Interpretation dieser beiden Szenen bleibt kontrovers. Während F. Sarre²¹⁰ in beiden Bildszenen von der Investitur des Königs und der Königin ausgeht, schlägt K. Erdmann²¹¹ eine andere Deutung vor. Er ist der Meinung, daß auf dem ersten Relief die Königin aus der Hand eines Würdenträgers, vielleicht des mowbed, ein Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit erhält.

Figur als »Ardašīr-Anāhīd, der Tochter Bahrāms« deuten zu können [bei W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen*(1969) 218]. Später widerrief G. Gropp jedoch diese Lesung. Auch die zweite Lesung erbrachte keine Hilfe bei der Deutung der beiden abgebildeten Personen [Bericht über eine Reise in West- und Südiran. In: *AMI N.F.* 3(1970) 173-230; hier 202].

²¹⁰ F. Sarre/E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (1910) 187f. — Die Deutung der linken Bildszene als Investitur der Königin ist abzulehnen, da sie in der sāsānidischen Kunst unbekannt ist und die Ehefrau des Königs nicht als Regentin auftritt. Auch die Übergabe einer Blume dürfte nicht dem Sinn einer Investitur entsprechen.

²¹¹ K. Erdmann, *Die sasanidischen Felsreliefs von Barm i Dilak*. In: *ZDMG* 99(1945-1949[1950]) 50-57.



Fig. 20. Felsrelief von Barm-e Dilak I²¹²



Fig. 21. Felsrelief von Barm-e Dilak II²¹³

²¹² Aus: W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (1969) Taf. 136.

²¹³ Aus: W. Hinz, *ibid.* (1969) Taf. 137.

Entscheidend für die Interpretation der rechten Bildszene war K. Erdmanns Entdeckung eines stark verwitterten Feueraltars, der zwischen Wahrām II. und dem rechts stehenden Würdenträger aufragt. Nach seiner Meinung handelt sich also nicht um die Investitur des Königs, sondern um die Verehrung des heiligen Feuers durch den König und durch den ihm gegenüber stehenden Würdenträger²¹⁴. — Dagegen erkannte W. Hinz²¹⁵ in der weiblichen Figur der linken Bildszene die vermeintliche Königin der Königinnen Ardašīr-Anāhīd, angebliche Tochter Wahrāms I., deren Name G. Gropp²¹⁶ aus der Inschrift herauszulesen versuchte. In der Gestalt des Würdenträgers sah W. Hinz den späteren Großkönig Narseh (293-302 n.Chr.), der »seiner Nichte Ardašīr-Anāhīd eine Lotusblüte zum Zeichen des Glückwunsches und des Einverständnisses mit der Ehe des zur Herrschaft gelangten Geschwisterpaares« zum Ausdruck bringen wollte. Zusammenfassend glaubt W. Hinz die linke Bildszene als »Aus-söhnung Narsehs mit der Thronfolge seines Neffen« interpretieren zu können. Bei der Deutung der rechten Bildszene schließt sich W. Hinz der Auffassung von K. Erdmann an. Demzufolge handelt es sich bei der rechten Bildszene um die Verehrung des heiligen Feuers durch Wahrām II. und durch den mowbed Kerdīr.

E. de Waele²¹⁷ schlägt einen anderen Deutungsversuch vor, indem er das Relief von Tang-e Qandīl zum Vergleich heranzieht. Er ist der Auffassung, daß in der linken Bildszene nicht eine Königin, sondern eine Priesterin der Anāhītā dargestellt ist, der ein Prinz eine Blume überreicht. In der Mitte der rechten Bildszene vermutete E. de Waele eine Verehrungsgeste Wahrāms II. und des Würdenträgers gegenüber einer Gottheit, die nicht sichtbar dargestellt, aber durch eine Quelle symbolisiert sei. — V.G. Lukonin²¹⁸ bringt einen neuen Vorschlag: Er erkennt in der weiblichen Figur die Königin der Königinnen, die sogenannte Šābuhrduxtag, und in der männlichen Figur den hazārbed Ardašīr der Pāikūlī-Inschrift [NPi II A 7]. In der rechten Bildszene glaubt der russische Gelehrte Wahrām II. und den mowbed Kerdīr zu erkennen.

²¹⁴ Daß es sich bei der kleineren Figur nicht um einen Gott handeln kann, erklärt sich aus der mangelnden Größe der Figur und den fehlenden Attributen eines Gottes.

²¹⁵ W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (1969) 217ff.

²¹⁶ s. Anm. 209.

²¹⁷ E. de Waele, *Sur le bas-relief sassanide de Tang-e Qandil et le »bas-relief au couple« de Barm-e Delak*. In: *Revue des Archéologues et historiens d'Art de Louvain* 11(1978) 9-32.

²¹⁸ V.G. Lukonin, *Iran v III veke* (1979) 28-34 [russ.]; 110-113 [engl. Rés.].

Eine weitere Interpretationsvariante trug A. Sh. Shahbazi²¹⁹ vor: Nach seiner Meinung bilden die beiden Reliefs von Barm-e Dilak eine Einheit. Das linke Relief stelle Wahrām II. nicht als Großkönig, sondern noch als Kronprinzen dar, der sich anschickt, seiner Cousine »Šābuhrduxtak« als Symbol der Eheschließung eine Blume zu überreichen. Auf dem rechten Relief soll Wahrām II. mit einem Würdenträger, vermutlich mit seinem Schwiegervater Šābuhr, König von Mēšān [ŠKZ I 3], abgebildet sein.

Das von A.A. Sarfaraz²²⁰ im Jahre 1970 entdeckte **Felsrelief von Tang-e Qandil** (Fig. 22) zeigt große Ähnlichkeiten mit den Reliefs von Barm-e Dilak. Es befindet sich in der Nähe des Dorfes Tang-e Qandil an einem Pfad, der von der Straße Šīrāz-Ahwāz wegführt. Angebracht ist das Relief an einem freistehenden großen Felsblock und mißt 2,18 m in der Höhe und 2,68 m in der Breite.

Die Bildszene besteht aus drei Personen, einer weiblichen Figur, die sich nach rechts wendet und zwei männlichen Personen, die ihr zugewandt sind. Die Frau ist in ein langes Gewand gehüllt, über dem sie einen dreiviertel langen Mantel mit langen Ärmeln trägt. Ihre erhobene rechte Hand hält eine Blume, während die Linke im Ärmel verborgen ist. Es ist der Moment festgehalten, in dem sie der vor ihr stehenden männlichen Figur wohl eine Lotusblüte überreicht. Auffallend ist ihre Frisur: Während das Haupthaar durch ein Diadem mit herabfallenden Bändern hochgebunden ist und in Locken endigt, legen sich weitere Haarflechten an den Hinterkopf an. Zu ihrem Schmuck gehören Ohringe und eine Halskette mit breiten Steinen.

Die mittlere männliche Figur ist größer als die beiden anderen Personen dargestellt und beherrscht von daher die Szene. Obgleich diese Person keine Krone, sondern eine hohe, nach vorn gewölbte kolāh, trägt, entspricht sie in der Haltung der eines Königs. Unterstützt wird dieser Eindruck durch die breiten Haarpartien rechts und links des Kopfes. Diese Person trägt die bekannte persische Tracht, die aus tunika-förmigem Hemd, einem darüber

²¹⁹ A.Sh. Shahbazi, *Studies in Sasanian prosopography. III. Barm-i Dilak: Symbolism of offering flowers* (1998) 58-66; hier 61; 63.

²²⁰ A.A. Sarfaraz, *Kašf jakī āz muhamtarīn nuqūš bar ǧaštahī ǧālab tauǧah daurah sāsanī* [The Discovery of a rock relief, one of the most important and significant of the Sasanian period]. In: *Barrasihâ-ye Târikhi. Historical Studies of Iran*, Teheran (1350/1971) 67-88. — id., *Discovery of a Sasanian Bas-Relief*. In: *Barrasihâ-ye Târikhi. Historical Studies of Iran*, Teheran (1973,2) 5-16.



Fig. 22. Relief von Tang-i Qandil (zur Zeit Wahrāms II.?)²²¹

gelegten langärmeligen Mantel mit langer, weiter Hose besteht. Während die Ohrringe verwittert sein müssen, ist als Schmuck nur eine Halskette mit runden dicken Steinen zu sehen. Seine erhobene rechte Hand ist bereit, die Blume zu empfangen, während die Linke den Knauf des langen Schwertes umfaßt. Hinter dieser dominierenden Figur steht eine etwas kleiner gestaltete männliche Figur in derselben persischen Tracht. Als Kennzeichen seines Standes trägt er eine hohe kolāh, die wohl mit einem Diadem umwunden war und dessen Reste noch erhalten sind. In der erhobenen rechten Hand hält er einen Ring ohne Bänder, während seine Linke den Schwertknauf umfaßt.

²²¹ G. Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock reliefs at Bishapur: Part 3. Bishapur I, The Investiture/Triumph of Shapur I? Bishapur II, Triumph of Shapur I and Sarab-i Bahram, Bahram II enthroned. The Rock relief at Tang-i Qandil.* — Inscription by D.N. MacKenzie. Berlin (1983) Fig. 4. (*Iranische Denkmäler*, Lfg. 11 enthaltend Reihe II: *Iranische Felsreliefs G.*)

Ohne Hilfe einer Inschrift bleibt auch dieses Relief ein rätselhaftes Bildwerk. Die unterschiedlichen Interpretationen von sieben Forschern zeigen die problematische Deutung der drei abgebildeten Figuren. A.A. Sarfaraz²²², der Entdecker dieses Reliefs, glaubte in der Szene die Heirat Šābuhrs I. mit seiner Tochter Ādur-Anāhīd im Beisein des mowbed Kerdīr zu sehen. — R. Ghirshman²²³ dagegen datierte das Relief in die Zeit Wahrāms II. Nach der Meinung des französischen Forschers überreicht Wahrām II. eine Blume, Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit, an die Königin im Beisein Kerdīrs. — Dagegen nahm L. Vanden Berghe²²⁴ an, daß Wahrām II. eine Blume aus der Hand seiner Frau empfängt. Die zweite männliche Person soll den Thronfolger, den späteren Wahrām III., darstellen. — W. Hinz²²⁵ glaubte, daß das Relief zur Zeit Hormezds I. [ŠKZ I 2] entstanden sei und sah in den drei Personen Hormezd I. zusammen mit seiner Schwester und Mutter Ādur-Anāhīd [ŠKZ I 1] im Beisein seines ältesten Sohnes Hormezdag [ŠKZ I 21]. — R.N. Frye²²⁶ hielt eine ganz andere Deutung für angemessen: Er interpretierte die Szene als Übergabe eines Ringes, der als Symbol eines Sieges, eines Erfolges bei der Jagd oder bei einer anderen Gelegenheit zu deuten sei. Bei den dargestellten Personen soll es sich um Wahrām II., seine Frau und einen Würdenträger handeln. — E. de Waele²²⁷ dagegen glaubte die weibliche Figur nicht als Königin, sondern als eine Anāhitā-Priesterin interpretieren zu können, die im Beisein eines Würdenträgers dem Kronprinzen eine Blume offeriert. — Nach V.G. Lukonins²²⁸ Auffassung sollte die Königin »Šābuhrduxtag« dem hazārbed Ardašīr [NPi II A 7] eine Blume als Zeichen der Investitur im Beisein eines Würdenträgers überreichen. — G. Herrmann²²⁹, die eine grundlegende Untersuchung dieses Reliefs vorlegte, datierte dieses Relief in die Zeit Wahrāms II. Nach der

²²² s. Anm. 220.

²²³ Un nouveau bas-relief sassanide. In: *Ex orbe religionum. Studia Geo Widengren* 2(1972) 75-79.

²²⁴ De iconografische betekenis van het rotsreliëf van Sarāb-i Qandīl (Irān) [1973] 3-34; hier 25. — Rés. 35ff.: La signification iconographique du bas-relief rupestre sassanide de Sarāb-i Qandīl (Irān).

²²⁵ Das sasanidische Felsrelief von Tang-e Qandīl. In: *AMI N.F.* 6(1973) 201-212. — s. dazu die Rez. von L. Trümpelmann in: *ZA* 66(1976) 149-150.

²²⁶ The Sasanian Bas-relief at Tang-i Qandil. In: *Iran* 12(1974) 188-190. — id., The Tang-i Qandil and Barm-i Dilak Reliefs. In: *Bulletin of the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University* 1-4(1976) 35-44.

²²⁷ s. Anm. 217.

²²⁸ V.G. Lukonin, *Iran v III veke* (1979) 113 [engl. Rés.].

²²⁹ G. Herrmann, *ibid.* (1983) s. hier Anm. 221.

Auffassung G. Herrmanns gehört dieses Relief nicht zu den offiziellen sāsānidischen Königsreliefs, sondern sollte als Privatrelief angesehen werden. Dabei schloß die Forscherin nicht aus, daß die Bildszene entweder von Wahrām II. als Privatperson, von einem nicht regierenden Mitglied der königlichen Familie oder von einem hohen Würdenträger des Reiches in Auftrag gegeben worden sei. Sowohl die Größe der mittleren Figur dieses Reliefs, die beiderseitig sichtbaren breiten Haarpartien mit Resten eines Diadems, als auch die aus großen Steinen bestehende Halskette, sprechen für den hohen Rang dieses Würdenträgers oder eines Mitglieds der königlichen Familie. Der protokollarische Status der weiblichen Figur sei nach der Meinung G. Herrmanns wegen ihrer ungewöhnlichen Frisur nicht mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen. Die Forscherin ließ es offen, ob es sich um ein Mitglied der königlichen Familie oder um eine Dame von hohem protokollarischem Rang handelt. G. Herrmann vertrat die Ansicht, daß auf diesem Relief ein Familienereignis dargestellt sein könnte, indem eine Dame aus einer bedeutenden Familie, einem hohen Würdenträger im Beisein eines weiteren Würdenträgers, aber von niedrigerem Rang, eine Blume überreicht.

Das **Silbergefaß von Sargveši**²³⁰ (Fig. 23-25) in Form einer Kylix²³¹ befindet sich im Museum of the Society for the History of Ethnography of Georgia in Tiflis und gehört wegen seines guten Erhaltungszustandes und seiner klaren Darstellungsweise zu den kostbarsten und ältesten erhaltenen Silbergefäßen der Sāsānidenära. Gleichzeitig ist es unentbehrlich für die Ikonographie der Königin der Königinnen, der Frau Wahrāms II. Charakteristikum der Kylix sind vier Medaillons, deren Zwischenräume mit einem Pflanzenmotiv verziert sind. Von besonderer Bedeutung aber ist die Anordnung von jeweils zwei Medaillons zueinander. Zwei von ihnen stellen Wahrām II. mit seiner speziellen Krone dar. Das dritte Medaillon zeigt den Gott Wahrām, nicht aber den Thronfolger,

²³⁰ P. O. Harper, *Sasanian Medallion Bowls with human busts* (1974) 61-81; hier 63f.; 70; fig. 2. — Ebenf. abgedr. in: P. O. Harper/P. Meyers, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian period*. Vol. 1: *Royal Imagery*. New York 1981; 24-39; hier 25; 30f.; 165; Pl. 2.

²³¹ Nach W. Lukonin/A. Iwanow [*Die Kunst Persiens* (1996) 91-95; hier 95] wurde die Kylix »vor 1917 im Dorf Sargwaschi in Georgien gefunden. Möglicherweise gehörte ‚er‘ [!] zu den Grabbeigaben einer bedeutenden Persönlichkeit«. — Nach W. Lukonin/A. Iwanow S. 91 hat das Silbergefäß von Sargveši folgende Maße: Höhe 5,7 cm; Durchmesser 12,3 cm; Gewicht 676,1 g. Das Gefäß ist aus Silber geschmiedet und vergoldet. — Eine exakte Beschreibung der Kylix gibt P. O. Harper, *ibid.* (1974) 63f., bzw. (1981) 25, Pl. 2.

wie manche Gelehrte annehmen²³². Auf dem vierten Medaillon ist die Königin der Königinnen abgebildet. Auf den Medaillons wendet sich der Großkönig mit dem bekannten Grußgestus nach rechts, um den ihm zugewandten Gott Wahrām zu ehren. Daß Wahrām II. bei dieser Gegenüberstellung und mit dieser Haltung nicht dem Thronfolger, sondern dem Gott Wahrām²³³ seine Ehrerbietung erweist, dürfte offenkundig sein. Der Gott Wahrām ist bartlos und recht jugendlich wiedergegeben; er trägt eine Tierkopfhäube, die in einem Pferdekopf endet, und hält das Diadem



Fig. 23. Silbergefäß von Sargveši, Kunstmuseum Georgiens, Tbilissi, Inv.- Nr. R 134²³⁴

²³² V.G. Lukonin, Varachran II i Narse. In: VDI [(1964)(3)] 48-63; hier 55. — W[!].G. Lukonin, Persien II (1967) 202; Abb. 207. — P.O. Harper, *ibid.* (1974) 63f. — P.O. Harper/P. Meyers, *ibid.* (1981) 25.

²³³ J.K. Choksy, A Sāsānian Monarch, his queen, crown prince, and deities: the coinage of Wahrām II. In: AJN, 2nd series, 1(1989) 133f.

²³⁴ Aus: W. Lukonin/A. Iwanow, Die Kunst Persiens (1996) 91; 93.

des Sieges, »the diadem of victory«, für Wahrām II. in der erhobenen rechten Hand²³⁵. Bei dem zweiten Medaillonpaar wendet sich Wahrām II. in gleicher Haltung, wie oben beschrieben, einer weiblichen Figur zu, die wegen ihrer Kronenhaube zweifelsfrei als seine Frau zu identifizieren ist. Die Königin hält in der rechten erhobenen Hand eine Blüte, die sie Wahrām II. überreichen will.

Die einzelnen Elemente ihrer Kronenhaube sind uns entweder von Abbildungen auf den Münzen oder von dem Felsbild von Naqš-i Rostam bekannt. Deutlich sichtbar an dem Silbergefäß von Sargveši ist das um die Kronenhaube gebundene Diadem, ferner das darüber gelegte Wellenband, ebenso wie der Wangen- und Nackenschutz.



Fig. 24. Silbergefäß von Sargveši, Ausschnitt: Wahrām II²³⁶.

²³⁵ J. K. Choksy, *ibid.* (1989) 127ff.

²³⁶ Aus W. G. Lukonin, *Persien II* (1967) Abb. 207.



Fig. 25. Silbergefäß von Sargveši
a) und c): Wahrām II. — b) und d): die Königin der Königinnen
und der Gott Wahrām²³⁷

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²³⁷ W. Lukonin/A. Iwanow, *Die Kunst Persiens* (1996) 91; 93.

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THE IRANIAN HERITAGE OF GEORGIA: BREATHING NEW LIFE INTO THE PRE-BAGRATID HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION¹

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Abstract: Traditionally, scholars have considered extant medieval Georgian historiography as having been produced exclusively during the millennium of Bagratid rule. This essay identifies a separate historiographical phase just preceding the rise of Bagratid rule in the Georgian domains in the early ninth century. Pre-Bagratid historiographical texts are distinguished first and foremost by their Iranian flavor, which is a reflection of the longstanding membership of the whole of southern Caucasia in the Iranian cultural world.

Keywords: Georgia, Kʻartʻli, Caucasia, Iran, Byzantium, Kʻartʻlis cʻxovreba

Late in the year 555 two Roman commanders successfully orchestrated the assassination of the monarch of Lazika in western Georgia. Answering an imperial inquiry, Martin and Rusticus justified their action as a necessary measure which had prevented King Gubazēs II from forging an alliance with Sasanid Iran. According to the Roman historian Agathias, our chief contemporary source for the incident, subjects of the fallen ruler assembled in a remote gorge in the Caucasus Mountains to contemplate their future. The Lazian nobleman Aeētēs, whose name appropriately evoked the mythical king of Colchis (who himself had been abused by the

¹ This essay recasts one of the principal arguments of Rapp 1997 and elaborates upon Rapp 2001 and Rapp 2004. I am indebted to many friends and colleagues who have commented upon various incarnations of this essay over the past decade. A special debt is gratitude is owed to J. Fine, R. Lindner, A. Eastmond, J. Colarusso, K. Tuite, G. Tsetskhladze, C. Holmes, L. Neville, and K. Church. The views expressed and any inaccuracies are my own. With a few slight modifications, Georgian has been transliterated according to the system devised by the Library of Congress, USA. Aspirated consonants are suffixed ʻ while glottalized ones are unmarked. Georgian *x* is roughly equivalent to Russian *kh* and Georgian *c* to Russian *ts*. On the thorny designations “Georgia” and “Georgians,” see fn. 5 below.

Greek Argonauts), advocated cooperation with Iran. Aeētēs censured the Romans for their inexcusable slaughter of Gubazēs and accused the emperor of being “utterly unscrupulous” and of fomenting “tension and instability.” At the same time he applauded the respect and honor the Iranians had shown their allies. Not everyone, however, was persuaded by Aeētēs’ eloquent appeal. Voicing his sharp disagreement, the Lazian aristocrat Phartazēs insisted that the ruthless act had been perpetrated by renegade soldiers and not by Justinian I or his agents². The alliance with the Roman Empire should be maintained, Phartazēs reasoned, for “there can be no real fellowship and lasting bond between men of different religion not even under the stimulus of fear or of some previous act of kindness.” Agathias interjected: “What made [the people of Lazika] relent was chiefly the fear that a change of allegiance would deprive them of the right to practice their [Christian] religion.” Indeed, imperial diplomatic initiatives often exploited shared Christian affiliation and the Empire’s special position within Christendom. To the relief of the Roman government, the Lazians renewed their association with Constantinople and the emperor subsequently confirmed Tzathēs II as the king of Lazika (Agathias, 3.8-14).

Although this debate is almost certainly the contrivance of Agathias, it reflects contemporary Roman imaginations and attitudes (Braund 1994: 268-314) as well as the political and cultural choices available to the aristocracy of southern Caucasia in Late Antiquity. Close proximity to the commonwealths of western Eurasia, imperial contests for hegemony over the strategic isthmus, and physical geography have contributed to Caucasia’s vibrant cosmopolitan condition and its status as a preeminent Eurasian crossroads. While observers since ancient times have often regarded the towering peaks of the Caucasus Mountains as a barrier that inhibited the movement of peoples and ideas, a recent study offers a welcome corrective: “by forcing travelers into a few pathways, [Caucasia’s] topography may encourage greater communication than a broad open plain” (Rubinson & Smith 2003: 5). In his landmark *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* the late Cyril Toumanoff aptly described the ribbon of land between the Black and Caspian Seas as an integrated zone where a wide spectrum of Eurasian cultures encountered, interacted, collided, and blended with local ones. He further observed that:

² Ironically, the name Phartazēs is based on a Persian root (Gignoux 1986: II/80-86; Justi 1895: 98).

Few areas of the world, whose contribution to history has been as great as Caucasia's, have suffered as much from neglect by historiography. As an integral part of the Mediterranean world, Caucasia shared in the pan-Mediterranean cultural unity and particularly in Byzantine Civilization. It is impossible, therefore, to deal with Christian Caucasia — as is not seldom done by modern Caucasiology — without regard to the closely related East Mediterranean, that is, Byzantine, but also Iranian and Syro-Mesopotamian, context. Yet at the same time Christian Caucasia was endowed with an individuality and a unity that made it distinct from the related other components of pan-Mediterranean Civilization... (Toumanoff 1963: 7)³

Sadly, Toumanoff's innovative studies have not attracted the attention they deserve. Taken as a whole, Roman and Byzantine investigators persist in their neglect of Caucasia or, at the very least, in their treatment of the region as isolated, as an aberration, or as a backwater and a troublesome periphery (Toumanoff 1956 and 1971; cf. Meißner 2000)⁴. Some patriotic scholars in the Republic of Georgia, ripping a page from the political playbook of the Saakashvili regime to connect Georgia with (predominately Christian) Western Europe, have likewise shrouded, ignored, and, in extreme cases, even denied eastern Georgia's and Caucasia's intimate bond to the Iranian world in pre-modern times, instead exaggerating the region's historical ties to the Mediterranean (e.g., Dundua 1999, 1999-2001, and 2003). In a similar vein, specialists of the Near and Middle East have tended not to acknowledge Caucasia's intimate linkage to the Mesopotamian, Iranian, and Islamic worlds. What is more, a great many scholars have ignored or rejected Toumanoff's pan-Caucasian perspective, clinging instead to artificially divisive ethnocentric and national master narratives.

Though this essay tackles medieval historiographical traditions in a particular language, Georgian, it locates and analyzes them in relation to the whole of Caucasia and the larger Eurasian world (Rapp 2005). It was

³ Among Toumanoff's numerous other publications, see esp. Toumanoff 1966 and 1990. For the metageographical issues raised by "interstitial zones" like Caucasia, see Lewis & Wigen 1997: 203-204.

⁴ There are, of course, some exceptions, including: Fowden 1993; Whittow 1996; and the commentary in Sebeos 1999.

the Christianization of the eastern Georgian kingdom of K'art'li⁵ — itself a transregional, cross-cultural phenomenon involving Armenia, eastern Anatolia, and Syria — that enabled original Georgian literature. An outgrowth of the centuries-long process of conversion was the deliberate Christian invention of a Georgian script through a pan-Caucasian effort at the start of the fifth century. Consequently, *all* Georgian manuscripts were produced and *all* specimens of original Georgian literature were written down after that time. Christianity is thus a formidable presence on the Georgian historiographical stage: even traditions which existed orally long before the local triumph of Christianity must be considered in relation to it. Moreover, it is routinely asserted that eastern Georgia's Christianization, and especially the baptism of King Mirian III ca. 337⁶, was accompanied by a second transformation: the definite integration of its society and culture into the Mediterranean world dominated by the Roman and then Byzantine Empires. But if the various Christian Georgian peoples were participants in the Byzantine Commonwealth⁷, as at some point they unquestionably were, why is the sharpest flavor of the earliest Georgian historiographical literature — composed nearly *five centuries after* Mirian's conversion — Iranian and not

⁵ This essay is concerned chiefly with the *written* medieval historiography that was expressed in the K'art'velian idiom of Georgian and that imparts a privileged status to eastern Georgia and especially K'art'li. With regards to pre-modern times, the English/European terms “Georgia” and “Georgian” are saturated with problems. Neither occurs in local languages and both impose a sense of political unity that, over the long course of their history, has not usually existed among the K'art'velians and their neighbors. Prior to the political unification of “Georgia” in the first decade of the eleventh century AD, K'art'li (Gk. Iberia) and Kaxet'i were the eastern hubs, while Egrisi (Colchis, Lazika) and then Ap'xazet'i (Abasgia) were of special importance in the west. The southwestern domains of Tao/Tayk', Klarjet'i, Shavshet'i, Javaxet'i, etc. were nodes of contact between the eastern and western sectors and between the various Georgians and Armenians. Before the unification engineered by the Bagratid dynasty in the eleventh century, I usually refer to the individual regions or to the broad cultural-political zones of eastern and western Georgia. For the sake of clarity, however, I employ “Georgian” (*k'art'uli*, *k'art'veli*) to denote the local language and historical traditions, but even this may relate an anachronistic sense of unity. Cf. the essays in Paichadze 1993, with Eng. summaries. See also: Khintibidze 1998; and Jap'aridze 2006.

⁶ Variants Mihran (which most obviously reflects its Persian basis) and Mirean. Consider this gross simplification in an otherwise remarkable book: “When they turned to Christianity, Iberia [i.e., eastern Georgia] and Armenia had at the same time turned away from Iran toward Rome” (Fowden 1993: 104).

⁷ My particular application of “commonwealth” has been inspired by Obolensky 1971, though I do not restrict its meaning so narrowly to Greek and Slavic elements.

Roman/Byzantine?⁸ In an effort to answer this crucial question, this essay scrutinizes individual Georgian texts and medieval Georgian historiography as a body of literature to throw new light on the self-identity and perceptions of the eastern Georgian elite. The significance of this project extends far beyond a small corner of Caucasia by exposing the intense cross-cultural interplay occurring in sites of overlapping and competing imperial interests and influences, by visualizing the eastern Georgians (and by extension, the diverse peoples of Caucasia) as active participants in the production and adaptation of the cultures defining the Iranian and Byzantine commonwealths and not as mere passive receptors of culture and ideas generated in imperial centers, and by contributing to the growing research on the configurations of pre-national identities (e.g., Smith 1987; Geary 2002; Armstrong 1982). Owing to the deficiency of internal narrative sources for pre-Islamic Iran, Georgian evidence complements the important, better publicized materials preserved in Armenian⁹.

While the arguments elaborated here are deeply indebted to previous scholarship, the principal task is to engage the medieval record directly. The vast preponderance of medieval Georgian historiography has reached us exclusively within the corpus known as *K'art'lis c'xovreba*, literally "The Life of K'art'li/Georgia," routinely (and imprecisely) called the Georgian Royal Annals and the Georgian Chronicles¹⁰. The composite nature of the corpus has often been obscured. The comprehensive reeditings of the corpus in the eleventh and then in the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century eliminated lacunae and homogenized grammar, turns of phrase, and style. Then, in the nineteenth century, *K'art'lis c'xovreba* came to constitute the backbone of the Georgian national narrative insofar as history prior to the Russian conquest is concerned¹¹. The broad reworking

⁸ For an introduction to medieval Caucasia's connections to Iran, see: Lang 1983; and Garsoïan 1996a.

⁹ The oldest Armenian historiographical sources, which date to the fifth century, are particularly valuable for their information about Iranian and Iranian-like institutions in Armenia as well as the relations of Caucasia and Iran (Garsoïan 1981). More generally, see also Zekiyan 2005.

¹⁰ Excellent critical editions of the corpus' medieval components were supervised by S. Qauxch'ishvili: *K'art'lis c'xovreba* 1955 and 1959. The first volume has been repr. as *K'art'lis c'xovreba* 1998 (vol. 1). Most of the components in Qauxch'ishvili's vol. 1 have been translated by R.W. Thomson in *K'art'lis c'xovreba* 1996. *K'art'lis c'xovreba* is abbreviated *K'C'* in the following notes.

¹¹ For the origins and development of the Georgian nation, see esp. Suny 1994; see also Jones 2005. The full-scale re-editing of *K'C'* (including the addition of later texts) and

of its texts and the uncritical use of the corpus have frequently resulted in the handling of *K'art'lis c'xovreba* as a single, coherent narrative (Rapp 2003)¹². However, an energetic band of professional historians and philologists in the Georgian Republic, joined by a few specialists elsewhere, have tirelessly labored to deflate the misperception. In reality, *K'art'lis c'xovreba*'s medieval section consists of thirteen distinct texts written down between ca. 800 and the fourteenth century (Table 1), though some material goes back to considerably older oral and perhaps written sources¹³. One of the magnificent challenges posed by the collection is its rather late and fragmentary manuscript tradition. The autograph manuscript(s) and earliest copies of *K'art'lis c'xovreba* have not come down to us. The most ancient witness of the corpus is a copy of its abbreviated Armenian-language adaptation, *Patmut'iwn Vrac'* ("History of the Georgians"), produced within the period 1274-1311. The oldest surviving Georgian-language variant, the Anaseuli or "Queen Anne" redaction, was copied sometime between 1479 and 1495¹⁴. Despite the relatively late date of the extant manuscripts, internal criteria establish beyond any doubt that *K'art'lis c'xovreba*'s oldest components were originally written at the turn of the eighth/ninth century.

Only the provenance of items 1, 3, 4, and 5 is seriously disputed¹⁵. Following the lead of the distinguished historian I. Javaxishvili, one of the founders of modern K'art'velogy (Georgian Studies), experts have habitually assigned these components to the eleventh century (Javaxishvili 1977:

the writing of the first comprehensive history of the Georgians by a single author, Vaxushti Bagrationi, both in the early eighteenth century, were pivotal in this development.

¹² For an overview of the copious scholarship devoted to *K'C'*, see also Lort'kip'anidze 1989.

¹³ Even specialists of medieval Georgian literature who recognize the multiplicity of texts in *K'C'* sometimes treat the corpus as an organic whole. When multiple components are acknowledged, their number is hotly debated. For thirteen, see Rapp 2003 and 1997.

¹⁴ The initial date of the Anaseuli redaction in the stemma of Rapp 2003 (p. 25) is incorrectly printed.

¹⁵ As illustrated in the table, the first five components of *K'C'* are further divided into two smaller collections (which I call "mini-corpora"): items 1, 2, and 3 constitute the mini-corpus *C'xorebay k'art'velt'a mep'et'a* (literally *The Life of the K'art'velian Kings*), and items 4 and 5— *C'xorebay vaxtang gorgasli* (literally *The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali*). Each mini-corpus is named for its core text. So as to limit confusion, Georgian titles of corpora are *transliterated* and titles of individual components/texts are *translated into English*.

Table 1: The Medieval Components of *K'art'lis c'xovreba*

1 <i>The Life of the Kings</i> (ca. 800)	}	<i>C'xorebay k'art'velt'a mep'et'a</i> (mini-corpus)
2 <i>The Life of Nino</i> (9 th /10 th cent.)		
3 <i>The Life of the Successors of Mirian</i> (probably 11 th cent.)		
4 <i>The Life of Vaxtang</i> (ca. 800)	}	<i>C'xorebay vaxtang gorgaslisa</i> (mini-corpus)
5 Ps.-Juansher, untitled continuation of <i>The Life of Vaxtang</i> (ca. 800)		
6 <i>The Martyrdom of Arch'il</i> (between 786 and 11 th cent.)		
7 Sumbat Davit'is-dze, <i>The Life and Tale of the K'art'velian/Georgian Bagratids</i> (ca. 1030)		
8 <i>The Chronicle of K'art'li</i> (11 th cent.)		
9 <i>The Life of King of Kings Davit' II</i> (12 th cent.)		
10 <i>The History and Eulogies of the Crowned</i> (13 th cent.)		
11 <i>The Life of Monarch of Monarchs T'amar</i> (13 th cent.)		
12 <i>The History of the Five Reigns</i> (13 th cent.)		
13 <i>The Chronicle of a Hundred Years</i> (14 th cent.)		

176-194). Yet on the basis of internal criteria (sources, the particular use of toponyms, royal imagery, social vocabulary, the absence of references to the then-ruling Bagratids, etc.), I have argued elsewhere that *The Life of the Kings*, *The Life of Vaxtang*, and Ps.-Juansher's untitled continuation were originally composed around the year 800, and more precisely, between the establishment of the kingdom of Ap'xazet'i ca. 790-ca. 800 and the ascendancy of the Bagratid house to the K'art'velian principate in 813 (Rapp 2003: 101-242)¹⁶. These three texts therefore constitute the oldest surviving specimens of Georgian historiography.

The structure, imagery, and contexts of these ca. 800 sources are quite distinct from the remaining medieval texts of *K'art'lis c'xovreba*, which derive from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, a span dominated by the "Golden Age" of the thousand-year Georgian Bagratid regime. I contend that early Georgian historiography may be classified into two broad phases: "pre-Bagratid" and "Bagratid." While specialists have widely acknowledged the political rise of the K'art'velian Bagratids under Ashot I in 813

¹⁶ Only a few other scholars have arrived at dates prior to the eleventh century: Toumanoff 1963: 24-25, 418-419, et passim; Tarnishvili 1947: 29-50; Ingorova 1941: 94-95; Mamulia 1964b; and Sanadze 2001.

as a watershed for periodizing medieval Georgian *history*, they have usually not appreciated the distinction between pre-Bagratid and Bagratid *historiography* in terms of context, imagery, purpose, and ideology¹⁷. This essay thus distinguishes a separate historiographical tradition just preceding Bagratid rule.

Three texts comprise the initial, pre-Bagratid phase of Georgian historiography: *The Life of the Kings*, *The Life of Vaxtang*, and Ps.-Juansher's untitled continuation of Vaxtang's biography. Composed within a decade or so prior to the elevation of the Bagratid Ashot I as presiding prince of the K'art'velians in 813, they are characterized by their devotion to the royal dynasty founded by the semi-legendary King P'arnavaz I (r. ca. 299-234 BC) and especially by their Iranian-like depiction of eastern Georgia's culture, political models and structures, and social organization¹⁸. Surviving pre-Bagratid histories unfailingly portray the monarch as wielding absolute power and as the embodiment of eastern Georgian society. A product of the lengthy interregnum stretching from ca. 580 to 888, pre-Bagratid historiography advocated for the restoration of local political autonomy; in a sense it may be read as a "call to action" through its description of the ancient and, until ca. 580, purportedly unbroken tradition of kingship in K'art'li¹⁹. The marriage of history writing and royal authority are conspicuous in the Georgian case: with few exceptions pre-modern Georgian historiography, both in its pre-Bagratid and Bagratid stages, is narrowly focused on the crown, even in periods when indigenous kingship was non-existent or a legal fiction.

¹⁷ The master narrative articulating the particular experience of the modern Georgian nation with its special emphasis on the Bagratid achievement has further obscured the differences among the components of K'C'.

¹⁸ For an overview of Irano-Georgian literary relations, see Gvaxaria 2001. Like most other scholars in the Georgian Republic, Gvaxaria dates the oldest components of K'C' to the eleventh century. The chronology of the pre- and early-Christian kings of K'art'li remains contentious. I find merit in the chronology elaborated by Toumanoff (e.g., Toumanoff, 1963, 1969, and 1990). Cf. Melik'ishvili 1999a and 1999b; Kavtaradze 2000; Meißner 2000.

¹⁹ Although the focus of this essay is the histories preserved in K'C', the same holds true for the components of the independent tenth-century corpus *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay*, literally "The Conversion of K'art'li." However, Mamulia 1979: 114-159, 191, suggests that *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay*'s explanation of the provenance of K'art'velian royal authority may reflect the perspective of the *erist'avis* (governors/generals) of Odzrq'e (Odzraxe) and Klarjet'i. Significantly, there survive precious few medieval historical texts which were not incorporated into K'C' or *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay*. The notable exception is the fifteenth-century *Monument of the Erist'avis*.

Though it remains uncertain where pre-Bagratid texts were written, at the time of their composition much of eastern Georgia, including K'art'li proper, was under Arab occupation. Eastern Georgia was then incorporated into the Arab province of Armīniya which also included Armenia and Caucasian Albania centered in what is now western Azerbaijan²⁰. Large segments of the K'art'velian political and religious elite sought refuge in the far eastern region of Kaxet'i and especially along the frontier with Byzantine Anatolia in districts like Tao/Tayk', Shavshet'i, and Klarjet'i. Here certain K'art'velian institutions were replicated. In the course of the tenth and eleventh century, this neo-K'art'li, as I term it (Rapp 2003: 231-233, 413-430), was a springboard for the *reconquista* of eastern Georgia and subsequently, in the eleventh century, it played a central role in the creation of an all-Georgian kingdom, the first durable political union of eastern and western Georgia. Under the hazardous and uncertain conditions of the late eighth and early ninth centuries, it is not surprising that pre-Bagratid historians should have been staunch proponents of an independent monarchy and should have lamented the divisive rule of local warlords and noble families, about whom they infrequently speak. Therefore, unlike its counterpart in Armenia, historical writing in early medieval eastern Georgia was a platform for establishing, celebrating, reinforcing, and, in appropriate circumstances, reformulating royal legitimacy, even when the monarchy had fallen into abeyance.

Within *K'art'lis c'xovreba* the pre-Christian past is uniquely elaborated in its initial selection, *The Life of the Kings*²¹. This anonymous source commences with the story of eight legendary eponym-brothers, the alleged founders of the major peoples of Caucasia. They are made to be the progeny of the biblical Togarmah (Geo. T'argamos), a descendant of Japheth, himself a son of Noah (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 3-11). Although the heroic eponyms were autonomous in their own places, it was the eldest sibling Hayk (Geo. Haos) — the forefather of the Armenians — who assumed command when Caucasians faced collective threat. Hayk thus took the lead over his brothers, including the K'art'velian forefather K'art'los, during the titanic battle against the first king of the world, the tyrannical Nimrod (Geo. Nebrot'i) the Iranian²². The tale of Hayk and K'art'los exemplifies the broad

²⁰ For a description of Armīniya, see al-Balādhurī 1961: 303-332.

²¹ For a detailed analysis of this text, see Rapp 2003, chs. 1-2, 101-196.

²² The Old Georgian version of Gen. 10.8-12 reads: "Xush [i.e., Cush] begat Nimrod. He became a hero [*gmiri*] upon the Earth. He was a hero-hunter [*gmiri monadire*] before

constellation of Eurasian traditions circulating in medieval K'art'li. In this case, the creative ninth-century author of *The Life of the Kings* or his source inserted the K'art'velian primogenitor into the genealogies elaborated in the Armenian adaptation of the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus of Rome which, in turn, was ultimately based on Genesis 10 (Rapp 2003: 132-136).

With Nimrod's appearance *The Life of the Kings* takes a decidedly Iranian turn in terms of its tone, imagery, and historical framework. Once Nimrod had been vanquished by the Caucasian forefathers, *The Life of the Kings* reports the resurgence of Iran under the hero (*gmiri*) Ap'ridon, the celebrated Farīdūn of the Iranian epic²³. Ap'ridon installed a certain Ardami (Ardavān) as the governor/general (*erist'avi*) of Caucasia. Although Iran had annexed K'art'li by force of arms, the author acknowledges some positive contributions, including Ardami's introduction of masonry. Later, Ap'ridon divided his imperial domains among his three sons. The eldest, Iared (Erēch/Erēz/Iraj), received the Iranian heartland and K'art'li as his share, the two areas thus being linked in the clearest of terms²⁴. Yet whenever the situation presented itself, the K'art'velians — often in conjunction with the Armenians — are said to have rebelled against their Iranian overlords. One such insurrection erupted prior to the reign of K'ekapos (Key Kāvus), when the K'art'velians and the northern Caucasian Ovsis/Alans forged an alliance. K'ekapos reestablished authority in Caucasia only to see it erode anew, for as he gave battle to the Turanians ("T'urk's"), K'art'velians and Armenians again rose up and routed his son P'araborot (Farīburz)²⁵.

the Lord God. And the beginning of his kingdom [*mep'oba*] was Babel..." (Georgian Old Testament 1989: 87). Cf. the third-century BC Manetho: "It is very clear that the Chaldean Empire began with Nebrod [Nimrod]..." (frag. T10b; Manetho 1996: 125). Though Nimrod is depicted as the royal Iranian ancestor in Georgian sources, Gayōmard is identified as the first world-king in the Iranian epic. The Georgian tradition about Nimrod has been filtered through the Hebrew Bible and related/derivative Near Eastern works like the apocalyptic tract by Ps.-Methodius. For traditions about Nimrod in eastern Syria/Iraq, see Walker 2006-2007: 500-504.

²³ For Persian proper names in Old Georgian, see the indispensable study by Andronikashvili 1966 (pp. 569-571 for figures from the Iranian epic tradition appearing in *The Life of the Kings*). See also Justi 1895 and the discussion below.

²⁴ In the *Shāhnāma* Farīdūn apportioned his realm among his three sons. The older Salm and Tur (hence Turanian), having become jealous that the younger Iraj had been granted the Iranian heartland, killed their sibling and thus set the stage for subsequent Irano-Turanian battles. Eastern Georgia is not specified in the *Shāhnāma*'s account. Iraj/Iared is the oldest brother in the Georgian tradition. See Ferdowsī 1967: 27-32.

²⁵ See Frye 1963: 38-49, for the wars between the Iranians and the Turanians. "Turk" is used in the sense of "Turanian" by al-Tabarī and his Muslim contemporaries.

K'ekapos eventually dispatched his grandson, K'aixosro (Key Khusrau), himself the grandson of Shioshi (Siyāvosh) "the Fortunate."²⁶ K'aixosro extended Iranian dominion over Caucasia and installed a new set of governors. But as K'ekapos maneuvered to re-engage the Turanians, the Caucasians defected yet again and assassinated his officials. Further complicating matters, some Turanians migrated to K'art'li and entered into an alliance with the K'art'velians. Later, the Iranian King Vashtashabi (Vishtaspa, Goshtasp) deployed a detachment to Caucasia under the command of his son, Spandiat-Rvali (Spanddāt)²⁷. But Spandiat, a giant (*goliat'i*) and a renowned hero (*saxelovani*), withdrew upon hearing the news of his grandfather's death at the hands of the Turanians. As had become customary, the southern Caucasians liberated themselves from the Iranian yoke, but the newly enthroned Spandiat again reduced K'art'li to tributary status. As presented in *The Life of the Kings*, the curtain to the cycle of domination and liberation falls once and for all on the eve of Alexander's conquest of Achaemenid Iran.

In the context of early Irano-K'art'velian relations, on three occasions *The Life of the Kings* explicitly cites a tradition it calls *The Life of the Persians* (Rapp 2003: 113-118). Though no surviving Iranian texts have been identified as this source, an attractive candidate is the now-lost *Khwadāy-nāmag*, a precursor of the famous eleventh-century *Shāhnāma* of Ferdowsī²⁸. Moreover, the Pahlavi *Kārnāmag ī Ardashīr ī Pāpagān* (*The Book of the Deeds of Ardashīr, Son of Pāpag*) may lurk behind at least one of our references (Mamulia 1964a: 251-256, and 1964b: 266-270), but even here we possess nothing approaching a direct quotation or a definite paraphrase. While the source may be lost, we must wonder whether the author actually used any written Iranian source or sources for the early section of *The Life of the Kings*. His vague allusion to *The Life of the Persians* may

²⁶ Key Kāvus and his son Siyāvosh: Ferdowsī 1967: 81-180.

²⁷ For the Iranian traditions about Spanddāt, see Mamulia 1964b: 244-266.

²⁸ Gabashvili 1983: 38-40 and 45, identifies *The Life of the Persians* as the history of al-Tabarī or its tenth-century Persian translation by Bālāmī. There is, however, no evidence of direct borrowing from either of these sources. But Gabashvili rightly seeks later, Islamic-era texts which drew upon the Iranian epic cycle. If a written *Life of the Persians* actually existed, it was not necessarily composed in Persian. The tenth-century Shatberdi codex which includes *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* contains a list of Iranian kings. But this is a partial Georgian translation of Hippolytus' *Chronicle* which does not correspond in any way to *The Life of the Kings*: Shatberdi Codex 1989: 199-200. *The Life of the Kings*' source is neither the *Chronicle* of Eusebius nor its medieval Armenian translation.

well intimate oral traditions, in which case the existence of a written text was contrived so as to authenticate his “K’art’velized” rendition of the Iranian epic. Although experts have yet to identify the specific Iranian sources of *The Life of the Kings*, elements of the Iranian epic cycle were undoubtedly known to the ca. 800 historian through oral and/or written forms.

At this juncture we should pause to consider the historical value and significance of the opening section of *The Life of the Kings*, especially in relation to its intense Iranian flavor, one of the primary attributes of pre-Bagratid historiography (see also Rapp 1997: 158-176). Notwithstanding their legendary qualities, these initial episodes with their depiction of a past saturated with the hues of the Iranian epic are an expression of eastern Georgia’s close bonds to the Iranian world. Thus, *The Life of the Kings* projects remote eastern Georgian history through the lens of the Iranian epic cycle and to a far lesser extent through that of the Hebrew Bible, and generally not through the lens of Graeco-Roman, Hellenistic, and/or Byzantine traditions²⁹. But eastern Georgia’s relationship to Iran was multifaceted: while its social institutions and political structures were not unlike those elsewhere in the commonwealth, quarrels with the central Iranian authority were not uncommon. As we have seen, the K’art’velian elite’s thirst for political autonomy and the ensuing confrontation with the Iranian government imbue *The Life of the Kings*. There K’art’li’s very foundation as an independent kingdom is tied to the collapse of Iranian power and its very existence was validated and fortified by the defeat of Nimrod. Despite this, the overall tone of the text with regards to Iranian culture, society, and political models is anything but negative. And while the references to Nimrod, Farīdūn, Erēch, Key Kāvus, Farīburz, Key Khusrau, Siyāvosh, Spanddāt, the Turanians, et al., are of a legendary nature, they nevertheless testify to the pervasiveness of Iranian and Iranian-like traditions among the upper stratae of eastern Georgian society as late as the ninth century.

²⁹ Local sources consigned to writing ca. 800 place ancient and medieval K’art’li in an Iranian/Near Eastern matrix. Although contemporary Caucasia did come into contact with Rome/Byzantium, pre-Bagratid Georgian historiography is unacquainted with critical events like Pompey’s invasion of Caucasia in 66-64 BC, the Treaty of Rhandaia (63 AD), the Treaty of Nisibis (298), the peace established in 387 whereby Rome abandoned the whole of K’art’li to Iran, and the partitions of Armenia. For the last two, see Blockley 1992. For the Classical image of the various “Georgian” domains, see Braund 1994.

This situation was nothing new when *The Life of the Kings* was put into writing. Numerous independent lines of evidence are witnesses to eastern Georgia's enduring encounter with and inclusion within the Iranian Commonwealth since Achaemenid times. Because Georgian became a written language only in the late fourth/early fifth century AD, the earliest specimen of original Georgian literature being composed towards the end of the fifth century, ancient Georgian narrative evidence for the Achaemenid, Parthian, and much of the Sasanid periods is lacking. However, Iranian inscriptions, Graeco-Roman sources, and the invaluable (medieval) geographical treatise by the Armenian scholar Anania Shirakac'i associate eastern Georgia and the whole of Caucasia with the Iranian Commonwealth. First of all, we have several indications of Iranian imperial claims over and even a direct presence in Caucasia, especially in the areas south of the principal chain of the Caucasus Mountains. For eastern Georgia in particular the written evidence is sketchy, though even here an ancient Iranian heritage comes into focus. Already in the fifth century BC Herodotus (3.94) asserted that some peoples living near the territory that would become eastern Georgia — the Moschoi (cf. Mesxis of southern Georgia/northern Armenia and also connected with Cappadocia), Tibarēni, Makrōēs, Mossynoikoi, and Marēs — together constituted the nineteenth satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire under Darius³⁰. In Herodotus' view Caucasia was "as far as the Persian rule reaches, the country north of the Caucasus paying no regard to the Persians..." (Herodotus 3.97).

Though the few extant inscriptions from the early years of the Sasanid dynasty locate K'art'li within the Iranian sphere, K'art'li's legal status vis-à-vis Ērān, Iran proper, was a contentious matter among the Iranians themselves³¹. The Great Inscription of Shāpūr, carved near Persepolis ca. 262 AD,

³⁰ Cf. Darius' inscription at Behistun which enumerates the lands under *direct* Achaemenid control: Kent 1953: §6. Armenia is specified; K'art'li is not. But material culture may suggest the incorporation of eastern Georgia into the network of Achaemenid satrapies (Tsetskhladze 2003: 238). Such a view is bolstered by an Achaemenid-style palace recently excavated at Gumbati in Kaxet'i, for which see further. Cf. Lort'k'ip'anidze 2001: 143-190, 183 for the assertion that "Nor is there any direct and reliable archaeological evidence on the political presence of the Achaemenids in the region of our interest (i.e., the territory of modern Eastern Georgia, to the north of the river Kura)." It should be noted, however, that Lort'k'ip'anidze tends to underplay foreign influences upon the Georgians.

³¹ The legal status of neighboring Armenia in relation to Ērān was also debated: Garsoïan 1981: 29-35 (including a discussion of Ērān/Anērān) and 1976: 6-7, and fn. 17.

counts Virchān, i.e., Kʿartʿli, as an integral component of the Aryan Empire (Maricq 1965: 47-49, 78; Sprengling 1953: 14, and n. 2, 21-22). This contrasts with the late-third-century inscription commemorating the proselytizing achievements of Zoroastrian chief magus Kartīr, who boasts of expanding the veneration of Ahura Mazdā into Anērān (non-Ērān), including Armenia, Kʿartʿli (Vrvcan) and Caucasian Albania (Sprengling 1953: 51-52)³². Though Kartīr may not have regarded eastern Georgia as a formal part of Iran, he expended enormous energy to absorb it into the Iranian religious world.

Closer to the time of *The Life of the Kings* is a pivotal literary source: the Armenian-language *Ashxarhacʿoycʿ* (*Geography*) by Anania Shirakacʿi. Apart from yielding an abundance of information about contemporary Caucasia, this seventh-century treatise — in its long recension, surviving in a single manuscript — supplies one of the most detailed medieval descriptions of the Sasanid enterprise. According to Shirakacʿi, Sasanid Iran was officially divided into four sectors: Kʿusti Xorbaran (“the Western region”), Kʿusti Nmroj (“the Meridional region”), Kʿusti Xorasan (“the Eastern region”), and Kʿusti Kapkoh (“the Caucasian region”), the last of which encompassed Kʿartʿli (Varjan), Armenia, and Caucasian Albania (Anania Shirakacʿi, V.29, 1992: 72)³³. Shirakacʿi thus categorizes southern Caucasia as an integral component of Sasanid Iran.

Material culture confirms the Iranian connections of eastern Georgia³⁴. Substantial numbers of Parthian and Sasanid coins found on Georgian territory attest Caucasia’s longstanding commercial associations with Iran. The number of Parthian coins is greatest for the first centuries BC and AD, while the majority of Sasanid coins belong to the sixth century AD, at which time Byzantium and Iran were locked in an intense contest for supremacy in Caucasia and the Near East (Tsotselia 1981)³⁵. Ancillary

³² The damaged Pāikūlī inscription of ca. 295 makes reference to the Kʿartʿvelian monarchy, but surviving fragments do not specify Kʿartʿli’s relationship to Iran: Pāikūlī Inscription 1983: §92, 71 (pt. 3.1) and comm., 126 (pt. 3.2), and Kettenhofen 1995: 22-23.

³³ Greenwood 2002, 328-330, argues for a lost Pahlavi source for Shirakacʿi’s account.

³⁴ For Achaemenid influence on western Georgia, see, e.g.: Braund 1994: 122-151; and Tsatskheladze 1994.

³⁵ Roman and Byzantine coins were sometimes buried along with Iranian coins. See, e.g.: Dzhalagania 1979 and 1980. There appears to have been a small Sasanid mint in eastern Georgia; the few surviving specimens of Georgian-Sasanid coinage display subtle alterations to the usual iconography, including a Christian cross surmounting the Zoroastrian fire altar and the name of the Kʿartʿvelian prince inscribed alongside the image of the Sasanid Great King.

branches of the extensive network of trans-Eurasian trade routes, the so-called Silk Roads, traversed southern Caucasia. Within the Georgian domains the main east-west communications and commercial route followed the course of the Mtkuari (Mtkvari, Kura) River, along which was located the ancient capital city of Armazi-Mc'xet'a (Mtskheta) (Manandian 1965). By the Sasanid period a road also ran from Armazi-Mc'xet'a, where the Mtkuari and Aragwi (Aragvi) rivers converge, southwards to Armenia and then on to Iran proper (Eremian 1939). Significantly, Agathias (2.21.7-8) reports that eastern Georgians and Iranians utilized the same system of measuring travel distances.

Today archaeologists and art historians stand at the forefront of expanding our knowledge about the Iranian affinities of eastern Georgian culture (Gagoshidze 1996; Knauss 2006; and Tsetskhladze 2001 and 2003)³⁶. Pre-Christian temples devoted to a localized form of Zoroastrianism and combining local and Iranian features have been excavated at C'ixiagora, Ghart'iskari, Samadlos Micebi, and Up'lisc'ixe (Khimshiashvili & Narimanishvili 1995-1996; Zkitischwili 1995). A team of Georgian and German archaeologists recently discovered the remains of a remarkable Achaemenid-style palace built at Gumbati in the Alazani valley of Kaxet'i, an area just east of K'art'li (Knauss 2001)³⁷. For a long time specialists have studied the sculptures of the heads of bulls, images of deer, and hunting scenes adorning the walls of medieval Georgian churches like Bolnisi Sioni and Ateni Sioni, their close parallels in Iranian, Armenian, and Near Eastern art having been noted (Amiranashvili 1963: pls. 26 [the sculpture of a bull's head on an interior wall of Bolnisi Sioni] and 18 [Sasanid silver bowl found at Armazi]). Here it should be recalled that similar iconography was current in Armenia and to a lesser extent in Byzantium. Scholars have also drawn attention to Sasanid silver bowls discovered within the boundaries of modern Georgia, though these were almost certainly produced in Iran and imported as gifts for the ruling elite (e.g., Harper & Meyers 1981: 24-39). These and many other examples need not always entail direct borrowing from Iran; rather, they frequently indicate common developments within a common, tightly-knit Near Eastern environment.

³⁶ Tsetskhladze 2001: 470 notes that "Iranian elements appeared from the middle of the 2nd millennium BCE, as they did in the art of the entire Caucasian region."

³⁷ Tsetskhladze 2003: 238, dates the Gumbati palace to the fifth/fourth century BC.

The names of contemporary rulers and aristocrats further corroborate eastern Georgia's association with the Iranian Commonwealth. Though some of the details of *The Life of the Kings* unquestionably belong to a later time, many of the K'art'velian royal names preserved in its pages are duplicated in contemporary, non-Georgian narrative sources, thus substantiating their authenticity. In this regard Graeco-Roman historians are eminently valuable. Without exception the names of the pre-Christian kings of K'art'li — and the vast majority of the pre-Bagratid Christian ones as well — are based upon Old and Middle Persian, Parthian, and Avestan: e.g., P'arnavaz (O.Pers. Farnabāz, cf. Av. *χwarenah*), Mirvan (O.Ir. Miθrāpāna), Amazasp (O.Pers. Hamāzāspa), Rev (cf. Rēwnīz), Asp'agur (cf. Aspārug), and Mihran (O.Ir. Miθrāna>Miθra)³⁸. Certain names, like Saurmag (son and successor of P'arnavaz), are of Northern Iranic derivation and testify to the penetration of Iranic influences from northern Caucasia and the steppes of what is now southern Russia (Andronikashvili 1966: 492-493). In addition, Iranian official and honorific titles were employed by the eastern Georgians in the pre-Bagratid age, including *spaypeti/spaspeti* (cf. Parth. *spa-pat*) and *pitiaxshi/patiashshi* (cf. Phl. *bitaxsh*, from O.Ir. *axsh*; Andronikashvili 1966: 371-372 [*spaypeti*] and 362-364 [*pitiashshi*])³⁹.

A localized form of “imperial” Aramaic, the dialect of the Aramaic language favored by the Iranian government, enjoyed some currency among the K'art'velian aristocracy by the second century AD. Several inscriptions written in the local “Armazic” dialect of Aramaic have been discovered in southern Caucasia⁴⁰. The larger number of specimens derives from the territory of modern Georgia (hence the term “Armazic,” after the ancient settlement of Armazi adjacent to Mc'xet'a), though Armazic is also attested in Armenia, most notably in an inscription carved into the famous temple at Garni. Therefore, a spoken and written variant of the language favored by the Iranian government and aristocracy had a secure foothold in K'art'li and in parts of neighboring Armenia⁴¹.

³⁸ Andronikashvili 1966; Justi 1895; Martin-Hisard 1996; Schmitt 2000. For Amazasp, see also Gignoux 1986: 95, #428, “Hamazāsp.”

³⁹ See also: Gippert 1993, esp. 1:207-216; and Garsoïan in *The Epic Histories* 1989: 560-561 (*sparapet*, “marshal of Greater Armenia, commander-in-chief of the army”) and 516-517 (*bdeashx*, the Armenian equivalent of *pitiashshi*, “toparch, marcher-lord”).

⁴⁰ What is more, the Jewish community of late antique Mc'xet'a wrote in Hebrew and Palestinian Aramaic.

⁴¹ On Armazic and Aramaic in eastern Georgia, see esp. the collected essays of K. Ceret'eli (2001). On the ca. 150 AD Armazi Bilingual inscribed in Greek and Armazic, see Ceret'eli 1992 and Braund 1994: 212-214.

The linguistic connection is by no means limited to the local dialect of Aramaic. On the whole, Iranic elements in Georgian — a non-Indo-European tongue — cannot be explained by diffusion and simple borrowing. Rather, they “form an integral part of the Georgian language, being comprised in its basic lexical core” (Andronikashvili 1966: 547)⁴². Iranian linguistic influence has left an imprint even upon Georgian Christianity. Certain fundamental religious terminology may be traced back to Old and Middle Persian, including *netari* “blessed,” *beri* “monk,” Jojoxet’i “Hell,” *eshmaki* “demon, Satan,” and perhaps even *cmi[n]da* “holy, saint.”⁴³ But here it should be emphasized that although a myriad of Georgian words and even personal names are derived from Persian, contemporary K’art’velians would have regarded them as inherently Georgian. And we should not overlook the fact that some Iranic terminology influenced Georgian via Armenian, the languages of northern Caucasasia, Syriac, and after the seventh century, Arabic.

This lengthy contextualization of pre-Bagratid historiography demonstrates the longstanding and persistent nexus of the interior Georgian lands and the Iranian Commonwealth. Though the Iranian and Iranian-like images in our ca. 800 AD texts do not necessarily indicate an unbroken line of cultural sharing and transmission, they nevertheless constitute concrete proof that ninth-century historians operated within a well-established Iranian-like tradition, one that was deeply ingrained in the culture, society, and politics of contemporary K’art’velians and their Caucasian neighbors. Pre-Bagratid histories are a brilliant testimony to eastern Georgia’s and Caucasasia’s venerable association with the Iranian Commonwealth. At the same time, they incorporate motifs and symbols which were emerging as cornerstones of the so-called New Persian Renaissance of the ninth and tenth century, an epoch witnessing the syncretism of Iranian and Arabo-Islamic culture. This phenomenon is typically portrayed as having initially taken root in far away eastern Iran and Inner Asia, especially in the domains of the Samanid dynasty, which ruled from 892 to 999 from its capital at Bukhara in Transoxania and claimed the famous Sasanid general Bahrām Chōbīn as its ancestor. Because pre-Bagratid Georgian texts were com-

⁴² Andronikashvili’s pathfinding research has been expanded by T’. C’xeidze (e.g., C’xeidze 1984 and 2001). See also Gippert 1993. For an overview of Armeno-Iranian linguistic contacts, see Garsoïan 1976: 11-14.

⁴³ Certain Greek terms were also adopted, especially in ecclesiastical contexts, e.g., *eklesia* (church), *episkoposi* (bishop) and *kat’alikosi* (*katholikos*, Latin *catholicus*).

posed just as the “renaissance” was getting underway⁴⁴, a similar development seems to have been emerging simultaneously on the western side of the Caspian Sea, in the Caucasus region.

A common social structure is one of the most striking connections of Iran and eastern Georgia conveyed in pre-Bagratid historiography. In his meticulous investigations of the early medieval nobility of southern Caucasia, Toumanoff summed up this affinity:

... socially, the Caucasian polities were similar to the Iranian and utterly unlike the Romano-Byzantine. Armenia and Iberia [i.e., K'art'li] were even more aristocratic in character than Iran, being, in fact, federations of dynastic princes — each the overlord of a body of lesser nobility — presided over by kings... (Toumanoff 1954: 123-124)

One of the conspicuous aspects of Iranian, K'art'velian, and Armenian societies was their unfailing emphasis upon hereditary succession and primogeniture within royal and aristocratic families⁴⁵. Pre-Bagratid and Bagratid sources both stress the unparalleled legitimacy of the ruling dynasty, a corollary being that without a dynasty there could be no monarch. So as to accentuate the central and necessary role of dynasties, the author of *The Life of the Kings* frequently employs dynastic labels, including P'arnavaziani (Pharnabazid, i.e., the progeny of P'arnavaz), Nebrot'iani (Nimrodid), Arshakuniani (Arsacid/Parthian), and Sasaniani (Sasanid). The expectation was for the monarch's oldest son to follow him on the throne, and if primogeniture proved impossible, a ranking male candidate from his

⁴⁴ For the New Persian Renaissance and the Shu'ūbiyya phenomenon, see Frye 1963: 241-244.

⁴⁵ Garsoïan 1976: 21-24, emphasizes that “[t]he very concept of a hereditary office, totally irreconcilable with the Classical — Graeco-Roman — tradition of elected magistrates and appointed civil servants, was so pervasive in Armenia, that it applied not only to the ruler but even to the patriarchal dignity, in a matter wholly unacceptable to the canonic definition of a bishop.” Elsewhere Garsoïan elaborates upon the extension of hereditary offices to the early Armenian Church: “Conforming to an earlier Iranian tradition that all the offices of the realm, from that of the king on down, were the hereditary prerogatives of certain noble houses, Arsacid Armenia viewed the patriarchate as inherent in the house of St. Gregory. Contemporary sources insist that this prerogative was inalienable and that other candidates might lawfully be considered only when no members of the Gregorid family were available” (Garsoïan 1984: 233-234). Extant sources give a few indications that religious officials in K'art'li held their offices by bloodright, e.g., *Royal List II*, §15, 2003: 307.

family should succeed him⁴⁶. The right to rule was thus predetermined by blood.

The Life of the Kings conscientiously ties all legitimate K'art'velian kings to its first indigenous monarch P'arnavaz. Prior to his enthronement as the first K'art'velian king, P'arnavaz is made to appeal to his partisans as a direct descendant of the K'art'velian eponym K'art'los, and thus as a K'art'losiani (K'art'losid). A servant responded, "You are the son of the lords of K'art'li, and it is right for you to be my lord" (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 22₂₂₋₂₃ and 1996: 31). Even when a particular king was repudiated, the nobility would normally throw its weight behind a candidate from the existing dynasty: "They did not wish for royalty of any other family which did not belong to the lineage of the descendants of P'arnavaz" (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 32₁₅ and 1996: 46).

According to the first phase of Georgian historiography⁴⁷, pre-Bagratid K'art'velian monarchs conceived of their authority in a manner consistent with that of the kings of Iran, a circumstance which also characterizes kingship in neighboring Armenia. Again and again *The Life of the Kings* and *The Life of Vaxtang* depict K'art'velian rulers as Sasanid-like hero-kings (Rapp 2003: 153-156, 207-213). The terms *gmiri* ("hero"), *goliat'i* (cf. goliath/Goliath)⁴⁸, and *bumberazi* (champion-duelist) are regularly applied in this context⁴⁹. These are the K'art'velian analogues for the Persian terminology applied to Sasanid elite warriors, the *asabārān*⁵⁰. The

⁴⁶ According to the Georgian historiographical tradition, only one woman held the reins of power in the pre-Bagratid period: Ghadana is said to have "reigned" (*mep'obda*) as regent during the minority of P'arsman III (r. 135-185). See *The Life of the Kings* 1955: 54₉₋₁₁ and 1996: 65. The first woman to rule in her own right was the Bagratid T'amar (r. 1184-1213).

⁴⁷ Numerous specialists, including Eastmond 1998, have demonstrated the significance of royal portraits for the study of Georgian kingship in Bagratid times. Unfortunately, contemporaneous visual images of pre-Bagratid *kings* are not extant, hence the special importance of the textual portraits preserved in pre-Bagratid historiography.

⁴⁸ Thomson frequently glosses *gmiri* as "giant." In the Old Georgian rendering of the Hebrew Bible, *gmiri* could sometimes render "giant," e.g., Gen. 6.4 (Georgian Old Testament 1989: 76). While *goliat'i* may be traced back to the Hebrew Bible, its use in pre-Bagratid historiography is closely connected to Iranian-like ideals of combat, heroism, and rulership.

⁴⁹ Occasionally we also encounter the term *chabuki* (O.Pers. *chāpūka*), "youth": e.g., *The Life of the Kings* 1955: 20₁₇, for P'arnavaz. See also Andronikashvili 1966: 408-409. *Chabuki* is analogous to the Persian *mard-juwān* ("youth," lit. "young man") designating masculine prowess, courage, and strength (Zakeri 1993: 385-386).

⁵⁰ This is the plural form. See esp. Zakeri 1993: 68-87, 113-114 et seq.

asbār (O.Pers. *asbāra*, Phl. *aswār*) was a specialist in single combat (*mard-u-mard*) and, as the Iranian word suggests, an expert horseman. Of relevance for our ca. 800 Georgian histories, the generic sense of “hero” attached to *asbār* in early Arabic sources reflects the military and economic reforms of the Sasanid emperor Khusrau I (r. 531-579)⁵¹. The *asbār* accumulated honorifics bearing witness to his prowess and virility, including *hizārmard* (an indication that he possessed the strength of a thousand men), *mubārīz* (cf. Geo. *bumberazi*), *pahlawān* (“hero”), *jahān pahlawān* (“hero of the world”), and *zih sawār* (“exceptional rider”).

Pre-Bagratid texts celebrate the exploits of Kʿartʿvelian royal heroes and their champions and describe them in a manner consistent with the terminology applied to the *asabārān* in the era of Khusrau I. Within *Kʿartʿlis cʿxovreba* this heroic representation is found already in the initial passage of *The Life of the Kings*. The anonymous author portrays the biblical Togarmah, his sons, and the male offspring of the eponym Kʿartʿlos as *gmiris*; their opponent Nimrod also possessed his own heroes. In the same text, several Iranian Great Kings, including Apʿridon/Farīdūn, are represented as *gmiris*. Another essential feature of pre-Bagratid descriptions of royal authority is the *bumberazobay*, the institution of *bumberazi* combat and behavior. The original Old Georgian form of *bumberazi* is likely closer to the variant *mumbarezi* (encountered in *Kʿartʿlis cʿxovreba*’s most ancient Georgian manuscript, the Anaseuli redaction; cf. *mumberiz* in the medieval Armenian adaptation of the corpus), which in turn is related to the word *mubārīz*, a “champion,” that is to say, a hero- or champion-duelist (Gafarov 1974: 729; Abuladze 1916: 797 [for its application in the Georgian version of the *Shāhnāma*, see §531.2-3]; Thomson in *Kʿartʿlis cʿxovreba* 1996: 45, fn. 24). That Khusrau’s reforms and institutions would have made a deep impression on the sedentary population of southern Caucasia is to be expected, but this was only one of many pulses of influence extending back to the inception of the Iranian Commonwealth in the mid-first millennium BC.

Pre-Bagratid historiography invariably portrays *bumberazis* as giants and heroes, the most powerful of men⁵². Duty, honor, entertainment, the

⁵¹ For Khusrau’s royal legacy, see Daryaei 2003: 33-45.

⁵² Female champion-heroes are absent from the received Georgian tradition. However, in the *Shāhnāma* the teenage daughter of Gūreng, king of Zābulistān, disguised herself as a man and entered into battle with other heroes. Circassian tradition recalls the warrior-princess Amazān (cf. Amazon): Colarusso 2002: 129-131.

promise of fame, and the morale of their armies motivated *bumberazis* of opposing sides to grapple with one another in violent single combat. The duel normally concluded with the death of one of the participants, after which the armies collided head-on, the winner of the battle usually corresponding to the victorious *bumberazi*. This last point is, needless to say, a literary convention. The pre-Bagratid K'art'velian king is depicted as singularly physical, and he was expected not only to guide his troops into battle but also to have a loyal corps of *bumberazis* under his command. He behaved like a champion but as monarch he necessarily eclipsed them all. The first explicit reference to a *bumberazi* in *The Life of the Kings* occurs during the reign of Bartom (r. 63-30 BC) (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 31-32). As two legitimate candidates to the throne, Bartom and Mirvan (the future Mirvan II), struggled for dominance, ferocious *bumberazi* combat between the two camps ensued. Because he "did not possess the stature of a *goliat'i*," the doomed Bartom did not survive. A later example occurs in the battle between the dyarchs P'arsman K'ueli ("the Valiant") and Mirdat in the first half of the second century AD. P'arsman and his general P'arnavaz entered into *bumberazi* combat, slaying many of the adversary's champions (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 50-54). It is of supreme importance that the defeat of a worthy champion could be lamented by minstrels (*mgosanni*), the *gōsāns* of the Iranian/Parthian tradition (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 53₁₀, *mgosanni glovisani*; and *The Life of the Kings* 1996: 63 and fn. 43)⁵³. Just as they were in neighboring Armenia, minstrels were woven tightly into the K'art'velian social fabric, and their lyrical songs must have been a principal source for the first Georgian historians. Indeed, portions of pre-Bagratid texts appear to have originally been composed in verse; two such examples involve King P'arnavaz I (Ingoroqva 1954: 726-729, and 1941: 94-103).

Significantly, K'art'velian royal-heroes were not divested of their Iranian trappings — either in fact or legend — as a consequence of Christianization. According to *The Life of Vaxtang*, the Christian king Vaxtang I Gorgasali (r. 447-522) triumphed in several *bumberazi* competitions; confrontations with the "Khazar" T'arq'an, the Alanian Baqat'ar, the Greek

⁵³ See also Boyce 1957: 10-45, esp. 15-17 and 25. K'art'li's connection with the Iranian world is also reflected in the words for "tale, story" (*ambavi*, O.Pers. *hambav-*) and "chronicle, history" (*matiane*, Arm. *matean*, and Phl. *matikan*). *C'xorebay* ("life, *vita*") is of uncertain provenance, although it is definitely not based upon Greek. The Greek-derived *istoria* is rarely encountered in medieval Georgian texts.

general Polykarpos, and an unnamed king of the Sindians receive extended treatment. Vaxtang's anonymous ninth-century historian favorably compares his (Christian!) subject to "the hero Nimrod," who, as we have seen, early Georgian historiography casts as the first king of the world and an Iranian by birth (*The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1955: 148)⁵⁴. In addition, the young Vaxtang is made to have had no physical rival. At age twenty-two Vaxtang was "... taller than men of that time, more handsome of face, and more powerful in strength. In armour and on foot he could catch a deer, seize its horn, and kill it. He could lift an armoured horse on his shoulders, and go up from Mc'xet'a to the fortress of Armazi" (*The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1955: 159₃₋₆, and 1996: 174)⁵⁵. Though they themselves are not explicitly identified as *bumberazis*, pre-Bagratid kings — both non-Christian and Christian — acted in the capacity of a *bumberazi* of *bumberazis*. This imagery is remarkably consistent with the hero-kings of the Iranian epic tradition⁵⁶.

Goliaf'is, *gmiris*, and *bumberazis* were restricted, consciously or not, to the Near Eastern world to which Iran, K'art'li, and Armenia belonged. In pre-Bagratid historiography, K'art'velians could fight other K'art'velians, K'art'velians could engage northern Caucasians, and the Armenian Smbat Bivritiani could best Bazok, king of the Ovisis/Alans (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 46) in *bumberazi* engagements⁵⁷. It is no

⁵⁴ This text traces the descent of pre-Bagratid K'art'velian kings to Nimrod. Pre-Bagratid and Bagratid historians alike forged links to biblical antiquity to enhance the legitimacy of their kings: the former looked to Nimrod while the latter embraced King David.

⁵⁵ Cf. the Armenian (Aa) version of Agat'angelos, §767 (1976: 307), which compares Trdat's strength to that of the Armenian forefather Hayk. Elsewhere in the same text, Trdat is called brave, virtuous, mighty, and heroic, and is associated with champions and giants (e.g., §12). See also Garsoïan 1982: 151-189.

⁵⁶ Other sources written down in the Islamic period preserve the memory of such duels (e.g.: al-Tabarī 1987: 12).

⁵⁷ Bivritiani is one of the early names for the Bagratids. For Armenia, see: Garsoïan 1981: 41-42; and Greenwood 2002: 347-358. Greenwood observes: "Therefore it looks as though Armenian princely biographies regularly included such descriptions of single combat. These passages were used to establish and emphasize the personal courage and martial prowess of the particular Armenian prince" (Greenwood 2002: 350). There are numerous examples of champions and their duels in early Armenian historiography, including the contest of King Varazdat and the *sparapet* Manuēl in *The Epic Histories*, 5.37 (1989: 219); consider also the example of Babik of Siwnik' and the Hun champion Honagur in Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, II.1 (1961: 63-64; now preserved exclusively in Armenian). Iranian influences also waxed strong in northern Caucasia. Folk tales from this

accident that in Georgian sources we encounter but a solitary Roman/Byzantine figure who engaged in *bumberazi* combat: the unfortunate Polykarpos who was briskly put out of his misery by King Vaxtang (*The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1955: 174-175)⁵⁸. Another episode is instructive here. When “the king of the Goths proposed single combat,” the Roman emperor “was not able to fight him.” The soon-to-be Armenian monarch Trdat, son of the ruling king, stepped forward: “he had been raised in Greek [i.e., Roman] territory and was a *goliat’i*.” Disguised as the emperor, and straddling both cultural universes, he grappled with the Gothic chieftain. Trdat emerged victorious, the Roman army routed the Goths, and the grateful emperor “gave troops to Trdat and sent him to Armenia, his fatherland” (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 68, and 1996: 80-81).

A local equivalent of *farnah* (Av. *χwarenah*, M.Pers. *χwarrah*), the transcendental glory/radiance earmarking legitimacy to rule in the Iranian world, was applied to the pre-Bagratid monarchs. Unlike Classical Armenian, Old Georgian does not appear to have appropriated the term directly from any of its Persian forms (Garsoïan in *The Epic Histories* 1989: 552 [*p’ark’/parawor*], 1976: 35-40, and 1981: 42-45). Instead, *didebay*, derived from *didi* (“great”), is broadly used in our extant texts for “glory” and “greatness,” including the idea of *farnah*. For their part hagiographers and other Christian writers invariably used *didebay* to express the concept of “divine glory,” thus tapping into the word’s sacral dimension⁵⁹. Be that as it may, several royal and noble proper names from antiquity preserve the root *p’ar-*, the Georgian rendering of the Iranian *χwar-/far-*, e.g., P’arnavaz, P’arnajom (variant P’arnajob), and P’arsman (Justi 1895: 90-98). The name

region recalling the extraordinary exploits of the gigantic Narts may harken back to the same tradition as the *bumberazis*. On the Narts, see Colarusso 2002: 5 for the assertion: “That there is an ancient Iranian core in the various [Nart] corpora is not to be denied.” For the provocative hypothesis that the Nart tradition undergirds the Arthurian legends, see Littleton & Malcor 2000.

⁵⁸ Potential Byzantine descriptions of *bumberazi* combat in the Sasanid period are found in Procopius (*Wars*, 1.13.29-38), and Nikephoros, ninth-century patriarch of Constantinople (*Short History*, §14). Nikephoros did not fully understand the rules of *bumberazi* engagement; it is significant, however, that the contest was initiated by an Iranian soldier named Razatēs under the command of Khusrau II. From the Iranian perspective, Byzantines might occasionally (but rarely) be raised to the status of “hero.” Thus Khusrau II (r. 590, 591-628) honored Byzantine generals with the title *hizārmard* in recognition of their support against the usurper Bahrām Chōbīn: Zakeri 1993: 81 and fn. 257.

⁵⁹ But this aspect is somewhat muffled in pre-Bagratid historiography, perhaps because of its obvious connection to Zoroastrianism: Rapp 2004.

of the Laz noble *Phartazēs* — mentioned at the beginning of this article — contains the same root, Georgian \varnothing (*p*[̇]) being rendered by Greek φ (*ph*, *f*). Foreign sources, including Classical and Byzantine texts, confirm the circulation of these names in ancient and medieval K[̇]art[̇]li; on the whole they are not forgeries concocted by later authors⁶⁰.

It is no coincidence that, according to *The Life of the Kings*, the first monarch of the K[̇]art[̇]velians was called P[̇]arnavaz⁶¹, for the name serves as a constant reminder of his possession of *farnah*. The story of P[̇]arnavaz is worth summarizing here, for it is saturated with Iranian-like imagery resembling the depictions of other pre-Bagratid monarchs, especially those featured in *The Life of the Kings* and *The Life of Vaxtang*. P[̇]arnavaz's concise biography unfurls with Alexander “the Great”'s legendary expedition in K[̇]art[̇]li, at which time the future king was still a boy. Following the murder of his unnamed father and uncle Samari, the ruler of Mc[̇]xet[̇]a (*mamasaxlisi*, lit. “father of the house,” cf. Arm. *tanutēr*), the young P[̇]arnavaz sought refuge in the rugged peaks of the Caucasus Mountains. From the outset P[̇]arnavaz is described in terms which reinforce his unique suitability to rule: he was a close relative of the ruler of Mc[̇]xet[̇]a; his name, of course, was an explicit sign of his possession of *farnah*; he was endowed with good fortune (*sue*)⁶²; and he is said to have been wise

⁶⁰ Even local (Christian) ecclesiastics had names with the root *p[̇]ar-*, e.g., the monk Pharanousēs (Φαρανούσης) attested in a fourth-/fifth-century inscription found near Cil-kani in eastern Georgia: Qauxch'ishvili 2000: 213-214, #188.

⁶¹ Sanadze 2001: 69-91, speculates that the name P[̇]arnavaz (i.e., Farnabāz, “radiant hand”), one of Ahura Mazdā's titles, was extended to all the members of P[̇]arnavaz's dynasty. She notes that the Old Georgian *xelmcip[̇]e*, “sovereign, ruler,” is a literal translation of Farnabāz, for which see also Andronikashvili 1966: 498-499. For P[̇]arnavaz, see *The Life of the Kings* 1955: 20₁₅-26₁₁, and 1996: 28-38. As in the Iranian tradition, *farnah* could be revoked. It is ironic that King P[̇]arnajom was stripped of *farnah* when he introduced Iranian Zoroastrianism to K[̇]art[̇]li, thus displacing the local idols (and, probably, the local form of Zoroastrianism). See *The Life of the Kings* 1955: 29. The example of Amazasp II (r. 185-189) is even more remarkable, for at first he was greatly admired for his *bumberazi* abilities. However, Amazasp “became haughty and began to shed blood. He slew many nobles, and therefore the people of K[̇]art[̇]li came to hate him. He became an enemy to the Armenians, and made friends with the Persians.” His fall from power was portended by the abandonment of his protective and legitimating *farnah*: *The Life of the Kings* 1955: 57, and 1996: 67. Note that the initial texts of the independent corpus *Mok[̇]c[̇]evay k[̇]art[̇]lisay* depict P[̇]arnavaz as the second K[̇]art[̇]velian king after Azoy (cf. *The Life of the Kings* Azon, a Macedonian governor of Alexander). For the competing traditions, see Rapp 2003: 112-113, 249-252, 269-274.

⁶² The term *sue*, equivalent to the Iranian and Armenian *baxt*, may be related to the Northern Iranic/O[*v*]si *fes*: Andronikashvili 1966: 108-109 and 73-75. Cf. *The Life of the*

(*gonieri*), an enterprising horseman (*mq'edari shemmart'ebeli*), and a skillful hunter (*monadire q'elovani*). These traits replicate those adorning the hero-kings of Sasanid Iran.

Anecdotes about P'arnavaz's skill in hunting reached the ears of Azon, Alexander's tyrannical governor. Fearing pursuit once Azon learned of his blood relationship to the former rulers, P'arnavaz resolved to flee with his Iranian mother to Isfahān, her homeland⁶³. At that moment P'arnavaz's destiny was revealed:

Then P'arnavaz had a dream: he was in an uninhabited house and was wishing to depart, yet could not leave. Then a ray of sunlight entered the window and seized him around the waist; it drew him up and brought him out the window. When he had come out into the country-side, he saw the Sun bending down. He stretched out his hand, wiped the dew off the Sun's face, and anointed his own face. P'arnavaz awoke, was astonished, and said: "The dream means that I should go to Isfahān, and there I shall find good [fortune]." (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 21₁₂₋₁₇, and 1996: 29-30)⁶⁴

Later, P'arnavaz went hunting alone. Having caught sight of a deer, he pursued it over the rough terrain that was the site of the future city of Tp'ilisi (T'bilisi). An arrow pierced the animal's side and it managed to stagger to the foot of a cliff where P'arnavaz seized it. Day faded to night and P'arnavaz made camp there. But the tranquillity of the moment was interrupted by a torrential rain. A frantic search for shelter led to the discovery of a cave whose entrance had been concealed eons before. With his axe the future king slashed an opening and inside feasted his eyes upon "unparalleled treasures, gold and silver and incomparable dishes of gold and silver." P'arnavaz recalled the dream and, sensing that he had been endowed with *farnah*, the king-to-be retrieved his family and led them to the cache⁶⁵. Through the vision and treasure P'arnavaz now comprehended

Kings 1955: 52₁₇₋₁₈: "[P'arsman II's] fortune gave him the victory" (*da mosc'a sueman misman dzleva*). For "evil fortune" (*sue boroti*), see *The Life of the Kings* 1955: 53₁₂.

⁶³ Cf. the flight of Farīdūn and his mother Farānak: Ferdowsī 1967: 17.

⁶⁴ Vaxtang was compelled to make peace with the Byzantine emperor as the result of a mystical dream (*The Life of Vaxtang* 1955: 167-169).

⁶⁵ Cf. the thirteenth-century *Knight in the Panther's Skin* (*Vep'xistqaosani*) by Šot'a Rust'aveli, quat. 1351-1358 (1951: 279-280; 1986: 180-181).

his exceptional fate: only he could restore his family's name and overthrow the despot Azon. He secured the support of K'uji (later said to have been appointed by P'arnavaz as the general-governor of Egrisi in western Georgia), the Egrisians, and the Ovs/Alanian and Lek tribes, and under P'arnavaz's leadership the allies made war upon Azon.

A thousand of Azon's finest "Roman" troops quickly defected and the balance of power reversed. P'arnavaz seized the central city of Mc'xet'a, Azon was slain in battle, and P'arnavaz became the first king (*mep'e*) of the K'art'velians. As the initiator of local royal authority he is credited with inventing a Georgian script, promoting the use of the Georgian (*k'art'uli*) language, and establishing a system of local general-governors (*erist'avis*) theoretically subject to the monarch. The anonymous *Life of the Kings* explicitly asserts that P'arnavaz modeled the network of *erist'avis* upon the Iranian administrative apparatus (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 25₄)⁶⁶. Existing sources do not allow us to determine whether or not any early K'art'velian ruler actually did these things. But the received imagery is entirely consistent with the Iranian epic's presentation of the foundational kings. In the words of historian R. Frye, "Later Sasanid tradition, reported mainly in Arabic sources, traces the beginnings of all institutions of church and state back to Ardashīr [the founder of the dynasty]" (Frye 1963: 201). Thus, in the *Shāhnāma* Keyumars instituted court ceremonial and invented clothing and food; Hūshang discovered fire and iron, invented blacksmithing, and devised irrigation canals and agriculture; Jamshīd invented linen and created social classes; and so on (Ferdowsī 1967: 5, 7-8, 9-10).

The narrative structure of P'arnavaz's biography itself mirrors Iranian traditions about the origins the great pre-Islamic dynasties. The future king's flight, his forgotten lineage (i.e., he was a relative of the *mamasaxlisi* of Mc'xet'a), his dream, and his successful revolt are hallmarks of the legends celebrating Cyrus and Ardashīr, founders of the Achaemenid and Sasanid dynasties respectively (Frye 1964: 40-50). Parthian and Sasanid overtones permeate the narrative about P'arnavaz, especially the dream and cave sequences⁶⁷. The Sun, so deeply revered in pre-Islamic Iranian faiths,

⁶⁶ "In this fashion did P'arnavaz order everything, imitating the kingdom of the Persians" (*The Life of the Kings* 1996: 35). Cf. the tradition that the Achaemenid Great King Darius "... divided his dominions into twenty governments, called by the Persians satrapies..." (Herodotus, 3.89). On the *erist'avis*, see now Baxtadze 2003.

⁶⁷ For P'arnavaz's dream, see Kiknadze 1984. Dreams foretelling the future of the monarchy are common in the Iranian epic (Frye 1963: 75 et passim).

is conspicuous in the story. P'arnavaz reputedly anointed himself with its very essence. This reinforced the notion that P'arnavaz was a sacral king in his own right and that his royal status was not dependent upon other Earthly powers, though in his later bid to overthrow Azon he declared his loyalty to the Seleucid monarch, from whom he purportedly received a crown, the vital form of royal insignia⁶⁸.

Like dreams, hunting (*nadirobay*, *nadiri*), a cherished elite pastime from one end of the Iranian Commonwealth to the other⁶⁹, frequently served as the literary backdrop for decisive change. Having killed the deer with an arrow from his bow, the weapon of choice throughout the Iranian world (Frye 1963: 104), P'arnavaz discovered the mysterious cave and took exclusive possession of its *farnah*-confirming treasure. Perhaps the most famous hunting episode in medieval Georgian literature involves Mirian III, the first K'art'velian monarch to embrace Christianity. Finding himself enveloped by thick clouds during a hunt on the slopes of Mt. T'xot'i, Mirian's deities — possibly including Ahura Mazdā, should Armazi be the local equivalent — failed to answer his supplications. In a last ditch effort he appealed to the Christian God and thereafter the Sun reappeared, Christianity thus outperforming the local (?Iranian) deities (*The Life of Nino* 1955: 108-111)⁷⁰. The hunt also figures prominently in the oldest surviving specimen of original Georgian literature, the fifth-century *Martyrdom of Shushaniki* (Iakob C'urtaveli, cap. 7, 1963/1964: 17-18). While the Christian

⁶⁸ The imagery of the story of P'arnavaz and the conception of local kingship owed some of their inspiration to the Seleucids. For example, P'arnavaz is said to have been deified upon his death, his grave becoming a site of religious devotion: *The Life of the Kings* 1955: 26 and 65, for Mirian III adorning the grave of P'arnavaz. P'arnavaz is also said to have “made a great idol named after himself. This is Armazi, because P'arnavaz was called Armazi in Persian” (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 25 and 1996: 36). Armazi was almost certainly connected to the Zoroastrian supreme god Ahura Mazdā, though a Hellenistic tradition of royal deification seems to have been incorporated (see further for a possible association with Anatolian deities).

⁶⁹ Garsoïan 1976: 27-30, and 1981: 47-54, where in the context of Armenia it is noted: “Taken jointly the two themes of the hunt and the banquet provide the *locus par excellence* at which the ruler-hero sheds his mortal form to display his supernatural attributes and qualities.”

⁷⁰ *The Life of Nino* was composed in the ninth/tenth century. The earlier *Conversion of K'art'li* (seventh century) in *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* (1963/1964: 84), is unfamiliar with Mirian's conversion during a hunt, relating only that he was confirmed by Nino “through a miracle performed by Christ.” However, the oldest written witness of K'art'li's conversion, the late fourth-century *Ecclesiastical History* by Rufinus (1.10), reports that the (unnamed) king was converted precisely during a hunt.

Armenian princess Shushaniki was incarcerated, her apostate Zoroastrian (?K'art'velian, ?Armeno-K'art'velian) husband, the *pitiaxshi* Varsk'en, occasionally went hunting. The tone of this explicitly Christian text, composed when Zoroastrianism was a palpable threat to the Christians of Caucasia, is negative. Not surprisingly, when the holy woman was suffering, her spouse indulged himself in mundane Iranian-like entertainments⁷¹.

Hunts were invariably conducted with horses, animals that were held in high esteem in the Iranian Commonwealth. P'arnavaz and his successors are often described as *mq'edaris*, a word that came to signify "warriors" in a generic sense but specifically denoting "mounted warriors" in its oldest usage (e.g., *The Life of the Kings* 1955: 31, 56)⁷². In the duels between champions in the Georgian and Iranian traditions, the vanquished were not infrequently stricken from their horses, thus establishing their lack of skill and fortune and presaging their eventual death not to mention the imminent defeat of their armies (e.g., *The Life of the Kings* 1955: 34, 46)⁷³. Successful *bumberazis* and hero-kings slew not only their gigantic adversaries but their magnificent steeds as well (e.g., *The Life of the Kings* 1955: 56). In *The Life of Vaxtang* horses are counted among the sumptuous gifts exchanged between Near Eastern rulers (*The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1955: 158 [two instances], 182, 183).

N.G. Garsoïan has underscored the "implicit acceptance of the Iranian tribal social pattern inherent in the Armenian King's automatic assumption of the blood feud for his murdered kinsmen" as related in the opening passage of Agat'angelos' *History of the Armenians* (Garsoïan 1976: 2)⁷⁴. Here we observe that the Armenian Arsacid monarch sought "vengeance for the

⁷¹ Some Georgian saints were presented as anti-hunters, e.g., the sixth-century Iovane Zedazadneli who befriended bears and his contemporary Davit' Garesjeli who was nourished by deer. These images contrast sharply with the emphasis placed on hunting by the K'art'velian aristocracy and on some level may represent a deliberate attempt by some local Christians to distance themselves from Iranian culture.

⁷² *Mxedari*, according to modern orthography. See also: Abuladze 1973: 314-315; and Tarchnishvili 1947: 39-40.

⁷³ Cf. *The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1955: 154-155, in which Vaxtang's horse was mortally wounded by the Ovsi *bumberazi* Baqat'ar. As his horse was falling, Vaxtang seized his opponent's steed with his hand. Having unseated Baqat'ar, Vaxtang jumped upon his adversary's horse and the Ovis were subsequently routed.

⁷⁴ While the blood feud was common throughout western Eurasia, the point here is that we have many examples of shared customs throughout the Near East. The total picture suggests an intimate connection of Caucasia and Iran from Late Antiquity through the medieval era.

blood of Artavan [the Iranian],” who had been murdered by the upstart Sasanids (Agat’angelos, 1.18-19, 1976: 34-37). The kind of blood feud practiced in the Iranian Commonwealth, including neighboring Armenia, is evident in the pages of *The Life of the Kings*. The earliest examples involve Iranian *shāhanshāhs* seeking vengeance on the Turanians. K’axosro launched an attack “for the blood of his father” (*edziebda sisxlsa mamisa mat’isasa*) while Spandiat abandoned his designs over Caucasia in order to win vengeance “for the blood of his grandfather” (*dzebnad sisxlsa mamis mamisa misisasa*) (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 15₆, 16₁₆). In the K’art’velian milieu, the very first king P’arnavaz exacted vengeance on Alexander’s governor Azon for the murder of his father and uncle, thus establishing a pattern often duplicated in *The Life of the Kings*. At least two K’art’velian civil wars allegedly hinged upon blood feuds. For example, when P’arnajom I (r. 109-90 BC) openly professed Iranian Zoroastrianism⁷⁵, his nobles conspired to replace him with the Armenian prince Arshak (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 29-33)⁷⁶. Arshak’s suitability for the K’art’velian throne hinged upon his marriage to a P’arnavazid princess. P’arnajom was slain by rebel troops and Arshak ascended the throne in 90 BC. But Arshak’s partisans had failed to eliminate royal contenders, especially P’arnajom’s infant son Mirvan. The young boy’s *mamamdzudze* — “foster-father,” tutor, yet another primary institution of the Iranian Commonwealth⁷⁷ — delivered the prince to Iran. As noted by Garsoïan, “the *topos* of the only surviving child

⁷⁵ Cf. Mirian III, described as a son of the King of Kings, who prior to his conversion allegedly venerated the local idols (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 65). Mirian “forgot” (abandoned?) the Persian language and specially revered the tomb of P’arnavaz, both thus marking his metamorphosis into a K’art’velian. This legend superbly illustrates the fluid nature of pre-modern identities. Even Sasanid emperors could be accused of apostasy and toleration of other faiths, e.g., Yazdgird I “the Sinner” (r. 399-420).

⁷⁶ This is a considerably later source. It is likely that a localized form of Zoroastrianism was widely practiced in K’art’li, as was certainly the case in neighboring Armenia: Russell 1987 and 2004.

⁷⁷ *Mamamdzudzes* are attested in the fifth-century *Martyrdom of Shushaniki* and in the “pre-Christian section” of *Mok’c’evay k’art’lisay*, for which see further. *Mamamdzudze* is the equivalent of the Armenian *dayeak*. According to Garsoïan, “The institution of *dayeaks* whereby *naxarar* [i.e., noble] youths were raised by foster-fathers of their own social class was widely prevalent in Arshakuni Armenia and is also attested for Sasanian princes” (*The Epic Histories* 1989: 521). The Christian Vaxtang was educated by his *mamamdzudze*, the general (*spaspeti*) Saumag; the king’s younger sister Mirianduxt was similarly brought up by the *spasalari* of Kaspi. This institution was also prevalent in northwestern Caucasia. On the *mamamdzudzobay*, see: Chxheidze 1979; Sarjveladze 1989: 18-21. For milk sibling relationships in northern Caucasia, see Colarusso 1994: 89.

of a massacred clan saved by his [tutor]” is found in both Agat’angelos and *The Epic Histories*, and this has a parallel in the story of Mirvan, son of P’arnajom⁷⁸. Other non-K’art’velian examples of the blood feud include the Ovsis/Alanians seeking vengeance on the Armenian Sumbat Bivritiani (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 47)⁷⁹ and the Armenian noble Anak proclaiming to the King of Kings his intention to exact vengeance on the Armenians in the name of Iran (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 60-62)⁸⁰.

Iranians and K’art’velians were also drawn together through marriages between members of their aristocratic and royal houses. As he is described, P’arnavaz represents the literal fusion of K’art’li and Iran, for he had a K’art’velian father and an Iranian mother (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 20). P’arnavaz’s son and successor Saurmag (r. 234-159 BC) reputedly married the daughter of the Iranian *erist’avi* of Bardavi (Partaw, Partav) (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 27). Since no sons resulted from the union, Saurmag brought Mirvan, an Iranian descendant of Nimrod (a Nebrot’iani/Nimrodid, designations applied to K’art’velian members of the Iranian royal family), and married him to his own daughter. Mirvan I (r. 159-109 BC) was legitimate through his marriage to Saurmag’s daughter. Mirdat I, who, as we have seen, opposed P’arsman II, also took an Iranian princess (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 50). The first Christian king of K’art’li, Mirian III, is fabulously said to have been a son of the King of Kings himself (*The Life of the Kings* 1955: 62-63)⁸¹. Finally, King Vaxtang’s pious mother Sagduxt was the daughter of the Iranian governor of Caucasian Albania (Geo. Rani) (*The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1955: 141-142), and Vaxtang’s first wife Balenduxt is identified as the daughter of the *shāhanshāh* Hurmazd III (r. 457-?459) (*The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1955: 158). Notwithstanding

⁷⁸ For the account, see *The Life of the Kings* 1955: 29-30.

⁷⁹ “And the Ovsis began to seek [vengeance] for their blood on the Armenians” (*da icqes ovst’a dzebna sisxlisa mat’isa somext’a zeda*) (*The Life of the Kings* 1996: 56).

⁸⁰ The story of Anak, the murderer of Trdat’s father Xosrov, is based upon the Armenian tradition enshrined in Agat’angelos, §§25-32.

⁸¹ Mirian is said to have been married to the daughter of the previous P’arnavazid king Asp’agur. Cf. an alternate medieval Georgian tradition that does not know of Mirian’s descent from the King of Kings, but rather names his father as a certain Lev. See *Royal List I*, §26, 2003: 261. Cf. Toumanoff 1969: 22: “The assertion [in *K’C*] that Meribanes [i.e., the Classical form of Mirian] was not a legitimate son of the King of Kings is a way of admitting that his origin was in reality not imperial Sassanid but rather princely Mihranid.” Cf. Sanadze 2001: 135-149, for Mirian’s father Rev as the grandson of the Sasanid Great King Shāpūr I.

the uncertain veracity of these examples (especially with regards to Mirian), around whom many legends subsequently mushroomed, they suggest robust kinship links between distinguished eastern Georgian and Iranian families, even after the Christianization of the K'art'velian monarchy.

While pre-Bagratid historians readily connect the king and society to the Iranian world, they are, as we should expect, more ambivalent about religious bonds. Here it should be borne in mind that, according to every shred of datable evidence, the first Georgian script was invented under a Christian impulse at the end of the fourth/start of the fifth century. All Georgian texts were therefore composed after this time, in the Christian epoch (see esp. Gamqrelidze 1989 and 1994)⁸². Between the seventh and ninth centuries was established the K'art'velian “national” church, an organization which advocated a unique, ethnically-confined conversion of the eastern Georgians to Christianity (Rapp 2003: 6-7, 431-432). Not surprisingly, contemporaneous authors reimagined the religious condition of pre-conversion K'art'li, assuming the existence of a distinctly K'art'velian “paganism” and, significantly, portraying it a well-organized danger to Christianity. *The Life of the Kings* thus endows the K'art'velian kingdom with its own faith revolving around idol-worship. Yet careful analysis of this account demonstrates the supposed pre-Christian religious beliefs of the K'art'velians have a great deal in common with those of neighboring peoples in the Near East. For example, in medieval Georgian historiography Armazi is presented as the supreme deity of the pre-Christian K'art'velian pantheon⁸³. While Georgian sources do not explicitly equate Armazi and

⁸² Cf. the provocative and exaggerated attempt, on the basis of *undated* materials from the important site of Nekresi in northern Kakheti, to assign the origin of the Georgian script to pre-Christian times and to link it specifically to the assumed translation of the *Avesta* into Georgian: Chilashvili 2000. It is by no means impossible that the earliest Georgian script, *asomt'avruli*, was based on a yet undiscovered earlier one, as may have been the case with Armenian, but there is no dated evidence to support this assertion.

⁸³ On pre-Christian religious devotion in K'art'li, see Rapp 1997: 286-310. As noted, it is quite likely that a localized form of Zoroastrianism was widely practiced in early K'art'li; cf. the use of a local variant of Aramaic by the K'art'velian aristocracy. We lack indisputable archaeological evidence for the physical existence of the pantheon of idols described in *The Life of the Kings* and *Royal List I*. However, there is a parallel between the three main K'art'velian idols and a triad of deities venerated by the Hittites in neighboring Anatolia: Giorgadze 1985. Giorgadze accounts for the similarity by highlighting the migration from Asia Minor of certain “K'art'velian tribes,” e.g., the Mushkis/Moskhis/Mesxis.

Ahura Mazdā, Armazi might very well represent a localized version of the Zoroastrian Lord of Wisdom. But even if this should not be the case, contemporaries must have grasped some kind of connection, much like the obvious correlation of *farnah* and P'arnavaz⁸⁴. But the aspects of Iranian (and Anatolian) faiths manifest in K'art'li were not mere imports: they were adapted to the eastern Georgian environment and blended with local beliefs and customs. Simply put, in terms of religion, culture, and political models, the eastern Georgians were by no means passive receptors of ideas and culture diffused from some uniquely inventive imperial core. Furthermore, it is significant that pre-Bagratid historians routinely portrayed the Iranians honorably, often without passing judgment on Zoroastrianism. And when Zoroastrianism is mentioned, it was not always depicted as a false religion and/or a threat. In his ca. 800 biography the Christian King Vaxtang rationalizes his alliance with the Iranians by emphasizing the shared belief in God the Creator (*The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1955: 193₇₋₉)⁸⁵.

Extant Georgian historical works attained their received forms well after the dissolution of Sasanid Iran, and it follows that the Iranians and Zoroastrianism no longer posed a danger and could be openly depicted in positive terms. In this muted environment eastern Georgia's ancient Iranian heritage was freely acknowledged and even celebrated by certain constituencies. This stands in marked contrast to Armenian historical sources of the fifth century composed when the Zoroastrian Iranians were a genuine menace to the Christians of southern Caucasia (Garsoïan 1996b). Like early Armenian histories, fifth- and sixth-century Georgian hagiographies, with their explicitly Christian agenda and cotemporality with the Iranian domination and persecutions, divested Caucasia of conspicuous elements of its ancient Iranian heritage and instead assailed Iran for its brutal oppression of Christians and promotion of "fire worship."⁸⁶ But closer inspection

⁸⁴ Melik'ishvili 1959: 111-112 et seq., associates Armazi with the Hittite moon-god Arma. One of Melik'ishvili's strengths is his emphasis upon Caucasia's Anatolian legacy. Even if Armazi is functionally equivalent to Ahura Mazdā, there can be no question that Armazi would have been imbued with local characteristics. Given the cosmopolitan environment of Caucasia, it is altogether possible that Armazi actually represents the fusion of local religious concepts, the Iranian Ahura Mazdā, and the Anatolian Arma.

⁸⁵ "[Vaxtang said:] '... although the Persians are not in the true religion yet they know God the Creator and believe in the spiritual life'" (*The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1996: 209). Cf. *Martyrdom of Evstat'i*, cap. 7, 1963/1964:43.

⁸⁶ However, the Iranian political domination of K'art'li is clearly evident in these texts. *The Martyrdom of Shushaniki*, cap. 1, 1963/1964: 11, opens: "It was in the eighth year of

reveals an Iranian substratum even in the early Georgian *vitae* devoted to Shushaniki and Evstat'i, both of which are strongly inclined against Zoroastrianism. They reveal, for instance, an Iranian legacy through their description of K'art'velian noble houses and their attestation of Persian-derived proper names. Though their numbers are small, certain early hagiographies, such as these, continued to be transmitted by the Bagratid-era Church. This was possible because of their deliberate obscuring of K'art'li's Iranian heritage and their dearth of references to local (pre-Bagratid and hence non-Davidic) monarchs and particularly to their Iranian qualities and orientation⁸⁷. Some pre-Bagratid holy men took Christian names, shunning their former ones: thus Gwrobandak became Evstat'i (Eustathios). Significantly, no analogous "purification" is reported for the early Christian pre-Bagratid K'art'velian kings.

So far we have concentrated on the Iranian-like pattern of eastern Georgian kingship as described in pre-Bagratid historiography. It has been argued that the Christianization of the K'art'velian monarchy beginning in the 330s did not propel eastern Georgia suddenly and forever into the orbit of Christian Rome/Byzantium⁸⁸. Yet the potential for increased contacts with the eastern Mediterranean had been augmented. It is not beyond the realm of possibility — though contemporary evidence is lacking — that on the heels of his miraculous conversion Mirian actually sent an embassy to

the reign of the king of the Persians..." *The Martyrdom of Evstat'i*, cap. 1, 1963/1964: 30, similarly commences: "In the tenth year of [the reign of] King Khusrau and [at the time] when Arvand Gushnasp was the *marzpan* of K'art'li..." Cf. the foundational inscription of the Bolnisi Sioni cathedral (late fifth century): "With the help of the Holy Trinity, in the twentieth year of the reign of the [Persian] King of Kings Pērōz..." (Silogava 1994).

⁸⁷ The Iranian-like dimension of early K'art'velian kingship has been suppressed in the corpus *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay*, a composite source produced in an ecclesiastical environment. For an Eng. trans. of the components devoted to pre-Christian history, see Rapp 2003: 245-298. Cf. the rather different treatment of *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* by Lerner 2004.

⁸⁸ Cf., e.g., Hitchins 2001: 464: "By making Christianity the state religion, they erected what became an insurmountable barrier to Persian influence in the region." At the same time, Hitchins concedes: "Between the Achaemenid era and the beginning of the 19th century, Persia played a significant and at times decisive role in the history of the Georgian people" (464). Of far greater importance was the schism with the Armenian Church in 607/608 (which signals the K'art'velian Church's closer relationship with the imperial ecclesiastical organization) and the invasion of K'art'li led by the emperor Heraclius in 626/627 (as part of his campaign against Iran). The presiding princes of K'art'li subsequently became the nominal subjects of the Byzantine emperor. This episode is related in three separate Georgian sources, thus attesting its significance.

Constantine “the Great,” as is asserted by the ecclesiastical historian Rufinus (d. first decade of the fifth century). Additional links to Constantine are professed in *The Conversion of K’art’li* and the derivative *Life of Nino*. However, in their received forms these two Georgian-language works were composed after the ecclesiastical schism with Armenia in 607/608 and were intended as incontrovertible proofs that the K’art’velian Church was a legitimate organization of equal standing to other churches, especially Armenia and the patriarchate of Antioch, the last of which was staking jurisdictional claims over eastern Georgia. Legitimacy was more potent when blended with antiquity and accordingly the K’art’velian Church was linked, in legend, to the first Christian Roman emperor; we also see direct connections to Jerusalem being telescoped back to the fourth century and earlier. When considered in this light, their elaborated stories often divulge more about the ecclesiastical situation in seventh-century Caucasia than they do for the time of Constantine. Ultimately, the conversion of Mirian enhanced the possibility that eastern Georgia and Rome/Byzantium might enter into a closer association, but this was by no means guaranteed and, in fact, several centuries would elapse before one actually came to fruition. Even if we accept the existence of an embassy to Constantinople during Mirian’s tenure, this point of contact, and perhaps others like it, by no means resulted in Christian eastern Georgia turning its back on the Iranian Commonwealth.

Two of the three extant pre-Bagratid texts specifically address the Christian period of eastern Georgian history. The most substantial of them is *The Life of Vaxtang*, which, like its counterparts, was composed at the juncture of the eighth/ninth century. Living at a time when local kingship was in abeyance, its anonymous author likewise yearned for the restoration of K’art’velian royal authority. His idealized portrait of the Christian Vaxtang was a display of how majestic a K’art’velian king might be⁸⁹. Vaxtang’s memory was recast so as to provide the K’art’velians with a powerful royal hero who adeptly navigated a complex array of cultural and political choices and, more broadly, with a model of ideal kingship. Vaxtang was a historical figure and he was likely a courageous monarch, but the epic grandeur articulated by his later biographer is steeped in spectacle and embellishment⁹⁰.

⁸⁹ On Vaxtang, see: Kakabadze 1994; Martin-Hisard 1983; Lort’k’ip’anidze 1979; Kekelidze 1957; Goiladze 1991; and Musxelishvili 1999.

⁹⁰ Vaxtang’s precarious situation is documented in two contemporary sources: the Armenian historian Łazar P’arpec’i, *History*, §§66-79, 1991: 172-205 (see also Janashia 1962);

Though on many particulars we might conclude that the *The Life of Vaxtang* is more legendary than it is historical, its real importance rests as a source embodying the K'art'velian condition in the early ninth century, just prior to the ascendancy of the K'art'velian Bagratids in 813.

The Life of Vaxtang commences with Iranian troops taking control of K'art'li and destroying its churches in the mid-fifth century, yet the text affirms that early Christian K'art'velian kings, and especially its hero Vaxtang, conceived of their authority in Iranian-like terms and that eastern Georgia remained firmly attached to the Iranian Commonwealth in the fifth and sixth century. Most notably, the institution of *bumberazobay* figures prominently. Vaxtang is said to have personally entered into *bumberazi* combat with foreign champions: T'arq'an the "Khazar," the Ovisi/Alanian Baqat'ar from northern Caucasia, the Greek Polykarpos, and an unnamed king of the Sindians. These contests are described in colorful detail and are far more elaborate than any presented in *The Life of the Kings*. Not only were Vaxtang's mother and his first wife Iranians of high social standing, but the king himself is made to declare before his troops the descent of his royal line from Nimrod (*The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1955: 161)⁹¹. Christian K'art'velian rulers also continued to bear Persian names. Both Vaxtang and his sobriquet Gorgasali are derived from Persian, a fact highlighted by the king's anonymous biographer, although two presiding princes of the Guaramid dynasty (ca. 588-627, 684-ca. 748) adopted the explicitly Christian name Step'anoz (Stephen)⁹². Ultimately, Vaxtang's portrayal is remarkably consistent with the descriptions of P'arnavaz and other pre-Christian K'art'velian monarchs in *The Life of the Kings*. The only substantial difference is that Christian elements have been injected

and Procopius, *Wars*, 1.12. Procopius refers to "Gourgenēs," though Toumanoff has persuasively shown that this is none other than Vaxtang Gorgasali (Toumanoff 1963: 368-369); cf. Greatrex 1998: 127-129 and esp. fn. 25. Allen 1932: 76-77, compares Vaxtang to King Arthur and says: "there is little contemporary evidence which can confirm the native record of his exploits." In light of Littleton and Malcor's thesis about the Iranian basis of the Arthurian legend, the connection of the portrayals of Vaxtang and Arthur may be more direct than previously imagined.

⁹¹ For Nimrod as an Iranian, see fn. 22 above.

⁹² The Guaramid dynasty of "presiding princes" was established during the *inter-regnum* with Byzantine aid. The first ruling Guaramid, Guaram I (588-ca. 590), was bestowed with the Byzantine honor of *kuropalatēs* by the emperor Maurice (r. 582-602). On the Caucasian principates and Byzantine exarchates, see Toumanoff 1971: 120-121; and Toumanoff 1963: 386-389.

into the hero-king imagery of post-Mirianic Christian rulers⁹³. This development is hardly unexpected and is not without parallel. The endurance of pre-Islamic Iranian, and especially Sasanid, traditions of kingship within the Islamic world are well known (Frye 1964: 50-54; Bosworth 1973). Eastern Georgia witnessed a similar synthesis though, as we shall see, the Bagratid dynasty would choose for itself a model resting on an explicitly Judeo-Christian foundation.

Thus, Vaxtang's biography is quite historically valuable for its insights into the multiple dimensions of K'art'velian self-perception in the early ninth century. The author espoused a cosmopolitan and fluid conception of identity: to his mind, one could be K'art'velian and Christian while maintaining his/her intimate connection to the Iranian socio-cultural world. This validated not only the Iranian-like qualities of contemporary K'art'velian society but also the style in which the author himself wrote history. Yet through the experiences of its royal hero, *The Life of Vaxtang* professes the notion that eastern Georgians should recognize the exceptional authority of the Byzantine emperors who proclaimed themselves the earthly heads of all Christendom. On his deathbed Vaxtang is made to instruct: "You, inhabitants of K'art'li, remember my good deeds, because first from my house you received eternal light, and I honoured you, my kin, with temporal glory. Do not despise our house, nor abandon the friendship of the Greeks [i.e., Romans/Byzantines]" (*The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1955: 203₁₄₋₁₇, and 1996: 222-223). This attitude foreshadows the orientation of the Guaramid and then the K'art'velian Bagratid dynasties — in and near the author's own time — which would foster, exploit, and benefit from an unprecedented array of connections with Christian Byzantium. Yet it should be noted that Vaxtang's plea that the K'art'velian elite maintain good relations with Constantinople is mentioned in the same breath with a fundamental Iranian-like element of pre-Bagratid kingship, *farnah*⁹⁴.

With the exception of Mirian, the first Christian monarch, Vaxtang is the only pre-Bagratid K'art'velian king who is commemorated with any frequency in Bagratid historiography. The imagined upholder of the traditions of both periods, he is portrayed as an august and imposing sovereign,

⁹³ E.g., Vaxtang prays to God before entering into the contest with T'arq'an and credits the Christian God with his *bumberazi* victory.

⁹⁴ Here the Christian ca. 800 historian has qualified *didebay* ("glory," i.e., *farnah*) with the adjective *q'orc'iele*, "corporeal," thus distinguishing the king's glory from the eternal/spiritual glory reserved for God, Christ, and the saints.

a fervent defender of Christianity, and an ally of the Roman emperor. In Bagratid eyes these were admirable traits. Significantly, Bagratid-era references to Vaxtang are usually stripped of the Iranian accouterments dominating his ca. 800 biography. The Bagratids and their supporters judged these features to be reprehensible so far as their own royal authority was concerned. Despite this, Vaxtang was understood to have swept away the old order especially through what we may call his “conversion” to Roman/Byzantine culture, an act that was in harmony with the Byzantine orientation of the Bagratids. Allusions to the King-Prophet David in *The Life of Vaxtang* prefigure the legendary provenance from David claimed by the Kʿartʿvelian Bagratids. Moreover, Iranian epic literature enjoyed considerable popularity at the Bagratid court from the early twelfth century, and Vaxtang’s biography is a Georgian precursor to this development.

Ps.-Juansher, probably the latest of the pre-Bagratid historians, wrote a brief untitled continuation of the biography of Vaxtang in the early ninth century, at the time or just before the accession of the Bagratid Ashot I in 813. He is the first known historian writing in Georgian to be nearly contemporary with the events he describes. Unlike the two other pre-Bagratid historians Ps.-Juansher exhibits an unprecedented awareness of Rome/Byzantium⁹⁵ while relating information, mostly of a non-legendary character, about Sasanid Iran. His tract preserves the oldest definite Georgian reference to the Bagratid line which had established itself in the neo-Kʿartʿvelian domains in the last quarter of the eighth century. While chronology dictates that Ps.-Juansher is a pre-Bagratid historian because he wrote before the elevation of Ashot I, his work exhibits initial signs of a departure from the Iranian/Near Eastern mold characterizing *The Life of the Kings* and *The Life of Vaxtang*.

Implications and conclusions

Three surviving Georgian texts do *not* communicate a Byzantine-oriented Bagratid vision of history, the mode dominating Georgian historiography for over a thousand years⁹⁶. Pre-Bagratid historians describe Kʿartʿvelian

⁹⁵ The increasing Roman influence in the region following the reign of Vaxtang is manifest in contemporary Roman historiography, including Procopius, Agathias, and Menander “the Protector.”

⁹⁶ Although I have identified three pre-Bagratid texts, their extant manuscripts were copied in the Bagratid period and thus were potentially subject to Bagratid-era editing.

social structures and kingship in Iranian-like terms, an image consistent with ancient and early medieval eastern Georgia's actual association with the Iranian Commonwealth. In fact, Iranian-like imagery and an Iranian orientation were prevalent not only in eastern Georgia but the whole of the Caucasia, eastern Asia Minor, and the steppes of what is now southern Russia. In this light, Garsoïan's contributions spotlighting the many parallels between Armenian and Iranian kingship and society must be extended to neighboring eastern Georgia⁹⁷. And we have further confirmation of Toumanoff's contention that pre-modern Caucasia constituted a single socio-cultural zone.

Although pre-Bagratid historiographies are by no means contemporaneous with the dynasties of pre-Islamic Iran, they are based upon old oral traditions which harken back to Sasanid times and earlier. Moreover, the oldest Georgian histories are an indicator of the remarkable endurance of Iranian traditions within Christian Georgia some 500 years after the Mirian's conversion at the hands of Nino and approximately 150 years after the end of Sasanid rule in Iran. Christian Georgian historians of the early ninth century did not hesitate to attach K'art'li's experience from remote antiquity up to their own time to the Near East and especially to the Iranian Commonwealth. These earliest of Georgian historians emphasize the distinctiveness of their ethno-cultural community. Yet their testimony and imagery establishes that K'art'li was intimately connected to the Iranian world. Multiple lines of evidence — including non-Georgian narrative sources, inscriptions, art, and archaeological materials — demonstrate beyond any doubt that eastern Georgia had belonged to the Iranian Commonwealth since antiquity. Even the sustained Christianization of K'art'li from the 330s, the dismantling of the monarchy and collapse of political autonomy in the sixth century, and the rise of Byzantine-supported presiding princes shortly thereafter had not pushed away K'art'li from the Near Eastern sphere, one dominated by Iran until the Islamic conquest though resurgent under the 'Abbāsid Caliphate⁹⁸.

Furthermore, *all* extant Georgian manuscripts are products of the Christian era. We must take care not to characterize either the pre-Bagratid or Bagratid historical tradition as being monolithic, for substantial variances exist *within* each category (cf., e.g., *The Life of Vaxtang* with its continuation by Ps.-Juansher and Davit'is-dze's history with the anonymous *Chronicle of K'art'li*).

⁹⁷ Many of her studies have been reprinted in Garsoïan 1985 and 1999. See also Garsoïan 1996b and Garsoïan & Mahé 1997.

⁹⁸ Cf. the perceptive observations of Braund 1994: 253. It is worth emphasizing that Georgia's Iranian heritage long predates the 'Abbāsids, though it is possible that certain of

The cosmopolitan condition of the entire Caucasian region — a shared physical space and a coherent human landscape cutting across socio-cultural, political, and linguistic boundaries, however they might be defined (Rapp 2006) — comes into sharper focus once we recognize distinct pre-Bagratid and Bagratid phases of early Georgian historiography. Caucasian peoples, and especially Georgians and Armenians but also other adjacent peoples, including those of northern Caucasia and eastern Anatolia⁹⁹, were at various times integrated into the Iranian and Byzantine commonwealths. Their experiences as distinctive communities as well as their lavish historiographical traditions allow us to explore the interplay of local and competing imperial interests and affiliations in the pre-modern epoch¹⁰⁰. Indeed, the nature of the texts investigated here obliges us to acknowledge the considerable overlap of the Byzantine and Iranian worlds: despite the venomous rhetoric of their imperial cores, in practice the two were not mutually exclusive. Insofar as the former is concerned, royal conversion to Christianity did not entail automatic, complete, and exclusive incorporation into the Byzantine Commonwealth: many aspects of eastern Georgia's cultural and social orientation toward the Iranian Commonwealth endured for centuries after Mirian's fourth-century conversion and outlived Sasanid Iran itself. Christianization undoubtedly increased the potential for Byzantine influence upon K'art'velian society and culture, but the full-force of that potential was not realized until centuries later, and even then many conspicuous Iranian-like features endured¹⁰¹. Indeed, as late as the ninth century Christian eastern Georgians openly admired Iran as "*k'ueqanasa gmirt'a da goliat'f'asa...*," "the land of heroes and giants" (*The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* 1955: 170₉).

its aspects may have been reinforced, modified, and even introduced/invented in connection with the efflorescence of an Islamo-Iranian culture under the 'Abbāsid regime.

⁹⁹ The linkage of early Christian Caucasia and Cappadocia is well known, though it may have preceded Christianity, for Cappadocia, like much of eastern Anatolia, was also integrated into the Iranian world. For hints about the Iranian heritage of pre-Christian Cappadocia, see van Dam 2002: 65.

¹⁰⁰ Caucasian peoples also entertained close relations and some were even integrated into the Islamic Commonwealth. In terms of the extant Georgian historiographical tradition, however, the Christian K'art'velian elite did not link itself explicitly with the Islamic world. Nevertheless, as we have seen, Irano-Georgian relations have endured ever since the Islamicization of Iran.

¹⁰¹ The deliberate shift in K'art'velian elite culture taking shape in the late eighth and ninth century corresponds to the end of Late Antiquity (ca. 900) as defined by Clover & Humphreys 1989; cf. the second- through ninth-century range suggested by Fowden 1993: 3.

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